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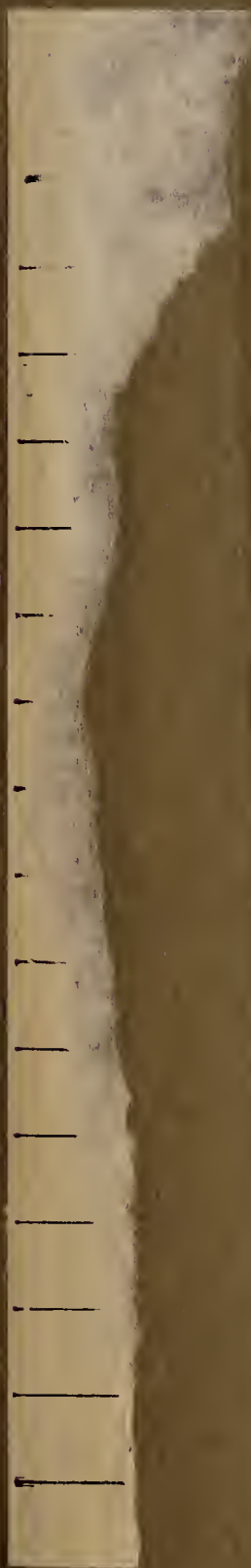


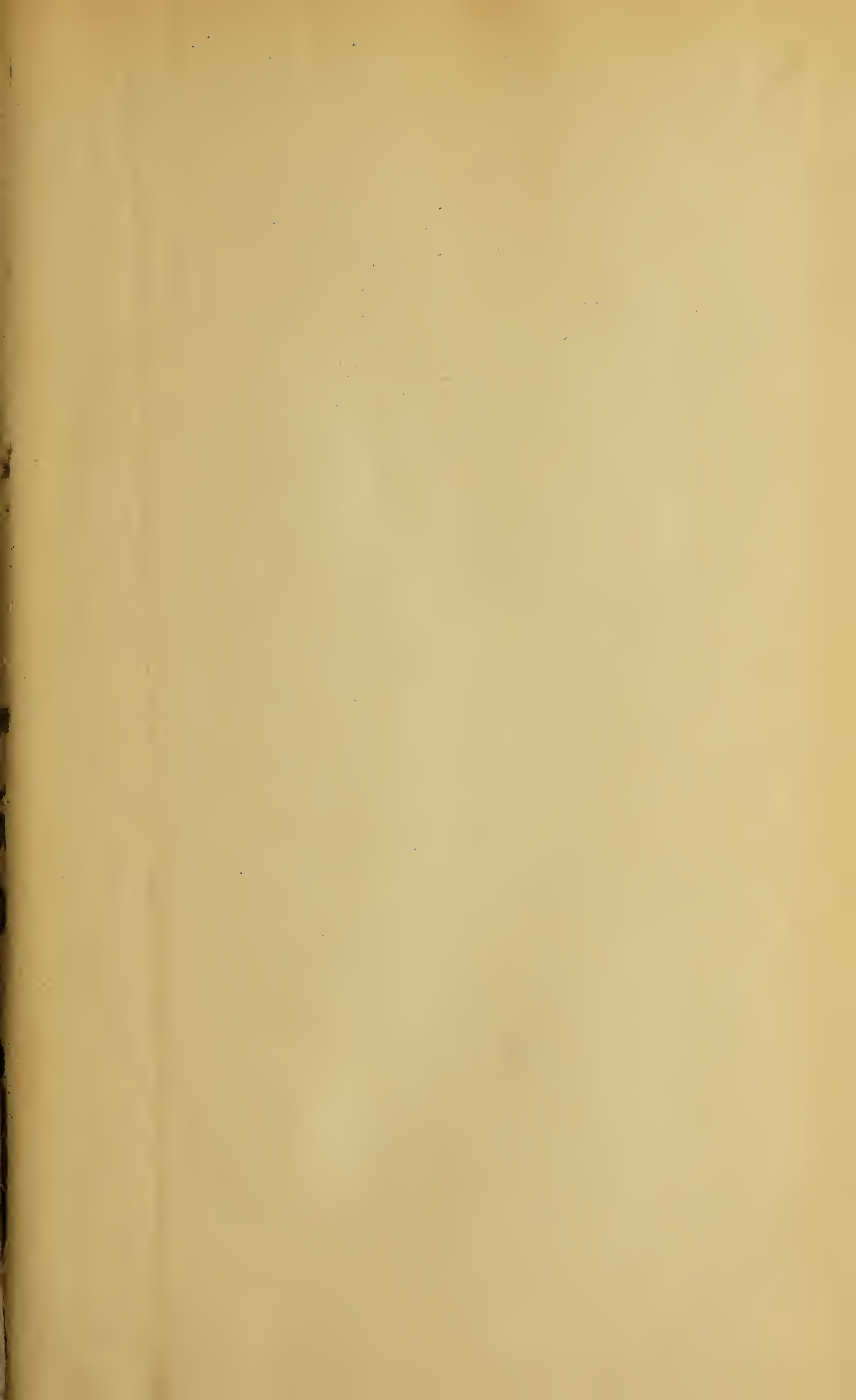
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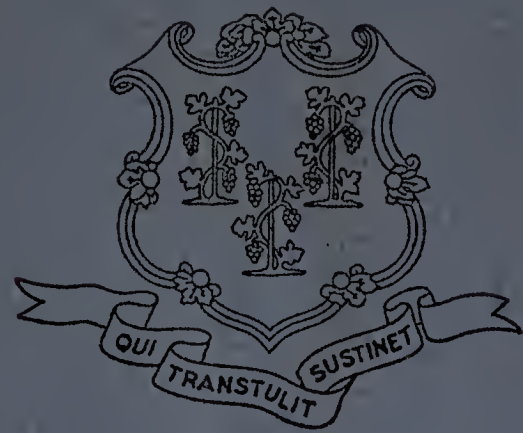


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The Litchfield Law School
1775-1833

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

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The Litchfield Law School

1775-1833

SAMUEL H. FISHER

THE Law School, created by Tapping Reeve and carried on by him with his pupil, James Gould, flourished in Litchfield, Connecticut, from the beginning of the American Revolution into the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Although not connected with any college, it was, during these early years of the nation, the outstanding school in the country devoted to training for the legal profession. Since it was dependent on the personalities of its two proprietors, their retirement from its management ended its existence. The beginnings of the school were quite fortuitous and its development was a matter of natural growth rather than of design.

I

IN 1774 Aaron Burr, recently graduated from the College of New Jersey, was studying for the ministry in Bethlehem, Connecticut, under Doctor Joseph Bellamy, an outstanding figure in the Congregational Church. Burr was planning to follow in the footsteps of his father, the

Reverend Aaron Burr, and of his grandfather, the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, two eminent divines, both of whom had served as presidents of the infant college of Princeton. But the brilliant, versatile Burr was not inclined to concentrate his attention exclusively on his religious studies. He found time for a few flirtations in the neighbouring towns, some of which were duly chronicled in entertaining letters to his friend, Matthew Ogden. The austere atmosphere of Doctor Bellamy's home forced his decision to abandon theology for a more congenial profession. It is thus that Burr left Bethlehem and in 1775 went to Litchfield to be near his only sister, Sally, the wife of Tapping Reeve, and became all unwittingly the first of a long line of young men to obtain their legal training there.

One of the earliest of these was Stephen Row Bradley, who was graduated from Yale in 1775, and shortly afterwards journeyed up to Litchfield to pursue law studies under the direction of Reeve. He later settled in Vermont and, by his ability and personal popularity, became a leader in the state. Another early pupil was Oliver Wolcott, Jr. When, after graduation from Yale, he returned to his native town of Litchfield, he brought with him a friend, Uriah Tracy, the valedictorian of his class of 1778, and these two, with others of the same year, prepared for their admission to the bar under the instruction of Reeve. John Allen, known as "the Goth," because of his colossal stature, also came to study under the same preceptor.

All of these men achieved distinction. Bradley was one of the two senators elected to represent Vermont when that state was admitted to the Union. Wolcott, son and grandson of governors of Connecticut, also became the chief executive of his state. Tracy was an early

senator from Connecticut, and Allen a judge of the Supreme Court of the state.

Young men at this time usually obtained their legal education by serving clerkships in the offices of lawyers whose ability impressed them, or whose libraries were large and well chosen. The pupils received little or no oversight in their reading, and learned only a few forms, with little substantive law. But Tapping Reeve, either because of his previous experience in teaching, or his admiration for the law as a science, early began to give to these embryo lawyers in his office more than the customary perfunctory bits of advice. His interest in them and in their instruction attracted these legal tyros to his office.

About 1782 he commenced the delivery of a series of formal and connected lectures—lectures which, in the absence of readily accessible textbooks and reports, were intended to embrace the whole field of the law, and became veritable mines of legal lore for the would-be attorneys. His plan of lectures, said to have been the earliest in this country, first gave the law a place among the liberal studies. As Chief Justice Samuel Church, one of his pupils, expressed it, “He found it a skeleton, and clothed it with life, color, and complexion.”¹

The steady increase in the number of his pupils overtaxed the accommodations of his home and consequently, in 1784, Reeve was forced to erect a small frame building, twenty by twenty-two feet, near his house. In this he held his classes, which numbered from ten to twenty scholars, and here his law library was assembled for their use. As originally constructed, the building had no flue for fireplace or stove, and the young enthusiasts must have sat through the lecture hours in the cold New Eng-

¹ *Litchfield County Centennial Celebration*, Hartford, 1851, p. 51.

land winters, bundled up in heavy coats, with mufflers and mittens, taking notes of the lectures with numbed fingers.

This little building, the first structure in the country dedicated to the teaching of law, has had a varied career since the death of its first owner. In 1849 it was laboriously drawn by several teams of oxen to West Street to be incorporated in a dwelling. Many years later it was separated from the house to which it had been joined, and was pulled by horses to a site on East Street, near the building of the Litchfield Historical Society, where its arrival was duly celebrated by appropriate ceremonies and addresses. After serving for several years as a Woman's Shop, it continued its travels, in 1930, under the propelling power of a motor-truck, back to its original location on South Street. Thus, during its life of nearly 150 years, it has served as law school, residence, and shop, and in each of its three journeys has used the locomotive forces common to the period. Now, nestled serenely among the trees, it enjoys the repose and tranquillity of a returned traveler.

When Tapping Reeve was appointed judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut in 1798, he feared the responsibility of the school might interfere with his duties on the bench and so decided to have an associate in its management. Reynold Marvin, a retired lawyer, who had served as king's attorney before the Revolution, and who lived across the street, had occasionally assisted in delivering lectures at the school, but now Reeve decided on a younger man and thus chose one of his former pupils, James Gould.

During the association of Reeve and Gould, which lasted more than twenty years, the two proprietors divided the work of instruction. Each usually taught the

subjects in which he was especially interested, though this division of the lectures necessarily varied, owing to other engagements of the two men.

These lectures, according to the advertisement in the catalogue of 1828, were delivered every week day and usually occupied an hour and a half. The principles and rules enunciated by the instructors were supported by authorities and generally accompanied by familiar illustrations.

Whenever the opinions upon any point are contradictory, the authorities in support of either doctrine are cited, and the arguments, advanced by either side, are presented in a clear and concise manner, together with the Lecturer's own views of the question. In fact, every ancient and modern opinion, whether over-ruled, doubted, or in any way qualified, is here systematically digested. These Lectures, thus classified, are taken down in full by the Students, and after being compared with each other, are generally transcribed in a more neat and legible hand. The remainder of the day is occupied in examining the authorities cited in support of the several rules, and in reading the most approved authors upon those branches of the Law, which are at the time the subject of the Lectures. These notes, thus written out, are, when complete, comprised in five large volumes, which constitute books of reference, the great advantage of which must be apparent to every one of the slightest acquaintance with the comprehensive and abstruse science of the Law.²

From fourteen to eighteen months were required for the completion of the course, and the tuition charge was at the rate of \$100 for the first year, and \$60 for the balance of the course. The year was divided into two terms, the summer term beginning about the first of June and closing the last of September, when there occurred a vacation of four weeks; and the next term continuing until May, followed by another vacation of four weeks. The

² *Catalogue of the Litchfield Law School*, Litchfield, 1828, p. iv.

terms were substantially equivalent to those of the colleges at that time.

While living in Litchfield, the students roomed in different houses about the town. The prices for rooms varied, but they usually amounted to about \$45 a year, or \$1.00 a week, while board came to approximately \$2.75 a week. In addition, there were charges for wood at \$4.00 a cord, and for laundry, writing paper, and books. These prices are ridiculously low when compared to the cost of obtaining a legal education in one of our modern eastern schools, which includes \$450 for tuition, and a room charge of \$100 or more a term.

II

THE curriculum was a comprehensive one, intended to cover the whole field of jurisprudence, and was, in the later years, divided into forty-eight titles or subjects. No set sequence was followed and students were permitted to enter at any time, although they were advised to begin with some major course, such as Gould's lectures on Municipal Law, which were ordinarily given in the fall.

The course of study may be reconstructed from the memoranda of Gould's lectures, and from such notebooks of students as are still accessible. There are a number of these ranging from 1794 to 1829. Some are more voluminous than others, depending upon the diligence of the writers. A glance at the following list of titles or courses, with the name of the lecturer, and the number of pages devoted to each subject, as found in existing notebooks, gives some idea of the amount of time allotted to the various topics.

<i>Title of Course</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1. Municipal Law	Gould	49-75
2. Baron and Femme	Reeve	92-141

<i>Title of Course</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>Pages</i>
3. Master and Servant <i>(In 1811 and 1812, Gould delivered these lectures, and several of those usually assigned to Reeve, which may have been due to Reeve's occupation elsewhere.)</i>	Reeve	41-70
4. Parent and Child <i>(In 1811 and 1812, Gould conducted this course.)</i>	"	48-143
5. Guardian and Ward	"	10
6. Sheriff and Gaoler <i>(In 1812, Gould conducted this course.)</i>	"	25-58
7. Contracts <i>(Reeve apparently gave this course in 1808 and 1809, and in 1811 and 1812 the two instructors delivered the course jointly.)</i>	Gould	113-210
8. Bailments	"	38-167
9. Inns and Innkeepers	"	7-9
10. Action for Covenant Broken	"	42-92
11. Action for Debt	"	8-38
12. Action of Detinue	"	2
13. Action of Account	"	9-19
14. Notice and Request	"	3-4
15. Assumpsit <i>(In 1817, Reeve conducted this course.)</i>	"	31-97
16. Defenses to Actions <i>(In 1811 and 1812, Reeve conducted this course.)</i>	"	72-81
17. Private Wrongs or Torts	"	74-134
18. Evidence <i>(In 1816, Gould conducted this course.)</i>	Reeve	60-161
19. Pleas and Pleading	Gould	144-232
20. New Trials	"	22-29
21. Bills of Exception	"	22-34
22. Writs of Error <i>(Included with above.)</i>	"	
23. Practice in Connecticut	"	62-67
24. Insurance	Reeve	30-122
25. Partnership	"	7-11
26. Chancery <i>(In 1816, Gould conducted this course.)</i>	"	26-89
27. Public Wrongs or Criminal Law <i>(In 1811, Gould conducted this course.)</i>	"	56-143
28. Real Property and Mortgages <i>(In 1813, this course was conducted by both instructors. In 1816 and 1817, Reeve delivered these lectures.)</i>	Gould	115-504
29. Wills and Devises <i>(In 1811 and 1812, Gould delivered these lectures.)</i>	Reeve	53-107
30. Executors and Administrators <i>(In 1811 and 1812, Gould gave a general review of the subject and the lectures were delivered by both Gould and Reeve.)</i>	"	41-141
31. Audita Querela	"	1-2
32. Mandamus	Gould	5

<i>Title of Course</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>Pages</i>
33. Prohibition	Gould	2
34. Habeas Corpus	"	3-4
35. Quo Warranto	Reeve	1
36. Highways	(?)	7
37. Statute of Limitations	(?)	16
38. Statute of Frauds	Gould	46
39. Mercantile Law	"	48-215
<i>(In 1813, Reeve conducted this course.)</i>		
40. Charter Parties	Reeve	5-12
41. Joint Ownership	(?)	2
42. Seamen's Wages and Sailors' Contracts	"	5-12
43. Covenant of Seisin and Warranty	Gould(?)	
44. Fraudulent Conveyance	"	33-51
45. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes	Reeve	73-146
<i>(In 1811 and 1816, Gould conducted this course.)</i>		
46. Factors or Agency	"	3-6
47. Title by Deed	Gould	40
48. Stoppage in Transitu ³	Reeve	2

On Saturday afternoons the pupils were examined on the lectures of the week, while Monday evenings were devoted to a Moot Court, or Moot Hall, as it was sometimes called. On these evenings, the students argued hypothetical cases before a judge or court consisting of fellow pupils, whose decisions were reviewed by Reeve, or Gould, or some other lawyer. Two men were generally assigned to each side of the case and the records of the meetings, arguments, and decisions were carefully kept by a clerk. Periodical elections were held to fill the offices in the Moot Court and such positions were of importance and dignity, for one student wrote home to his father, "Monday evening, spend from 6 to 9 in the Law School

³ In addition to the memoranda of James Gould, the students' notebooks used in the compilation of this list are those of:

Eben Warner, 1809-10, 3 volumes.

Ebenezer Baldwin, 1810-11, 5 volumes.

Nathaniel Mather, 1811-12, 6 volumes.

Roger S. Baldwin, 1812-13, 5 volumes.

Charles G. Loring, 1813-14, 3 volumes.

William W. Boardman, 1816-17, 5 volumes.

William S. Johnson, 1816-17, 6 volumes.

Josiah Houghton, 1817-18, Vol. III of 3 volumes.

Debating Society over which I have the honor—hush—
(*I never brag.*)”⁴

The minute book for the year 1796–97 contains an elaborate Constitution, as well as a number of interesting comments on the cases. The report of one evening tells of a student who closed his appeal to the amateur court with this peroration:

When future Moot hall Societies shall read your Determination, may they cordially exclaim “that honesty and impartiality were the foundation of your Decision, and that as far as in their Powers, they will endeavour to follow that candour which was the shining characteristic of their ancestors’ virtues.”⁵

Although this bit of oratory was unsuccessful, the speaker, Thomas Scott Williams, later became chief justice of Connecticut.

About 1806 a code of rules of conduct was adopted which consisted of eighteen *Laws of the Office* and to these were added, from time to time, apparently by vote of the students, a series of *Resolutions*. The first three laws related to the use of the books in the library and imposed fines for neglect to return a book to its proper place on the same day on which it was borrowed (Law I), or for writing on a book or upon paper lying upon an open volume (Law II), or taking from the office any books except those which were “privileged” (Law III). The privileged books were those in common use among the students, and the list furnishes a brief catalogue of textbooks and reports, chiefly English, read by the students of this period. Among these were Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, Powell’s *Elementary Treatises*, Wooddeson’s *Lec-*

⁴ Manuscript letter of Augustus Cincinnatus Hand, dated January 30, 1828, in the Litchfield Historical Society.

⁵ *Reports of Cases disputed and determined in Mr. Reeve’s office from 8th Dec. 1796 to July 28 1797*. This is the original minute book of the Moot Hall.

tures, 'Espinasse's *Nisi Prius*, Kyd on *Awards*, Jones on *Bailments*, Doctor & Student, Lovelass on *Wills*, Gilbert's *Law of Evidence*, Swift's *System of Laws of Connecticut*, *Lawyer's Magazine*, Cooke's *Bankrupt Laws*, Gilbert on *Devises*, Wilson on *Awards*, Sullivan's *Lectures*, *Baron & Femme*, Boote's *Historical Treatises*, Cunningham on *Bills of Exchange*, Jacob's *Introduction, Law of Awards*, Bacon's *Abridgment, Law of Costs*, Kames' *Historical Law Tracts*, *Institutio Legalis*, *Tracts of the English Constitution*, and Gilbert's *Common Pleas*.

The twelfth and thirteenth laws indicate the existence of an honour system among the students:

XII It shall be the duty of the Members of the Office to inform the Chairman of all breaches of these articles, within two days after their knowledge of the same,

XIII The Conscience of Gentlemen may be appealed to, in all cases, to discover testimony, where sufficient testimony to convict one cannot be procured from any other quarter.⁶

The *Resolutions* related to more specific matters, such as "the duty of the treasurer to call for and demand each and every fine imposed by this office within 24 hours after the fine shall be inflicted" (VII); provision that the Chairman should have "discretionary power to fine for disorder, not exceeding 25 Cents" (XI); and the fifteenth Resolution stipulated that "Whoever in scribbling upon or in his Book, shall directly or indirectly offer insult or disrespect to Judge Reeve, James Gould Esquire, or any gentleman assisting in the office, shall be fined one Dollar." The copy of these *Laws and Resolutions*, now hanging in the vault of the Law School building, has been mutilated or injured by water to such a degree that portions are illegible, and the last Resolution, as it now

⁶ *Laws of the Office*, from the manuscript engrossed copy in the Litchfield Historical Society.

appears, leaves much to the imagination of the reader, for it provides that "Any . . . shall be hung."⁷

Athletics played an unimportant part in the activities of the school, probably because sufficient exercise was provided by the riding and walking so universal with the people of the time. There was one form of sport, however, which was recognized, namely wicket, the American counterpart of cricket. In an old file of a Litchfield paper is to be found this challenge: "25 students and other young gentlemen challenge an equal number of married gentlemen to meet them on the green on Friday, of next week, in a match at cricket,"⁸ and the same paper, in a later issue, gives a semi-humorous but glowing account of one of these contests. The game apparently retained its popularity, for, over fifty years later, two Litchfield students at Yale revived the game on the New Haven Green, and it is related that an elderly spectator told one of these youths of matches he had played in Litchfield with the young man's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

The presence in the same town of the Litchfield Female Academy, founded by Miss Sarah Pierce, was undoubtedly a great attraction for the young men who came to study under Reeve. John Pierce Brace, nephew of the founder and her assistant, stated that more than three thousand girls were educated here. Many of these were sisters or cousins of the law students and since the scholars of the "Female Academy" and those of the Law School roomed in many houses about the town, the occasions for companionable intercourse were not wanting. Dances in the big ballroom of the Tavern, private

⁷ *Resolutions*, from the manuscript engrossed copy in the Litchfield Historical Society.

⁸ *Weekly Monitor* of April 11, 1798.

theatricals, and old time sleigh rides were features of the social life of the town.

Edward Deering Mansfield, in his *Personal Memories*, described the vicinity of Litchfield as affording the most beautiful rides he had ever seen and, further, that "it was commonly my practice to walk in the afternoons of summer and the opportunities for pleasant walking were, like riding, very good and tempting."⁹ He also left a pretty picture of his arrival in Litchfield when he told that one of the first objects which struck his eyes was

interesting and picturesque. This was a long procession of school girls, coming down North Street, walking under the lofty elms and moving to the music of a flute and flageolet. The girls were gaily dressed and evidently enjoying their evening parade in this most balmy season of the year. It was the school of Miss Sally Pierce. That scene has never faded from my memory; the beauty of nature, the loveliness of the season, the sudden appearance of this school of girls, all united to strike and charm the mind of a young man.¹⁰

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mansfield, like so many other law school students, later married one of the girls of the Female Academy.

III

To return to the Law School and the man who created it. Tapping Reeve was a striking personality. The son of the Reverend Abner Reeve, whose unfortunate fondness for strong drink handicapped his ministerial career, he was born in Southold, Long Island, in October, 1744, and received his odd baptismal name from his mother's side of the family. He matriculated in the College of New

⁹ Mansfield, Edward Deering, *Personal Memories*, Cincinnati, 1879, p. 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Jersey at the age of fifteen, and left it four years later, the first scholar of his class. For a few years thereafter he served as tutor in that institution; then came a brief sojourn in Hartford, where he studied law under Judge Root and was admitted to the bar. In 1772 he settled in Litchfield and built himself a simple, square house, to which he brought his young bride, and here, with the coming of Aaron Burr, he laid the groundwork of his school.

One of his pupils has portrayed him seated in his chair, with one hand holding the notebook of his lectures, and the other his necessary spectacles, while his long hair fell in heavy ringlets to his shoulders. His broad face was lighted by brilliant eyes which are said to have sparkled with contagious enthusiasm as he expounded the principles of the law. An affection of the throat, developed in middle life, forced him to speak in a shrill whisper and handicapped him in his public utterances, but did not deter him from playing an active part in local and state affairs, nor from continuing his lectures.

Kindly and sympathetic to those with whom he came into personal contact, he won the universal regard of his scholars. To quote the somewhat stilted phrases of his warm friend and admirer, the Reverend Lyman Beecher, his "ascendancy over his pupils, derived from the power of his mind, was greatly increased and rendered delightful to them, by the virtues of his heart, and especially by the delicate and truly paternal treatment which they all experienced at his hands, and which inspired them all with an ardent and imperishable affection for him."¹¹ He is said by Catherine Beecher to have remarked "that he never saw a little girl but he wished to kiss her, for if she was not good, she would be; and he never saw a little

¹¹ Beecher, Lyman, *A Sermon, preached at the Funeral of the Hon. Tapping Reeve*, Litchfield, 1827, p. 11.

boy but he wished to whip him, for if he was not bad, he would be.”¹²

On his delicate wife Reeve lavished most solicitous care and attention throughout her life, and to ease her sufferings from asthma, he added at the southern side of his house an extra room, high-ceilinged and with six great windows, to provide the essential light and air. In this room she died in 1797, and about a year later Reeve married his housekeeper, Miss Betsey Thompson, who, in striking contrast to his dainty first wife, was said by Miss Beecher to have been one of the largest women she ever knew.

There was one child by the first marriage, Aaron Burr Reeve, who was graduated from Yale in 1802, and who, after studying with his father, practiced law for a few years in Troy, New York, where he died, a young man of twenty-nine years. An orphaned grandchild, Tapping Burr Reeve, was brought to Litchfield to become the idol of his grandfather. To this grandson was bequeathed the extensive law library which had been gathered for the school, provided he chose the profession of the law, but, “if a gracious God should incline the heart of my grandchild to preach the Gospel,” Tapping Reeve provided in his will, then his property was to be sold “that he may have the advantage of instruction at Andover.”¹³ But these plans were abortive, for the boy never reached the Andover Theological School, since he died in his senior year at Yale, “the last descendant of the late eminently learned and pious Chief Justice Reeve,” as his simple tombstone records.

Although his school was passing through its most pros-

¹² *Autobiography, Correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher, D.D.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-224.

¹³ Manuscript Will of Tapping Reeve in the Litchfield Historical Society.

perous years when he was forced, from age, to retire from the bench in 1815, Reeve found himself in financial need. When, the following year, he published his work on *Domestic Relations*, he wrote to one of his former pupils that he had to depend on the school and the sale of the books he published for a livelihood.

If it should be in your power to procure me subscribers or to procure me a sale, you will render to me an essential service and I really stand in need of that kind of assistance from my friends and which assistance I have experienced liberally from many of my pupils settled in different parts of our country.¹⁴

Reeve withdrew from further connection with the school in September of 1820. An arrangement was made by which the students could still have the use of his library and Gould allowed him a percentage of the tuition receipts. The agreement was not satisfactory and the ensuing bitterness between the families of the two former associates marred the last years of Reeve's life. In 1822 a number of his old students in the neighbourhood of Washington, under the leadership of Nicholas Ware, senator from Georgia, Horatio Seymour, senator from Vermont, and five congressmen who had attended the school, formed an organization for his relief. A circular was distributed, telling of his plight and requesting all ex-students to subscribe \$10 apiece. Unfortunately only a few hundred dollars were raised, and most of this sum, according to a Georgian, from former students residing in that state.

A sympathetic letter from John Caldwell Calhoun, then secretary of war, which accompanied the circular, shows how highly Reeve was esteemed by his former pupils.

¹⁴ Manuscript letter to Samuel Law, dated March 4, 1817.

For the venerable Judge I have the most sincere esteem, and will, at all times, take much pleasure in doing any act which may tend to cheer the evening of his days. Few men have passed through life more usefully, and none with a more spotless reputation. The period which I spent at Litchfield under his instruction will be long remembered by me. No period of my life, of equal duration, has been spent more advantageously to myself. I love to look back on it, and to dwell on all the objects connected with its remembrance. I must ask of you the favor to tender to our venerable preceptor my most sincere esteem.¹⁵

On December 27, 1823, Tapping Reeve died. "Few men have led a life in which there is less to be deplored and more to be admired, than is to be found in the life of Judge Reeve,"¹⁶ Lyman Beecher said in his funeral sermon.

IV

REEVE'S associate, James Gould, was born in Branford, Connecticut, December 5, 1770. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been physicians in this village on Long Island Sound, and from his forebears Gould is said to have inherited his scholarly habits and—the gout. This eighteenth-century disease affected his eyes to such an extent that, while studying at Yale College, his lessons had to be read aloud to him by his classmates. In spite of this handicap, he delivered the salutatory oration at his graduation in 1791, the honour then awarded the first scholar of the class.

"A remarkably handsome young man of elegant figure and graceful manners,"¹⁷ he combined a purity of style in his writings, and a philosophical grasp of the essentials of

¹⁵ Letter of John Caldwell Calhoun, dated May 9, 1822, printed in the circular issued by former students of the school, August 26, 1822.

¹⁶ Beecher, *Funeral Sermon*, p. 7.

¹⁷ *Great American Lawyers*, Philadelphia, 1907, Vol. II, p. 464.

his subject with habits of keen concentration that made him early regarded as an outstanding man. He served for two years as tutor at Yale, and, at the age of twenty-five, had the honour of delivering the annual Independence Day Oration at New Haven before the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati. He became a student under Reeve in 1795 and, upon the completion of his course, decided to settle in Litchfield. Perhaps the presence there of the four charming daughters of the newly elected senator, Uriah Tracy, may have induced this decision, for, in 1798, he married Sarah, the eldest of the four, then in her sixteenth year. The same year Gould was again asked to be the orator of the day at the Fourth of July celebration, and in the fall he became Reeve's associate-lecturer in the Law School; thus the year 1798 was a felicitous one for him.

For a few years Gould lived with his father-in-law in a house on the west side of North Street, where Samuel Sheldon had kept a tavern in the war. Later he acquired the property and it is still known to many as the Gould house. He conducted his classes in a small law office situated south of his home and in the southeast room of the main house. A pen-and-ink sketch of this room, drawn by a student in 1829, probably under the pretense of taking notes, shows it essentially as it is now.

During the time that Reeve and Gould divided the work of instruction, the pupils passed from one house to the other, up and down the broad, shaded streets, bearing their ink-stands and portfolios containing their notebooks, and discussing points of law.

V

THE two instructors formed a striking contrast; the one, Reeve—impetuous, earnest, and intense in his partisanship; the other, Gould—calm and dignified, whose lec-

tures were finished models of language and structure. Feeling predominated with the one and intellect with the other. It was said that the students respected both, but loved only one.

“As a speaker,” wrote a pupil, Reeve “was usually exceedingly ardent, . . . His ideas seemed often and indeed, usually to flow in upon him faster than he could give utterance to them, and sometimes seemed to force him to leave a sentence unfinished, to begin another,—and in his huddle of ideas, if I may so express it, he was careless of grammatical accuracy, and though a thorough scholar, often made bad grammar in public speaking.”¹⁸ A later student described him as

a most venerable man, in character and appearance—his thick, gray hair parted and falling in profusion upon his shoulders, his voice only a loud whisper, but distinctly heard by his earnestly attentive pupils. He, too, was full of legal learning, but invested the law with all the genial enthusiasm and generous feelings and noble sentiments of a large heart . . . and descanted to us with glowing eloquence upon the sacredness and majesty of the law.¹⁹

Gould was a favourite in social circles, but never made the same appeal to the students as his preceptor. He was depicted by one of his pupils as “a white headed bluff looking old man (who quaffs brandy iced in the afternoon) seated on a great old fashioned chair on a little eminence and from there delivers his lectures.”²⁰

“As a reasoner Mr. Gould,” to quote one of his contemporaries, “was forcible, lucid and logical; as a speaker his voice was very pleasant and his language pure, clear and always appropriate. He never aspired to high strains

¹⁸ Boardman, David S., *Sketches of the Early Lights of the Litchfield Bar*, Litchfield, 1860, pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ *Centennial Celebration*, p. 52.

²⁰ Letter of Hand, dated January 30, 1828.

of impassioned eloquence, and rarely, if ever, addressed himself to the passions of the Court and Jury, but to their understanding only.”²¹

When, in 1816, Gould succeeded Reeve to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the state, it was said of him that no other judge was his superior in elegance of scholarship, purity of taste, grace of manner, rhetorical finish and logical power. Before going on the bench, he had served for several years as state’s attorney for Litchfield County and in this capacity had tried a number of cases of political importance.

After the withdrawal of Reeve, Gould was the sole proprietor of the school until its close. He was assisted by two younger men, Jabez Williams Huntington, later senator from Connecticut, and Origen Storrs Seymour, later chief justice of the state. The former was graduated from Yale in 1806, taught for a while in the school of James Morris in South Farms (now the town of Morris), and, after a course at the Law School, settled in Litchfield about 1810 to practice his profession. Here he soon began conducting for Gould weekly three-hour oral examinations on the work of the students. One of these scholars described him as “a bachelor rather above 40 who studies, thinks & talks *Law* sleeping & waking. He never ‘pettifogs’ . . . He will sometimes become so animated in discussing a question which arises on diverse determinations that he can hardly keep his seat.”²²

Seymour, a native of the town, was graduated from Yale eighteen years after Huntington, so that his connection with the Law School came near its end. “A bachelor of about 26 or 27 of most sterling mind and manners with a brain completely identified with the

²¹ Boardman, *Sketches*, p. 27.

²² Letter of Hand, dated January 30, 1828.

study of Law in its most theoretical and scientific part” the same admiring student wrote of Seymour. “From a natural weakness of his eyes he does not allow himself to study evenings and therefore invited me to read with him. This offer, knowing his fame &c. I readily accepted, his office being next door but one to mine and he being altogether such a man as ‘*studies learning to use it.*’ ”²³ For some years after the close of the school, Seymour took students into his office, until his important duties crowded out his teaching.

When Gould retired from the bench, he divided his time between the school and the gratification of his strong literary tastes in the enjoyment of his library. Governor Simeon Eben Baldwin says of him that at that time he “made the advancement of legal education his sole life-work. In that field, as a teacher of law, he then stood first in the United States.”²⁴

During the latter years of the school, Gould became interested in other affairs, and served, for several years, from 1826, as president of the bank at Litchfield, a branch of the Phoenix Bank of Hartford, familiarly known as the “Episcopal Bank.” In 1830 he lost a brilliant son, James Reeve Gould, who died in Augusta, Georgia, and for nearly a year thereafter the father withdrew from any direct participation in the Law School, while his lectures were read by another son, George Gould. These interruptions, as well as the preparation of his *Treatise on the Principles of Pleading*, published in 1832, necessarily curtailed his teaching. Because of this and the establishment of several other law schools, the attendance at Litchfield gradually fell off, until, in 1833, the school was closed.

Gould maintained an important part in local affairs

²³ Letter of Hand, dated January 30, 1828.

²⁴ *Great American Lawyers*, Vol. II, p. 480.

until his death in Litchfield, May 11, 1838. A great law teacher, a distinguished legal writer, and an able jurist, he has left behind him an enduring reputation.

VI

BOTH Reeve and Gould were ardent Federalists. A little coterie of leading citizens of Litchfield, nicknamed the "Junto," stood like a bulwark against the rising tide of Democracy in that part of the state. Tracy and Reeve were outstanding exponents of this anti-Jeffersonian sentiment, though Reeve was perhaps the more intense, because his religious convictions, as well as his political views, were concerned, owing to the attempt of the Democratic leaders in Connecticut to disestablish the Congregational church of which Reeve was a pillar. He and others of the laity, as well as such ministers as Lyman Beecher, considered this movement not merely an attack on the standing order and the political power of Congregationalism, but a Jacobin revulsion against religion itself. The horrors of the French Revolution were pictured in vivid colours, as the probable result of Democratic success, and Reeve was quoted as prophesying that within two years after the election of Jefferson to the presidency, the streets of this country would run with blood.

The judge found an outlet for these strong convictions in the local Federalist paper, and wrote vigorous denunciations of Jefferson and his Connecticut followers. An especially virulent attack on the president drew the ire of Jefferson's supporters in the state, and, as a result, a true bill was found against Reeve at the April term of the United States Circuit Court for 1806. Fortunately it happened that the judge, Pierpont Edwards, was his relative, and refused to issue a warrant for his arrest on that ground. After many postponements, the case was

allowed to drop when Hezekiah Huntington, attorney for the United States, announced that he would "no further prosecute the same."

But other suits and countersuits were being brought by Federalists and Democrats alike against anyone who became prominent in the bitter politics of the day. Among these was the young editor of *The Witness*, a local Democratic paper, who, when ordered by a court presided over by Federalists, to give a bond for good behaviour, or be imprisoned, chose the latter alternative and posed as a political martyr. Litchfield Hill seethed with excitement, and finally an elaborate political celebration was held on the sixth of August, 1806, with a procession of partisans marching past the gaol while each participant uncovered out of respect for the victim therein.

Tapping Reeve thereupon again rushed into print with a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled *The Sixth of August or the Litchfield Festival*²⁵ in which he set forth the iniquity of the Democratic editor, and the many evils which would follow in the wake of a Democratic victory.

Even as early as February, 1804, Reeve wrote to Tracy, "I can now say that there never has been such an alarm excited in the minds of informed people as at the present moment. It seems to be a very general opinion that some method must be fallen upon to preserve ourselves from that ruin with which we are threatened."²⁶ That he even contemplated a distinct separation of New England from the rest of the Union, there can be little doubt. Calhoun, that great champion of states' rights, was a student under Reeve during these years of intense feeling. How far his views on the subject of nullification were coloured by the

²⁵ This pamphlet was published by Hudson and Goodwin of Hartford, September 1, 1806.

²⁶ Adams, Henry, *Documents relating to New England Federalism*, Boston, 1905, p. 342.

teachings and animosities of his law instructor, is a legitimate ground for speculation.

These episodes illustrate the vigour of Reeve's political convictions. That he was respected in spite of his partisanship is evidenced by his elevation to the position of chief justice. When, however, the Toleration Party came into power, and his former pupil, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., was elected governor, and a constitution, involving the disestablishment of the Congregational church, was adopted in 1818, Reeve felt it to be a time of great depression and suffering, and that "the injury done to the cause of Christ was irreparable."

VII

As has been said, about this time other law schools were coming into existence. As early as 1779, George Wythe became professor of law at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, where he taught until 1791, when he removed to Richmond and presided over a school of his own. Judge St. George Tucker succeeded Wythe and a story was circulated in 1802 that the school at William and Mary had been abandoned upon the resignation of Tucker, because of an attack upon his house in retaliation for the dismissal of two students for duelling. This report was branded as a fabrication of the Federalist press by a Democratic writer who claimed that Tucker did not resign and that his lectures continued to be delivered regularly.²⁷ Whatever may be the facts, prior to that date no students had entered the Litchfield School from Virginia, or from the neighbouring states of Maryland, North Carolina, or Delaware, while afterwards nearly one hundred came from these four states.

²⁷ Letter in *The Virginia Argus* of May 5, 1802, quoted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, January 1925, pp. 61-62.

In December, 1793, James Kent was appointed professor of law at Columbia College, but the venture proved a discouraging one, according to his own tale:

On the 17th of November, 1794, I commenced the reading of a course of Lectures in the College Hall and delivered the introductory lecture. I read that season twenty-six lectures (two a week) and was honored by the attendance throughout the course of seven students and thirty-six gentlemen, chiefly lawyers and law students who did not belong to the college. During my second course, commencing November, 1795, I read thirty-one lectures, in my office, and had only two students besides the clerks. The next season I attempted another course, but no students offering to attend, I dismissed the business, and, in May, 1797, sent a letter of resignation to the trustees.²⁸

Upon his retirement from the bench, Kent again began his lectures at Columbia, in 1824, and was rewarded by instantaneous success. In 1826, he completed the entire course and published, in two volumes, his work, which, when the third and fourth volumes were added, became his well-known *Commentaries on American Law*.

At New Haven, Seth P. Staples in 1800 secured, through Isaac Beers, a prominent bookseller and importer, what was then considered one of the best law libraries in New England. This library attracted a number of young men to his office to read law, and he soon found himself conducting a small school, somewhat as had happened to Reeve some years before. Staples removed to New York in 1824, and left his school in the charge of one of his former pupils, Samuel J. Hitchcock, who had assisted him for several years in the work of instruction. Hitchcock associated with him David Daggett, later chief justice of Connecticut, and a slight connection with Yale College was effected by having the names of the students

²⁸ Kent, William, *Memoirs and Letters of Chancellor Kent*, pp. 76-77.

appear in the annual catalogue of the college. This affiliation became closer by the appointment of Daggett as professor of law at Yale, whereupon the number of students increased from ten in 1826 to forty-four in 1831.

At Harvard, the Royall Professorship of Law was established in 1815, and another professorship of law was created in 1817. Three years later the college, for the first time, gave the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

While the competition of these rival schools did not at once affect the Litchfield School, later, due to their close affiliation with the colleges from which many graduates had come to attend the lectures of Reeve and Gould, they began to make inroads on the private school, located in this small rural town.

VIII

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A REGISTER, signed by the students as they matriculated, was begun in 1798. Thirty years later, the students published a so-called catalogue or copy of this register,²⁹ and in 1831 issued a supplement. After the abandonment of the school, a reprint of these lists, with the addition of the names of those in the later classes, was published, making a fairly complete record of the pupils in attendance from 1798 to the close of the school in 1833. Approximately eight hundred names appear on this list, and, with about two hundred who are said to have attended Reeve's lectures before 1798, the total number of scholars aggregated more than one thousand.

The association between Yale College and the Litchfield School was close. More than two hundred graduates of Yale studied law at Litchfield. Other colleges also made large contributions: at least fifty-two from Princeton, thirty-five from Harvard, twenty-nine from Brown, and

²⁹ *Catalogue of the Litchfield Law School*, 1828.

twenty-four each from Dartmouth, Williams, and Columbia.

Most of the states were represented in the student body. Connecticut, as might be expected, led with more than two hundred and seventy-five; then came New York with one hundred and twenty-eight, and Massachusetts with about one hundred. Three Southern states sent large quotas: Georgia furnished seventy, South Carolina forty-five, and Maryland thirty-seven. Seven students came from far away Louisiana and there were representatives from such new states as Ohio, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, and Missouri. Every state of the Union, as it then existed, contributed its contingent.

That these young men, eager for a legal training, should have journeyed so far to be under the tutelage of these two lecturers, is the more remarkable when the conditions of travel in this country at the time are recalled. Litchfield was an isolated town, and access to it was gained only over rough roads, by horseback or stagecoach. It was not until 1797 that the Straits Turnpike from New Haven to Litchfield, and other turnpikes, made travel thither fairly comfortable, but the journey was still a slow one. The ride from New Haven required a long hard day, while the stagecoach from New York, which ran two or three times a week, needed a day and a half, with a stop overnight at Bedford.

This was only a small part of the trip for those who came from the Southern states. They had also to make the uncomfortable passage to New York or New Haven by sailing vessel. A young man starting from an inland town in Georgia or South Carolina, had before him a long, arduous pilgrimage by horseback, sailing vessel, and stagecoach, before he was able to reach his mecca in the hills of Connecticut.

The attendance at the school varied considerably at different times. The largest incoming classes were in 1813 and 1823, when fifty-five and forty-four, respectively, entered, and the most popular time of the school was probably during the fifteen years after 1810. To appreciate the size of the school, a comparison of the classes of this period with those of the same years in the leading colleges shows that, from 1809 to 1826, Yale College graduated about 1167, Harvard 1066, Princeton 642, Williams 368, while 566 men attended the Law School during the same time.

IX

THESE young men, gathered from so many states, and trained in different schools and colleges, went out from these law lectures to play their parts in their local communities, or in the affairs of the state and of the nation. The impress of the teachings of Reeve and Gould on the early law of this country thus became far-reaching. Two of their students were vice-presidents of the United States. Burr, after serving as governor of New York and senator from that state, tied with Jefferson in the election of 1801 for the presidency, and then became vice-president, though his later career was marred by his duel with Hamilton and his implication in the Blennerhasset conspiracy. Calhoun, who played such an outstanding part in the controversy between the states, besides serving as representative and senator from South Carolina, as secretary of war under Monroe, and as secretary of state under Tyler, was vice-president under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

Three of the Litchfield pupils became justices of the United States Supreme Court. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, after being successively secretary of the navy

and secretary of the treasury, was appointed to the Supreme Bench in 1845; Henry Baldwin, of Pennsylvania, in 1830; and Ward Hunt, of New York, in 1873.

Six former students of the school, including Calhoun and Woodbury, were cabinet officers. Oliver Wolcott, Jr., served for a time as comptroller of the treasury under Hamilton and succeeded him as secretary of the treasury, occupying this post during the balance of Washington's term of office, and most of that of John Adams. He returned to his native state, after a career in New York as the first president of the Bank of America, to play an important part in the development of local manufactories, and to become governor.

Peter Buell Porter was secretary of war under John Quincy Adams, while John Middleton Clayton held the office of secretary of state under Taylor during the negotiations which resulted in the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty. John Young Mason, secretary of the navy and later attorney-general under Taylor, also held the position of United States minister to France. Others in the diplomatic service were Charles Scott Todd, minister to Russia, and Bradford Ripley Wood, minister to Denmark, while a number of others occupied less conspicuous posts abroad. William Thompson Read was secretary of legation in Buenos Aires, William Beach Lawrence was chargé d'affaires in London, Henry Ledyard and Daniel Sheldon, Jr., in Paris, and Virgil Maxcy in Brussels. Count Charles de Menou, on the other hand, represented France in the same position at Washington.

Benjamin Chew Howard, reporter of the United States Supreme Court, issued twenty-four volumes of *Reports*, which are models of clarity and thoroughness, while Thomas Day's name is affixed to twenty volumes of *Reports* of the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut.

Henry Leavitt Ellsworth, as the first commissioner of patents, under Jackson, developed the business of that office in a remarkable manner, and aided his friend, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, to secure an appropriation from Congress to test the practicability of his electro-magnetic telegraph. Sidney Edward Morse, though not as well known as his brother, had, nevertheless, to his credit the invention of a method of printing maps in colour, and another student, Eli Whitney Blake, invented the stone crusher.

Approximately ten per cent of the students entered the two houses of Congress; ninety as representatives, and twenty-six as senators.

In the records of Connecticut, the names of former students are written large, for six became governors of the state. Besides Oliver Wolcott, Jr., they were John Cotton Smith, Henry Waggaman Edwards, Samuel Augustus Foote, William Wolcott Ellsworth, and Roger Sherman Baldwin. Ten were on the Supreme Court of Errors, including three chief justices, Thomas Scott Williams, Samuel Church, and Origen Storrs Seymour. Of the seventeen senators from Connecticut between the years 1796 and 1850, eight were former scholars of the Law School.

In other states, ten became governors and at least seventeen were members of the highest courts of their states, of whom ten were chief justices, or chancellors. Others also rose to positions of eminence.

But they shone not merely in law and politics. Several had distinguished careers in the educational field. One of these was Horace Mann, who, after brilliant accomplishments in the cause of the common schools of Massachusetts, became president of Antioch College, then a new non-sectarian, co-educational institution. Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, author, lawyer, and minister, en-

joyed the distinction of presiding at different times over three Southern colleges, Emory College, the University of Mississippi, and South Carolina College. Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck was for ten years president of Rutgers College, and the Reverend Francis Lister Hawks was the first president of the University of Louisiana, while Joel Jones, an able lawyer, was one of the founders of Lafayette College, and the first president of Girard College.

In literature, John Pierpont of Litchfield, after abandoning the law, became known as a popular poet and preacher. John Pierce Brace, teacher, and later head of the Litchfield Female Academy, edited the *Hartford Courant*, and wrote a few poems and two novels. Caleb Starke, Jr., was an historical writer of no mean reputation, and three authors whose poetical inclinations were not deadened by the dry legal studies of the school were, Augustus Lucas Hillhouse, author of the hymn "Trembling before thine Awful Throne," Frederick Knight, whose poems were published in a memorial entitled *Thorn Cottage*, and the Southern writer, William Henry Sparks, who was credited with the war-time poem, "Somebody's Darling," and some magazine verse.

A few of the students turned to journalism, and became editors of prominent newspapers. One of these, Mansfield, to whom reference has already been made, published his impressions of Tapping Reeve, James Gould, and his life in Litchfield, in his entertaining volume of reminiscences.

George Catlin was celebrated as an amateur artist at the school, and his painting of his old preceptor, Reeve, is the authoritative likeness. His great achievement was his portfolio of life in the Far West, intended to preserve the looks and customs of the "vanishing races of native man in America."

In the world of business, others became leaders. The opportunities of the early days of our banking system attracted several, while the infant railroads appealed to others. James Gore King was president of the New York and Erie Railroad; William Porter Burrall and Robert Schuyler, vice-president and president, respectively, of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and John Lloyd Stephens has a monument overlooking the Panama railroad to commemorate his activities in furthering the project of a railroad across the Isthmus.

Junius Smith, in spite of many discouraging years, organized the British and American Steam Navigation Company, whose vessel, the *Sirius*, was the first to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam.

During the long contest between the states, many played important parts on both sides. Calhoun was outstanding, but William Cumming, a Georgia leader of the Union party in the nullification struggle, gave the touch of comedy by his quarrel with George McDuffie, resulting in various attempts at a duel, which were widely caricatured at the time.

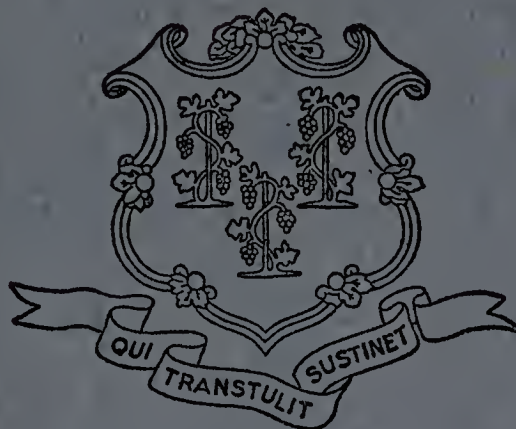
Such a cursory review of the careers of a few former pupils of the school is necessarily fragmentary and omits many others who left noteworthy records behind them. But this brief list shows the caliber of the men who traveled so far and under such difficulties to obtain their legal education, and who carried the principles there acquired into all parts of the Union.

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The Hartford Chest

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1934

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Hartford Chest

HENRY WOOD ERVING

THE chest is believed to be one of the earliest articles used in colonial house furnishing. Priority of tables and chairs is affirmed by some; it is known, however, that the chest was used by many not only as a receptacle for goods and all small articles of value as well as for books and papers—with no closets in the early houses—but as a seat as well. It has always been surmised, though perhaps not subject to proof, that the Mayflower Compact was signed on the lid of Elder Brewster's chest. The chest of which Stevenson sings in rather lugubrious and bacchanalian strain, whereon fifteen men could comfortably sit, might better be regarded as a bench or form than just a mere seat, but the chest seems to have been essential, and to have had divers and sundry uses. The subject of our present interest is of the group known and commonly characterized as "colonial oaken chests" of the seventeenth century, and of that group possibly the most important as well as the most attractive, was the piece styled the "Hartford chest," or the "Connecticut chest." As the greater number of these known—probably as many as seventy-five—have been found in Hartford or its vicinity, or their origin

traced to that locality, the former appellation may be considered perhaps the more suitable designation.

It is most interesting to note that directly after the first requirements of actual shelter and subsistence were met, the great ambition of the early colonists turned to home-making, a trait which happily still persists throughout all Connecticut, making this State worthy to be regarded as the Land of Steady Habits. In what now seems to us an astonishingly short time, the immigrants were busily engaged in creating real homes to supplant the earlier, crudely built affairs which served them at first. Soon these homes were not only to contain furnishings for actual living necessities, but were also, in frequent instances, to be embellished with articles picturesque and beautiful as well as of undoubted utility—pieces of excellent lines, tasteful ornamentation, and sound construction. Thus was produced the Hartford chest, of which so many examples have been preserved because of their beauty and usefulness, and because they were so thoroughly built and were of such sturdy material that they resisted the destruction which befell many weaker articles of colonial furniture.

While, as stated, numbers of these chests have been carefully preserved, many, undoubtedly being regarded by housewives of later generations as hopelessly old-fashioned, were consigned to cellars, woodsheds, and barns where specimens have since been discovered and thence rescued. Yet, without doubt, many have been lost. Found in cellars, they were generally injured by decay; located in toolhouses and barns, they might be filled with old harnesses or grain, or reduced to other base uses. Others have been destroyed as useless or cumbersome where space was limited. Instances are known, too, where beautiful chests, as well as maple furniture and even

cherry and mahogany pieces, have been found painted an ugly Venetian red. This queer taste, which prevailed in the early eighteen hundreds, so injured the appearance of many beautiful objects that their destruction was thereby hastened.

These chests were constructed during the latter half of the seventeenth century; it is not known by whom they were made or who designed them. Although bearing a close family resemblance, they certainly could not all have been made by one man, nor is it to be supposed that any one person conducted a chest factory, were it ever so small and unimportant. Every chest conveys the impression of complete individual workmanship, and each differs little in appearance or quality from its fellows. Whoever these artisans might have been, they were craftsmen—men of taste with an eye for fine lines and excellent proportion. Unquestionably the absolute necessities in the lives of the early settlers of Connecticut bred many skilled workmen, men who were clever with their hands, and who could use the crude tools they possessed to advantage, a faculty which the many interesting and ingenious articles of household use still preserved amply demonstrate. The Hartford chest presented a more striking appearance and possessed a greater wealth of ornamentation than any other chest of the period. It had certain characteristics of ornamentation possessed by similar articles with which the makers had been familiar in the old country, yet differed in so many respects that the American origin is clearly apparent.

Documentary evidence respecting these interesting pieces is scanty. In only one instance¹ known to the writer does actual evidence regarding the identity of the maker appear. In many early inventories of personal ef-

¹ See p. 8.

fects, chests and oak chests are frequently mentioned, and occasionally carved chests, but too often records have been lost or destroyed and those still existing are meager in description. Then too, the early diaries lack the intimate references to simple household matters which we would so value now. The little contemporary correspondence that has survived is negligible, and tradition is generally untrustworthy. The recorded inventory of the personal effects of Governor Theophilus Eaton of New Haven Colony, made in 1657, furnishes valuable information regarding the contents of houses of the well-to-do of the seventeenth century, and we gather many facts from the now well-arranged probate records of Essex county, one of the earliest settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Definite mention is made in the will of Thomas Wells of Ipswich, dated in 1666, in which there is given to his son, Thomas Wells, Jr., "the little chist and table [that] he made," also certain "chist planks to make him a chist on." The testator also bequeathed to his wife the best chest, and to each of his daughters a good chest.

Many items of interesting evidence regarding the local manufacture of the colonial chests are found besides the few records preserved: the nature of the materials used (the oak, indubitably American, is readily distinguished from that of England so freely utilized for its furniture as well as its house building), and the character of their construction and ornamentation. About 1640 eight oaken pews were prominently installed in the first meeting-house in Marblehead which were undoubtedly the handiwork of a chestmaker. Another bit of history is shown by an ancient fireback cast by Joseph Jenks in 1660 at the furnace established by him at Saugus in 1645. This was for the home of John and Alice Pickering, and instead of the usual embellishment of armorial bearings or of scrip-

tural or allegorical figures, the pattern maker used the split spindles and bosses which are seen in the decorations on the chests of the period.

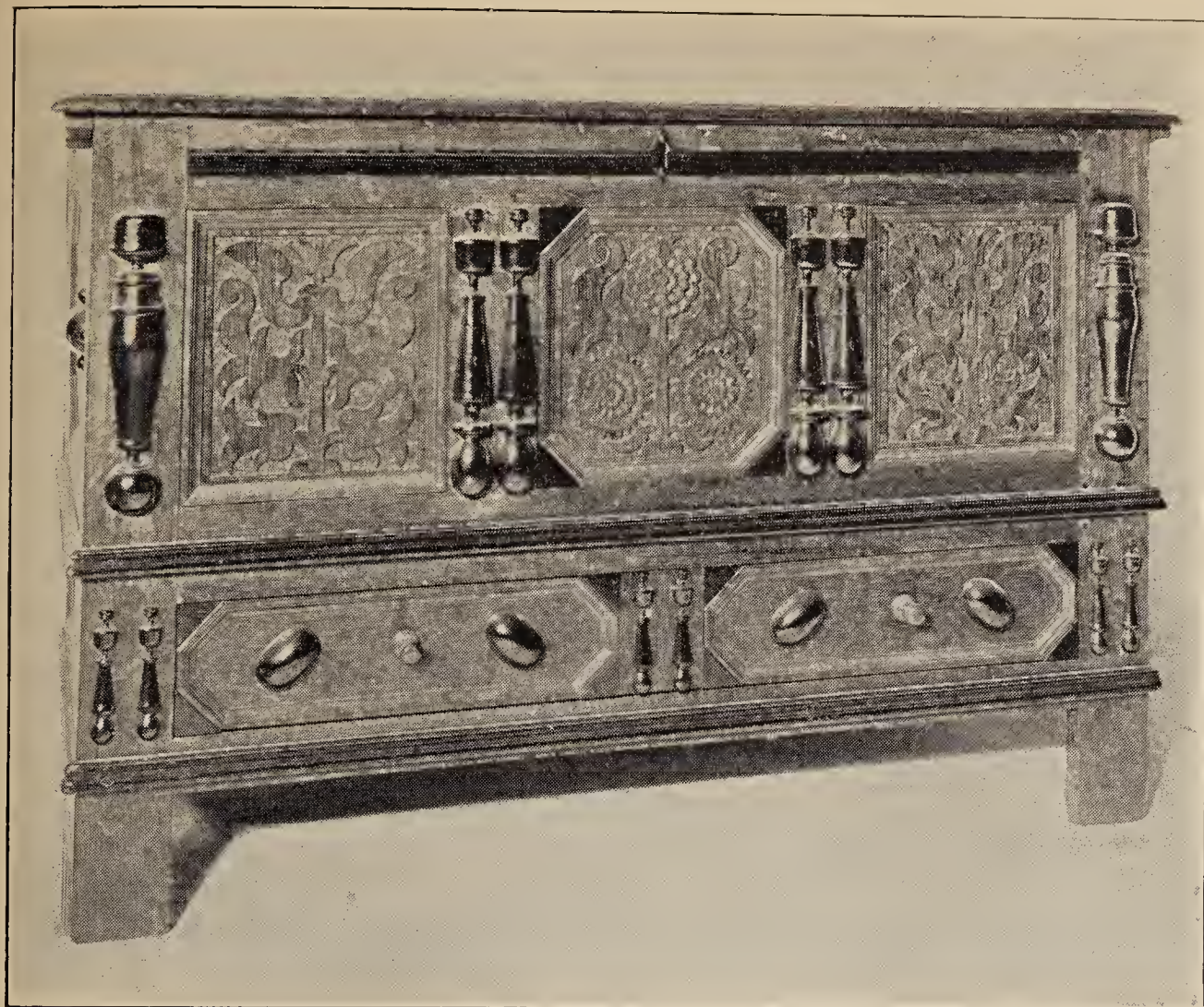
The material from which these chests were constructed was white oak—all save the lid, the back, and the bottoms of the drawers, which were of yellow pine. Apparently in the original forests of Connecticut were enormous pine trees from which these great planks were obtained. They have all perished; and even the splendid stands of pines and hemlocks now existing—most of which happily are now in the custody of the State Park Commission—are of second growth and not more than a hundred and fifty years old. In many pieces of very early American furniture great boards of hard pine are found two feet and over in width. These were used apparently because of the seemingly greater permanence of this rather coarse and stubborn material, which these early joiners failed to recognize in the straight-grained white pine, a wood outside their experience.

With few exceptions these early chests were framed structures, the dividing stiles being mortised into the rails, and the latter into corner posts which extended and formed the legs, the spaces between being panels fitted into the rabbeted edges. All the “joyned chests” were so built, as glue was not used in the framing, but only in attaching the applied ornaments and the mouldings. Nails were employed only in making the drawers, and tiny brads sometimes for the ornaments. All the ironwork, nails, hinges, locks, and even the very little brads, were wrought—forged by the village blacksmith. A hole was bored through the mortise and tenon, into which was driven a square oaken pin, thus confuting the adage that a square peg would not fit a round hole. In this instance it certainly fitted, as one may learn who tries to drive one

out from a well-made joint. The holes through the mortise walls and the tenons did not exactly register, thus when the pin was driven through, it locked the joint together firmly by forcibly drawing the tenon into place. This method was termed "drawbore" and was used in joining certain other articles of furniture and in the framing of houses. The oak itself was split or rived from the bole in a manner called quartering; that is, at right angles to the concentric growth rings, thus the beautiful flecking of the grain is shown. This was done by means of a tool called a "froe," an implement with an upright handle and a very heavy blade, the latter being struck with a mallet.

The greater number of the Hartford chests have two full-length drawers under the chest proper—a few are known having but one drawer, and sometimes one is seen with none at all. The superstructure, however, remains of the same general type. In most instances there are three carved panels, but occasionally there appear but two or even one. Those without carving have applied ornaments. There is found little variation in the dimensions of the two-drawer chests. The height is about forty inches, the length forty-five inches, and the depth twenty-two inches.

The front is enriched with three panels of flat carving: the motive of two is a conventionalized tulip with leaves, while three sunflowers or asters with leaves form the pattern of the one in the center. The central panel and the large ones on the ends have triangular blocks in the corners, as have the two panels on each drawer-front, giving them an octagonal shape, and all are lined with a moulding about three-quarters of an inch wide consisting of a bold bead, a slight fillet, and a cove at the thin edge. These mouldings are of red cedar or of pine painted a Venetian red, and those in front are often striped and

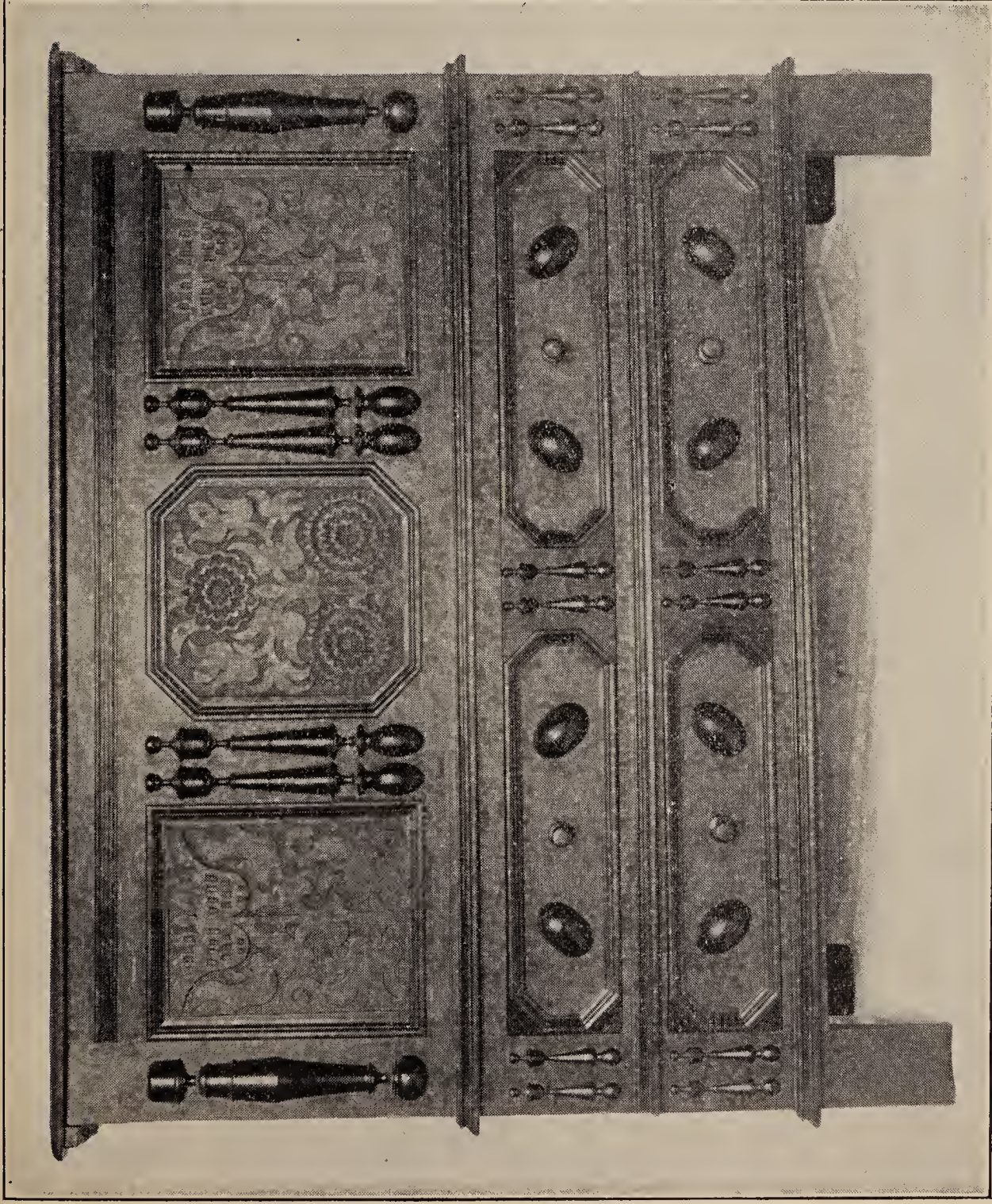


ONE-DRAWER HARTFORD CHEST

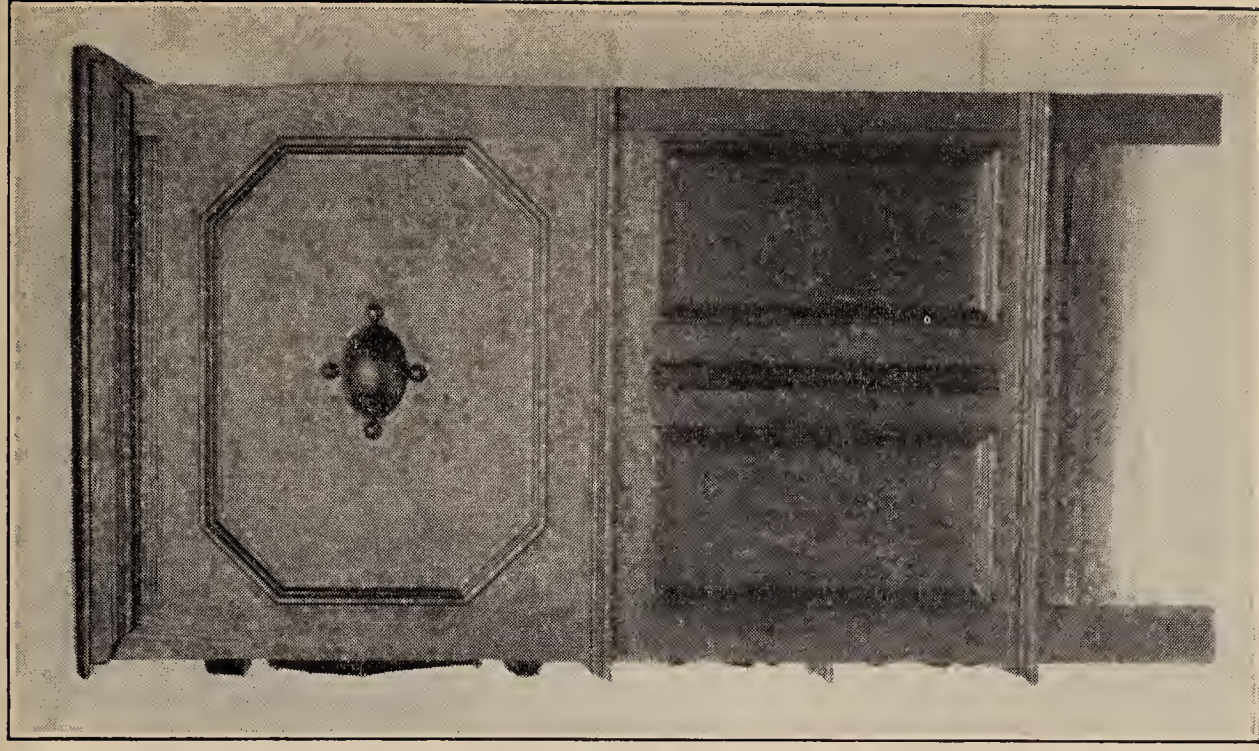
Owned by Henry W. Erving, Hartford, Conn.
From "Furniture Treasury" by Wallace Nutting



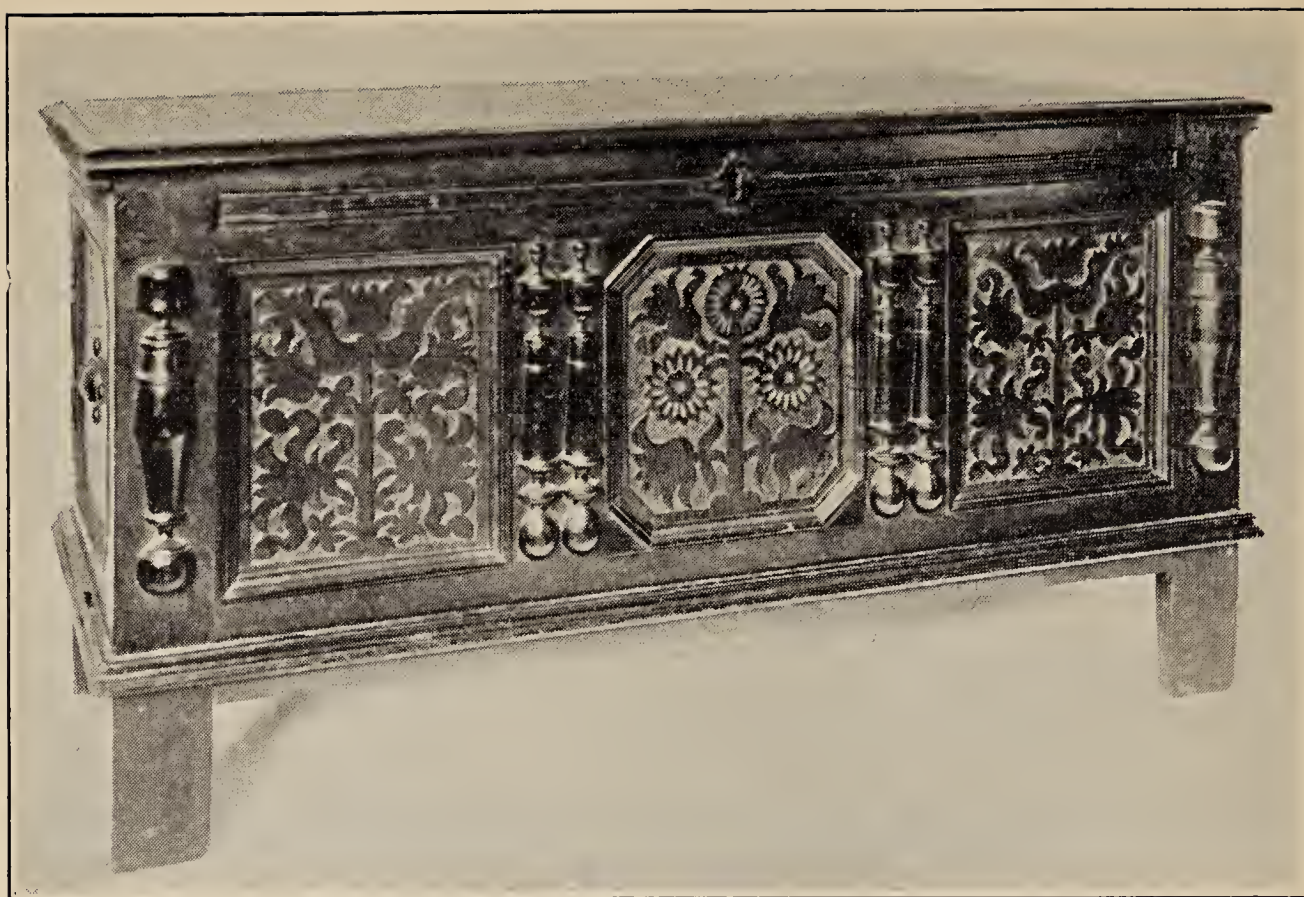
THE JOSEPH JENKS FIREBACK
(Courtesy of the Essex Institute Salem, Mass.)



FRONT VIEW OF A TWO-DRAWER HARTFORD CHEST
Owned by Henry W. Erving, Hartford, Conn.



END VIEW OF SAME HARTFORD CHEST



NO-DRAWER HARTFORD CHEST

Owned by J. N. H. Campbell, Hartford, Conn.
From "Furniture Treasury" by Wallace Nutting

dotted in black, giving them a rather bizarre appearance. The front is further ornamented with the halves of turned spindles, a large one on the upper section of each corner post, two slender ones on each stile between the panels, and two smaller ones on the block separating the panels on the drawer-fronts, as well as two on the corner posts at each end of both drawers. There are also two oval bosses set at an angle in each drawer panel, and one in the center of the large panel on either end which is surrounded by four tiny round bosses like satellites. In addition to this large octagonal panel on each end, two smaller ones are shown below, separated from each other by a broad stile through the middle of which runs a shadow moulding, which appears as well on the top rail both at the front and on the ends. The surface is further broken by three prominent mouldings an inch and a quarter wide, composed of an ogee and a bead, which appear above, below, and between the drawers, the upper and lower ones returning on the ends. These, the shadow mouldings, the split spindles, the bosses, and the corner blocks, are all painted black, and the contrast to the mellow oak and the red mouldings is most pleasing.

The projecting lid has a thumbnail moulding on the edge, and is hinged with interlocking staples, the ends of which are clinched. To keep it snugly in place, the lid has at the ends oaken cleats which are made with much care, having moulded sides and coved ends. These cleats are attached to the underside of the lid with wrought nails.

The drawers are provided with simple knobs of maple, and until they become badly worn, run very easily on strips of oak mortised into the legs, which fit into a groove in the middle of the drawer ends. When the chest was equipped with a lock, it was a frequent arrangement to have a hole bored through the bottom of both drawers as

well, and by passing a long pin through the aperture the whole was securely fastened. A till with cover is usually found at one end of all these chests.

The red cedar mouldings—generally stained—framing the panels, and the applied ornaments painted black, were thus treated to simulate in a very simple manner the embellishments of rosewood and ebony so frequently seen on the English and Dutch prototypes.

Dr. Luke Vincent Lockwood, an authority on colonial furniture, who has written much on the subject, some years ago made the important discovery of a very beautiful carved chest—now in his possession—which bears the name of the maker written on the back of one of the drawers, probably a unique example. This is a two-drawer chest the front surface of which is entirely covered with flat carving of excellent workmanship, the design consisting principally of the conventionalized tulip. The inscription, in ancient style and archaic spelling, reads thus:

*Mary Allyn Chistt Cutte and
Joyned by Nick Disbrowe*

Mary Allyn who was the daughter of Colonel John Allyn, secretary of Connecticut Colony, was born in Hartford in 1657, and married to William Whitney in 1686. Nicholas Disbrowe was born in Essex, England, in 1612. He appears to have been “a citizen of credit and renown,” who owned property in Hartford in 1639, and lived on Burr Street, now North Main Street, where in 1660 he obtained permission to erect a small shop on the highway. He was of Captain John Mason’s company in the expedition against the Pequots. Dying in 1683, he left an estate of £210, a very considerable sum for the times. The inventory filed with the court included a num-

ber of joiner's tools. A very careful examination and comparison of the handwriting would indicate that this inscription was by the hand of John Allyn. The piece was probably a "dower chest" ordered and constructed for an adored baby girl—a common custom—and because of its beauty and excellence the father desired that the future owner should be informed as to its origin and share his admiration for the valuable article. Would that more owners might have had a similar inspiration.

For at least two centuries there were many joiners and cabinet-makers scattered about in the towns and villages of Connecticut and Massachusetts. They often worked entirely by themselves, and few had more than one helper or apprentice. Their product was excellent, but their output was so limited that they never got into history, and thus we have no knowledge concerning their identity. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century the labeled and actually identified articles of furniture, even important pieces, are rarely found. In this particular field on certain occasions, tradition, usually unrecognized as evidence, may be helpful, for in early times when the only means of transportation was by horses or even oxen, people moved about very little; the personal histories and characteristics of all were known to their fellow-townsmen, and the exploits of divers important or peculiar citizens, or the achievements of remarkable or unusual artisans, were transmitted to the oncoming generation: thus their reputations persisted. Also regarding the origin of certain articles of furniture, if it be ascertained beyond doubt that an especial piece has long been in the ownership of a family whose forbears have resided for a hundred years or more in that immediate locality, it is a fair and proper supposition to conclude that it was produced in that vicinity.

Hartford was settled by a robust, vigorous people, and the sturdy oak is emblematic of their character, so it is not idle imagination to compare the Hartford chest in its unchanging integrity to its makers and their fellows.

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The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission will issue, during the next few years, a series of small Pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt is to be made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention being to issue Pamphlets at any time and upon any subject that seems to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

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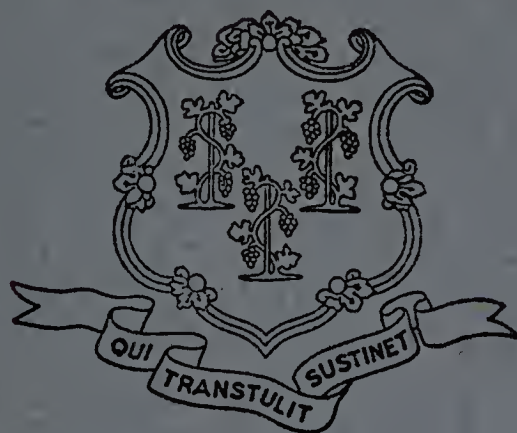
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Early Clockmaking in Connecticut

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Early Clockmaking in Connecticut

PENROSE R. HOOPES

THE first clockmaker on the American continent of whom a record has been found was Thomas Nash, an original settler of New Haven in 1638. Like many of the European clockmakers of that day he combined clockmaking with the trade of the gunsmith. It was, indeed, to the latter art that he devoted most of his attention during the twenty years that he lived and worked in America. His home lot was on the west side of what is now State Street, about a third of the distance from Chapel to Elm, and in a little shop on that lot he and his three sons made and repaired firearms for the earliest inhabitants of New Haven.

Not a great deal is known about Thomas Nash's life in New Haven. He was admitted a freeman of the town in 1639, and was a member of the general court in 1640. His holdings of land were not extensive, for his time was largely devoted to his trade, although like most of his contemporaries he necessarily cultivated a modest farm. In 1645 he was a "fence viewer" and in 1646 the general court decreed that "In regard to several occasions and works to be done against trayning day, Brother Nash is

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spared." As late as February 1, 1657, he had charge of the town's muskets, but on May 12, 1658, he died leaving an estate made up in great part of his shop tools. Among these tools was "one round plate for making clocks." This was the early seventeenth-century tool for laying out clock-wheel teeth, the only specialized clockmaker's device which might differentiate his equipment from that of the gunsmith. This carefully itemized tool, supplemented by the more generalized metal-working devices noted in the inventory of the shop, affords presumptive evidence that Nash was both a gunsmith and a clockmaker. It can not, of course, be asserted that he actually constructed any complete clocks after his arrival in New Haven. He was certainly capable of doing such work and was unquestionably the man who kept the early clocks and watches of New Haven in running order. His work with clocks must, however, have been but a small fraction of his business, for there were probably not a dozen clocks in the colony during his lifetime, while every settler was fully provided with firearms which in the aggregate required the constant attention of Nash and his sons.

There is a temptation to credit Thomas Nash with being the father of American clockmaking and to attempt to trace a gradual outgrowth of the trade from his shop and through his apprentices. Unfortunately the facts do not justify such an hypothesis. None of his sons paid any attention to clocks although they became the leading gunsmiths of New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when records are encountered of the actual making of clocks in America, the men engaged in the work seem without exception to have been European-trained immigrants. It is probable that the skill in clockmaking which Nash brought to New Haven in 1638 was of such slight practical importance to

the community that it, in great part, died with him, leaving the task of permanently establishing the trade in the colonies to a later generation of craftsmen. He is significant as the first American clockmaker, the first to bring the highest type of craft skill to the New World, and the pioneer in a business which was later to play an important part in the industrial life of Connecticut.

For over fifty years after the death of Nash clockmaking seems to have been neglected in Connecticut. Toward the end of the seventeenth century it was an established trade in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, but the first clear reference to its practice in Connecticut appears in the Guilford records of 1726. In that year Ebenezer Parmele installed a tower clock in the meetinghouse at Guilford. From that time onward to the end of the century domestic tall clocks with brass movements of the same types as those made in England were turned out by native craftsmen in most of the larger towns and many of the smaller villages of Connecticut. Most of these clocks were eight-day, striking, tall clocks, but musical clocks, thirty-hour timepieces, tower clocks, and even pocket watches were produced in small quantities.

From first to last during the eighteenth century Connecticut was the home of nearly one hundred clockmakers. The absence of large towns in Connecticut, and the scarcity of men of wealth, had a tendency during colonial days to encourage numerous small and widely scattered clock shops and to support a local industry which could supply clocks at substantially lower cost than those imported from Europe. The early Connecticut clockmakers were, in general, more self-sufficient, even if more conservative and provincial in their methods, than their Philadelphia and Boston contemporaries. While the latter made frequent use of imported materials and tools, most

of the Connecticut workers were necessarily largely independent of outside sources for their supplies. They were indeed forced to buy up scrap brass which they melted and cast into clock parts, and even to construct their own lathes and wheel-cutting engines. The limited demand for clocks in the smaller communities led the rural clockmaker to cultivate versatility and encouraged him to undertake a variety of trades unnecessary for the worker in a large town. It was, in a measure, this early and wide distribution of clockmaking in the country towns of Connecticut, and the resulting self-reliance and enforced readiness of the clockmakers to turn a hand to any variety of mechanical work, that fostered the ingenuity and commercial aggressiveness which ultimately resulted in the preëminence of Connecticut as the center of clockmaking in America.

In one field of eighteenth-century clockmaking Connecticut occupied a unique position, for the wooden clock seems to have had its American origin and practically its entire development in that colony. History is silent on the origin of the wooden clock. There is little doubt, however, that such clocks were made quite as early as metal clocks and it is not at all unlikely that many of the clocks which records show were so common in Europe in the middle-class homes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were actually of wood. Most of the industrial machinery prior to the eighteenth century was constructed of wood, and even within the memories of some of the older mechanics of the present day, wooden machinery and wooden gearing were still in daily use in the United States. There are few early references to the making of wooden clocks, although it is well known that John Harrison, the inventor of the chronometer, made such clocks in England at least as early as 1700, while in America wooden clocks

were regular articles of commerce by 1745. The early Connecticut wood clock was a massive, thirty-hour, tall clock, wound by pulling down on the weight cords. It was crudely made but was nevertheless a remarkably satisfactory timekeeper. It was sometimes fitted with a fine brass dial and placed in a handsome case, to which facts must be credited the survival of the few existing examples known at the present time.

There are some indications pointing to the possibility that wooden clocks may have been first made in Connecticut as early as 1715 in the vicinity of New Haven, but the earliest surviving clocks of this type seem to be those produced in East Hartford by Benjamin Cheney about the year 1745. Presumably Cheney learned the trade from Seth Youngs of Hartford, and it is possible that the latter was in turn instructed in the art by Ebenezer Parmele, the woodworker and clockmaker of Guilford. For many years East Hartford was the center of the business, and in 1761 when John Fitch, the inventor, was working for Benjamin Cheney, the latter was devoting all his time to making wooden clocks. Benjamin Cheney was not the only Connecticut maker of wooden clocks during the second half of the eighteenth century, but he was apparently the most successful, and it was from him or from his brother Timothy Cheney that Eli Terry derived his knowledge of the art, a knowledge which he later applied to the design of the popular, wooden, shelf clock of the early nineteenth century.

After the Revolutionary War there was a notable increase in the number of makers of wooden clocks and in the quantity of such clocks which each maker produced. Gideon Roberts and John Rich of Bristol, James Harrison of Waterbury, Wooster Harrison of Newfield, and Eli Terry of Plymouth were especially active in this business

between 1790 and 1800. They disposed of their clocks by extensive peddling throughout New England and as far south as New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and in this manner laid the foundations for the subsequent concentration of the large-scale clock industry in Connecticut.

It is impossible, within the limits of this pamphlet, to review the work of even the outstanding individual eighteenth-century Connecticut clockmakers. Two men of that period are, however, deserving of notice. Thomas Harland of Norwich and Daniel Burnap of East Windsor were not only representative craftsmen, famous locally for the character and variety of their work, but they were both, in a very real sense, the direct forerunners of the modern industrial era of clockmaking.

Thomas Harland, a well educated and widely traveled Englishman, settled in Norwich in 1773, and until his death in 1807 made clocks and carried on a varied mechanical business. The Revolutionary War seems to have interfered less with his success than with that of many of his contemporaries. His shop was a large one for the times, his apprentices were numerous, and his output of clocks and jewelry was substantial. His grandson, Edward Harland, was prominent in the military, political, and social life of Connecticut, and his greatgrandson, Henry Harland, became a well-known figure in literary circles in London, where under the name of Sidney Luska he contributed much, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, to the reputation of the *Yellow Book*. Of Harland's apprentices, Seril Dodge became the first manufacturing silversmith and jeweler of Providence, Rhode Island, founding the industry which to this day constitutes one of the chief sources of prosperity of that city; Nathaniel Shipman, after carrying on clockmaking for a few years, entered the West India trade and became one

of the leading citizens of Norwich; William Cleveland shines in the reflected glory of his grandson, President Grover Cleveland; and Daniel Burnap of East Windsor, Connecticut, ultimately surpassed his master in the amount and variety of his work.

Daniel Burnap was born in Coventry in the year 1759. Apprenticed to Harland, he not only became skilled in the mechanical parts of clockmaking, but also acquired moderate ability as a cabinetmaker and unusual facility as an engraver on brass. He established his own shop in East Windsor about 1780, and took as one of his numerous apprentices, Eli Terry, a son of a neighboring farmer. On March 14, 1791 he advertised:

Brass Wheel'd Clocks. The subscriber having for a number of years applied principally to the business of Clock Making, and having met with considerable encouragement in the business, takes this method to inform the publick that although he works in many other branches common to those in the silver-smith line, as also Surveyor's Compasses, Watch repairing, &c., yet notwithstanding Clock Making is intended as the governing business of his shop, and is determined that no pains shall be wanting to merit the approbation of his customers. Clocks of various kinds may be had at his shop in East Windsor, on short notice on the most reasonable terms (warranted), Those persons that may be in want of public clocks may be supplied at the above shop, and may depend on a faithful performance, by the publick's humble servant,

Daniel Burnap

N.B. Wanted as Apprentices to the above business, 2 or 3 likely active boys about 15 or 16 years old. Cash given for old brass.

The best indication of the character and extent of Burnap's business is found in his account books. These books, which are still in existence, record the transactions in detail, giving descriptions of each item which he made, its

price, and the name of the customer for whom the work was done. While clockmaking was "the governing business" of the shop, the product included a variety of other things such as surveyor's instruments, shoe buckles, harness and saddlery hardware, furniture brasses, silver spoons, rings, and gold beads. Burnap numbered among his customers not only many of the inhabitants of East Windsor, Hartford, and Coventry, but some of the leading cabinetmakers and merchants of Hartford and the surrounding towns. Samuel Kneeland, to whom he sold six clocks between 1788 and 1793, was a famous cabinetmaker of Hartford. Hezekiah Kelley of Norwich purchased two clocks in 1793 and paid for them by delivering six clock-cases to Burnap. Timothy Swan of Suffield, who bought four clocks between 1787 and 1795, was a merchant, a composer of music, and an exceedingly eccentric character. It is said that he wrote one of his best-known musical compositions in the sand, with his finger, while lying drunk by the roadside. Jonathan Birge bought five clocks between 1796 and 1802. He was a cabinetmaker of South Windsor who was responsible for much of the finest furniture produced in the neighborhood.

About 1800 Burnap removed from East Windsor to Coventry, acquired an extensive farm, erected a shop and sawmill on the property, and in course of time became the leading citizen of the village. He made a few clocks after he settled in Coventry, but by 1815 he was confining his mechanical work to watch repairing and making buckles, jewelry, and silverware. He died in 1838.

At the opening of the nineteenth century a number of the older Connecticut clockmakers were still engaged in making brass-movement, tall clocks, and others were going into the business for the first time, usually under the form of partnerships. In New Haven the firm of

Sibley & Marble was organized in April 1801 by Clark Sibley and Simeon Marble. They advertised:

Clock Manufactory

Sibley & Marble, Respectfully inform the citizens of New Haven and its vicinity, that they are now carrying on the Clock and Watch making business, in Chapel Street, two doors west of Mess. Street & Hughes Store, where may be had, Steeple Clocks from 200 to 1000 dollars, Eight Day House Clocks with moon and plain elegant enameled faces, Time pieces of various descriptions and warranted, Clock and Watch Makers' Lathes and Engines as good perhaps as can be procured in the United States. Swords and Cutlasses mounted with brass or silver in the best manner, Clocks, Watches, Mathematical and Surgeons Instruments carefully repaired.

The partnership was terminated by the death of Sibley in 1807. He was apparently the active clockmaker of the firm, for after his death Marble, who continued in business for many years, seems to have devoted himself to retailing jewelry and silverware.

The partnership of Heydorn & Imlay commenced business in Hartford early in 1808. C. Heydorn, the senior member of the firm, had learned the trade of clockmaking in Germany and had worked in various cities in that country before emigrating to America. He had apparently worked as a journeyman clockmaker for Nathan Allyn, a Hartford watchmaker, prior to his association with Imlay. The latter was not a clockmaker but acted as the promoter and business man of the firm. They made eight-day and tower clocks in a shop on the west side of the Court House Square, and soon added gold and silver work, watch repairing, and the running of a general store to their activities. Early in the year 1811 they disposed of their stock of goods at bargain prices, sold the shop (which was said to have been equipped with as complete a set of

clockmaker's tools as could be found in the United States), and left the state.

In Middletown, Hart & Brewer commenced to make brass clocks in 1800, but the partnership was dissolved in 1803. Hart later removed to Norwich, where he joined forces with Alvan Willcox and again undertook to carry on clockmaking under the firm name of Hart & Willcox. This partnership lasted but two years, when Hart went into business under his own name, but he gave it up and removed to Ohio in 1816. By 1815 most of the Connecticut makers of high-grade, cast-brass clocks had either died or retired from business, and the subsequent history of the trade is the history of cheap factory-made clocks.

The outstanding Connecticut clockmaker of the nineteenth century and the originator of clockmaking by machinery was Eli Terry. Born in 1772 at East Windsor, trained in the best eighteenth-century traditions by Daniel Burnap, instructed in the details of wood clockmaking by one of the Cheneys, and endowed with superior natural ability, Terry held unquestioned leadership in the business from 1800 to 1833, when he virtually retired. Chauncey Jerome, one of the men who worked in his shop and who knew him intimately, wrote of him:

Eli Terry was a great man, a natural philosopher, and almost an Eli Whitney in mechanical ingenuity. If he had turned his mind towards a military profession, he would have made another General Scott, or towards politics, another Jefferson; or if he had not happened to have gone to the town of Plymouth, I do not believe there would ever have been a clock made there. He was the great originator of wood clockmaking by machinery in Connecticut.

The best contemporary account of Eli Terry was written by his son Henry and was published in the *Waterbury American* on June 10, 1853. Only one copy of the original

paper is known to be in existence, and as the account has apparently not hitherto been reprinted, it is here reproduced with the omission of a few sentences having nothing to do with Terry:

Eli Terry commenced business in clockmaking and watch repairing in Plymouth (then Northbury) A.D. 1793. He came from East Windsor, Conn., and before that time had been engaged in making clocks, and had been instructed in the art, as it was then known and practised, in East Windsor by Daniel Burnap, and in East Hartford by a Mr. Cheeney. Some of the best American Clocks were made by this Mr. Burnap. A few of them are to be found now, not a wit inferior in workmanship to the best English clocks, and far superior to many with a more costly exterior. At that time (A.D. 1793) when Mr. Terry commenced business in Plymouth, Timothy Barnes of Litchfield, So. Farms, James Harrison of Waterbury, and Gideon Roberts of Bristol, were known as clock-makers. Wooden clocks, calculated for a long pendulum and case, were sold at this time for £4, or \$13.33. When the clock was made with a brass dial, and a dial for seconds and the moon's age, the price was \$25.

The price of brass clocks was from £10 to £15, or \$33.33 to \$50. This was the price without a case. The case might be procured at a price varying from \$5 to \$30, according to the quality and materials of which it was made; so that the entire cost of a wooden clock with the case was from \$18 to \$48, and for brass clocks, \$38 to \$80. He made clocks both of wood and brass in the then ordinary way, having a hand engine for cutting the teeth or cogs of the wheels and pinions, and using a foot lathe for doing the turning. It is probable he used a knife, as well as many other tools then in use, in doing some part of the work, but that the different parts of the clock were cut out with a penknife is a tale of many years' growth, having no foundation, and ought not to be stereotyped as part of the history of clockmaking in this country. So limited was the demand for clocks at this time, and so inadequate his means for making them, that after finishing three or four he was obliged to go out with them on horseback, and put them up, where

they had been previously engaged or sold. His usual way was to put one forward of the saddle on which he rode, one behind, and one on each side in his portmanteau. During this day of small things, however, there was an attempt at something more. As early as the year 1797, he procured a patent for what he then supposed to be an important improvement in clocks. This patent was for a new construction of an equation clock, shewing the difference between the mean and apparent time. This invention proved to be a useful one to him in no way save the discipline he acquired by it; for the secret in money making at that time, as well as at the present day, was not in manufacturing so expensive clocks as this kind must necessarily have been. The greater demand was, and still is, for a less costly article.

The business was prosecuted by him in this old way, until about the year 1802 or 3, when finding he could sell his clocks without being an itinerant himself, he made provision for manufacturing them more extensively. He erected a small building on a small stream, where he had the benefit of water power and additional machinery in doing some portion of the work. At this time he made arrangements for manufacturing clocks by the thousand. It was regarded by some at the time as so extravagant an undertaking, as to subject him to considerable ridicule.

At this place A.D. 1807-8, this man made still more extensive arrangements for the business. He had obtained a contract with the Rev. Edward Porter, a Congregational minister and ex-pastor of the Congregational Church and Society of Waterbury, and Levi Porter, his partner, for making four thousand clocks. It took a considerable part of the first year to fit up the machinery, most of the second year to finish the first thousand clocks, and the third to complete the remaining three thousand. The success attending this enterprise was such as to give a new impulse to clock-manufacturing as a money-making business, and was so successfully brought to a close that the idea of retiring from business was entertained, although he was still a young man. He accordingly sold the Factory, machinery, and other property there, to Messrs. Seth Thomas and Silas Hoadley, who had been employed

during the three years in making these clocks, and then removed to his former residence, in the central part of the town. The business had at this time been commenced in Winsted by Riley Whiting, and had been revived in Bristol, Waterbury, and elsewhere. Asa Hopkins, a man residing in the Parish of Northfield, town of Litchfield, had erected a factory on the Naugatuck River. This Mr. Hopkins was a man of considerable mechanical skill, and a successful manufacturer of clocks. He obtained a patent about the year 1813 or 1814, on a machine for cutting the cogs or teeth of the wheels. This invention or improvement was for the use and introduction of three arbors or mandrels, by means of which one row of teeth on a number of wheels were finished by one operation; a machine still in use, although superseded at the time, by the construction of an engine by Mr. Terry, with only one mandrel, which was used for many years afterwards, and has not been abandoned to this day. Messrs. Thomas and Hoadley prosecuted the business as partners, for three years or more, when they dissolved, Mr. Hoadley retaining the factory and other property. Heman Clark, who had been an apprentice to Mr. Terry, built a factory about the year 1811, in the place now known as Plymouth Hollow, where he pursued the business two or more years. Mr. Thomas purchased this factory Dec., 1813, where he again embarked in this calling, and where he has been eminently successful in making clocks. Mr. Hoadley has done less business, but has been successful, and more so, than many who subsequently engaged in this occupation.

In A.D. 1814, the short or shelf clock was devised, made and introduced by Mr. Terry, who had then removed to a site on the Naugatuck river, where he commenced the making of these clocks; Mr. Thomas being then engaged in making the common or old fashioned clocks, and also, to some extent, the new shelf or mantle clock. A patent was procured for this improvement in clocks, by Mr. Terry, A.D. 1816. For a few years from this time, the old or long clocks were made by Mr. Thomas and others, but gradually the demand declined, as the demand increased for the others. The patent was a source of no little trouble, strife and litigation. Patents were not infrequently granted at that time, with very imperfect specifications, the

inventors not being aware of the importance of an exact definition of their claim, independent of a general description. The improvements made by Mr. Terry, at this time and subsequently, marked distinctly a new era in clock making, and laid the foundation for a lucrative business, by which many have gained their thousands, however willing or unwilling they may be to acknowledge it. Some of the important improvements which should have been secured by this patent, are in use to this day, and cannot be dispensed with in the making of low-priced clocks, nor indeed with any convenient mantle clock. The mode or method of escapement universally adopted at this time in all common shelf clocks was his plan or invention. The construction of the clock so as to allow the carrying of the weights each side of the movement or wheels of the clock, to the top of the case, bringing the pendulum, crown-wheel and verge in front, the dial-wheels between the plates, making the pendulum accessible by removing the dial only, were his arrangement and invention. These things cannot now be dispensed with, even in the clocks driven by a spring, as the motive power, much less in those carried by weights. Millions of them have been made, the precise model of the one made by him, 1814. No clock either in this or any foreign country, was ever made previous to this time with the weights carried each side of the movement the whole length of the case; the dial wheels inside the plates, the pendulum, crown-wheel, verge or pallet together in front of the other wheels. This mode of escapement is one of great value still, and will probably never be abandoned, so long as low-priced clocks are needed.

It is true, time-pieces of a small size were imported many years before. It is also true that time-pieces were made in Boston (Willard's time-pieces), and are made to this day with one weight back of the movement, and moving below it; but this and the imported smaller size, were mere *time pieces*, that is, destitute of the parts striking the hour, and had none of the three peculiarities above mentioned, so universally adopted at this time.

Mr. Terry had no connection with his sons in business after 1833. He did not make clocks by the hundred, nor even by the dozen, for many years before his death, and still he never aban-

doned the work shop. He was during many years engaged in making now and then a church clock, a few watch-regulators, and the like. The church clocks were made in three independent parts, or nearly so, the connection between each being such as not to be injuriously affected by the other. The time-keeping part was of the ordinary size, and moved by a separate weight. The striking part was moved by one large weight, and the dial-wheels by another, while that of the time-keeping part weighed only three or four pounds. The dial-wheels, hands or pointers, moved only once in a minute. Church clocks constructed in this way, were thus rendered as perfect time-keepers, and as little affected by wind or storm, as any house-clock or watch-regulator could be. These clocks were made with compensation pendulum rods, of his own design, and the escapement after a model of his own. During these years of comparative leisure, his time was mostly spent in making this description of clocks, chiefly in reference to accuracy as time-keepers, making a variety of regulators with new forms of escapements and compensation rods. No year elapsed up to the time of his last sickness without some new design of clock work, specimens of which are now abundant. These things he did, to the neglect, many times, of taking suitable care of what property he had before accumulated. He distributed to his family, and gave away to different objects during the latter part of his life, not less than one hundred thousand dollars, retaining at the same time an amount of available property sufficient to afford him an annual income of three thousand dollars. This he regarded as sufficient for all his temporal wants. When commencing business in early life, he never once indulged the thought of accumulating one-tenth the amount. He died the last of Feb., 1852.

Eli Terry's greatest accomplishment, the introduction of machinery for the quantity production of clocks, does not seem to have impressed his contemporaries with its importance, and aside from the fact that he is universally credited with being the pioneer in this field, there is very little detailed information available to show the precise nature of his innovations. According to Chauncey Jerome,

"In 1807 he bought an old mill in the southern part of the town, and fitted it up to make his clocks by machinery. The first five hundred clocks ever made by machinery in the country were started at one time by Mr. Terry in this old mill in 1808. Previous to this time the wheels and teeth had been cut out by hand; first marked out with a square and compasses, and then sawed with a fine saw, a very slow and tedious process." Terry had, however, devised a machine for cutting the teeth of wooden wheels, and Hiram Camp is authority for the statement that the "process, it was said, was hinted to him by Eli Whitney."

Terry himself patented none of his equipment, but there can be little doubt that the patents issued to various Waterbury and Plymouth men on August 22, 1814, for machines to produce wooden clock parts, were directly inspired by Terry's earlier efforts and may, indeed, represent equipment actually developed for use in Terry's shop. These inventions were for turning and slitting pinions for wooden clocks, an engine for cutting teeth in wheels and pinions for clocks, a mode of boring plates for clocks, Asa Hopkins's machine for cutting wheels for wooden clocks, and a method of pointing wire for clocks. With the exception of the Hopkins machine for cutting wheels, which is briefly described by Henry Terry in the notes already quoted, nothing is known of the details of these clock-making machines.

A glimpse of the methods used in making wooden clocks in quantities is afforded by Hiram Camp's notes. Camp was working in the business by 1829. How far the methods of that day were representative of Terry's plan cannot now be determined, but there are indications that the processes used in the factory where Camp was first employed had been copied wholesale from those in use in Terry's original shop in 1816. Camp recorded that:

In making wood movements great care was necessary in the selection of the wood. The plates were made of oak split out and then planed up. In the first place the piece was planed level on one side, and then a gauge run around to mark the thickness on the edge, after which it was brought down to the mark with a plane, which was a slow process.

The wheels were made of cherry which was sawed out in strips of a width and thickness suitable for the wheels, then planed up nicely, then drilled off at a sufficient distance to sweep out the wheels, the center of the sweep running in the hole which was about $3/8$ of an inch, after which the teeth were cut, then the wheels were taken singly and put on the spindle of a lathe and a fine piece of sandpaper held against the wheel, after which it was creased and ornamented, then a rag with a little linseed oil held against it, which made a finish.

The count wheels were turned out so as to have a projection on the side on which the spaces were cut for the count. The pinions were made of laurel or what we call ivy. This is a fine grained wood that is of small growth. It was gathered from the woods and thrown under cover to dry. It is a crooked bush, and was sawed into the right length for the pinions with two saws on one mandrell which made the faces of the ends agree. Then these pieces were set under an upright lathe and drilled about a half inch deep of a size right to admit the pivot, a small piece of wire which was inserted; then this piece was reversed and this pivot is set in a hole under the lathe and is then drilled for the other pivot, and when driven is ready for turning. The gauges [for turning the pinions] are hung [in the lathe] on small pivots and rest on the piece in process of turning, which when the work is brought down to the right size drops by.

Terry devoted his attention at first to systematizing the work on clock movements. With the development of his shelf clock he began to apply the same principles of manufacturing to the cases, and Jerome wrote:

I went to work for Mr. Terry, making the Patent Shelf Clock in the winter of 1816. Mr. [Seth] Thomas had been making them for about two years, doing nearly all of the labor on the case by hand. Mr. Terry in the mean time being a great

mechanic had made many improvements in the way of making the cases. Under his direction I worked a long time putting up machinery and benches. We had a circular saw, the first one in the town, and which was considered a great curiosity.

Although Eli Terry was the first to employ the system of interchangeable parts in the manufacturing of clocks, he was not the originator of the basic concepts of that system. There can be little doubt that he derived a great deal from Eli Whitney of New Haven. It is thought, by at least one eminent student of the subject, that Terry's old master, Daniel Burnap, may have formulated many of the principles of the new system even before Whitney established his arms factory in New Haven.

Terry's design of the thirty-hour, wood-movement, shelf clock was of hardly less significance than his pioneer accomplishments in the realm of factory methods. His earliest efforts to devise such a clock were based upon the thirty-hour, wooden, tall clock which he was then engaged in making. After constructing several models, at least one of which is still in existence, he succeeded, in 1814, in perfecting the movement which became the basis of the well-known Connecticut wooden clock of the nineteenth century, a design that remained substantially unchanged until the final eclipse of the wooden clock about 1850. During the years of its greatest popularity, Terry made a number of improvements in the design, and additional patents relating to it were issued to him in 1823, 1825, and 1826. The patent of July 5, 1826 was a reissue of the earlier ones, which were cancelled "on account of incorrect specifications." The original of this reissued patent of 1826 is preserved in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society.

On March 4, 1826, Terry patented "alterations in the common wooden-wheeled, thirty-hour clock, to bring the

clock to a more convenient shape and size." The chief characteristic of this design was said to be that "the door or sash of the case is the whole length of the case, and a glass is set in it seventeen inches long and eleven inches wide with figures on the inside of the glass to serve instead of a face in the common way, and makes the clock thinner." Very few clocks of this type were made, and the idea reflects small credit on its originator.

In 1833, when Terry gave up quantity production of clocks he was succeeded by his son Eli, Jr. The latter had little of his father's originality, but he proved to be a capable business man and built up a large business in that part of Plymouth now known as Terryville. Eli Terry's thirty-hour shelf clock was the standard product of the Connecticut clockmaker's shops from 1816 to 1838, and a large part of Terry's own business seems to have been in supplying wooden movements for these clocks to the case makers in Bristol and Plymouth. A variety of cast-brass movements were made in small numbers throughout this period, notably by Eli's brother, Samuel Terry of Bristol, and by his son Silas Burnham Terry at Pequabuck, but rolled-brass clocks were not introduced until 1832 and were not made in really large quantities until after 1838.

To Joseph Ives of Bristol credit must be given for the pioneer development of the cheap American brass clock. He was born in 1782 and at least as early as 1809 was engaged in clockmaking in East Bristol. His earliest work was on wooden, tall-clock movements. Chauncey Jerome recorded that: "In 1818 Joseph Ives invented a metal clock, making the plates of iron and the wheels of brass. The movement was very large, and required a case about five feet long. This style was made for two or three years, but not in large quantities."

On March 21, 1822, Ives was granted a patent on

“Clock Cases called Looking-Glass Clock Cases.” The original of this patent, signed by Eli Terry as a witness, is still in existence. It was for a design of a shelf or wall clock in which the entire front of the case, with the exception of the dial, consisted of a mirror. The iron-frame, brass-wheel movement of 1818 was used in this style of case.

By 1832, Joseph Ives had worked out the essentials of a practical eight-day rolled-brass clock movement, and the firm of C. & L. C. Ives was organized by Chauncey and Lawson C. Ives and others to make it under license from the inventor. This clock was the famous, rolling-pinion, eight-day clock. In 1833 Joseph Ives was granted two patents on it, one for “Rolling Pinions and Pinion Wheels for Clocks,” and a second for “Striking Part of Clocks.” In commenting on these patents, the editor of the *Journal* of the Franklin Institute wrote in October, 1833, referring to the rolling pinion invention:

The patentee does not pretend that the rolling, or revolving, of the wires, which are sometimes substituted for leaves in the pinions of wooden or brass clocks, is new, but he claims to have made an improvement in the mode of fixing them, the value of which, however, we are unable to perceive. The holes in which the pinions turn in the heads at each end, are to be drilled of such size as will allow the wire to revolve freely, without turning it down; or the holes may be drilled smaller, and pivots turned on the end of each wire. The information given amounts to no more than this.

The patent for an improvement in the striking part of clocks was described thus:

This improvement consists merely in making the count wheel to revolve once only, instead of twice, in twenty-four hours; to do this, all that is necessary is to repeat the notches for each of the twelve hours; the ordinary number occupying but one-half, instead of the whole circumference of the count wheel. We apprehend that in Italy, where it is the practice to

mark from one to twenty-four upon their dial plates, their count wheels revolve but once in twenty-four hours.

Hiram Camp, who came to Bristol in 1829 to work in the clock shop of C. & N. Jerome, wrote of the Ives rolling-pinion clock that:

The plates were made of strips of brass crossed so that the arbors went through both thicknesses of metal . . . and the pinions were made what we called rolling pinions, that is the leaves of the pinions were turned down with a little tenon on the end of each leaf which was claimed made them very much easier. This was before the other clock makers had commenced to make the metal movements in this country.

In ordinary lantern pinions the wire leaves are riveted solidly in place. In rolling pinions, however, the wires were assembled in the brass collars with freedom to rotate, the theory being that friction was thereby reduced and that a clock so constructed would operate with a lighter driving weight and would keep better time. The advantages of the construction were largely illusory and the design was ultimately abandoned. The thirty-hour, rolled-brass clocks made after 1838 were all fitted with the common form of lantern pinion, because rolling pinions were much too expensive for that type of product.

The true significance of Ives's invention was not appreciated by either the inventor or his contemporaries. It lay, not in the rolling-pinion principle nor in any of the other details of mechanical design, but in the application of a new material, rolled brass, to the construction of clocks. This was an achievement of the first magnitude, and while it cannot be asserted that the idea was not anticipated by the German clockmakers, Joseph Ives is certainly entitled to the place of the founder of the American rolled-brass clock industry.

Sheet brass in the form of thin cast plates had been

used in Europe for clock plates prior to 1790 and was doubtless imported by American clockmakers. This was probably the material referred to in Hamilton's Report on Manufactures in 1791. It was not rolled, and therefore required hammering, filing, and polishing to make it suitable for use in clocks. The early method of casting brass between two flat polished marble plates resulted in a product much more uniform in thickness than the individually sand-cast plates previously used, but it was not comparable in this respect to the process of rolling. It was incapable of producing material much thinner than the earlier individually cast plates, and hence no radical change was made either in the design of the clocks or in the technical methods of their production.

Eventually rolled sheet brass became an article of commerce and was adapted to clockmaking by the Connecticut clockmakers. The earliest application of the new material was to the escape wheels of wooden clocks. Originally these wheels had been either made of cast brass or hammered out of discarded kitchen utensils, but by 1816 they were probably being made of imported rolled brass. The first American rolled-brass clock was unquestionably, however, that designed by Joseph Ives in 1832 and placed on the market shortly afterwards by the firm of C. & L. C. Ives. It was owing to the limited capacity of the domestic rolling mills and the undeveloped state of the art of punching sheet metals that Ives's earliest clocks were designed with frames built up of a series of narrow strips crossed and riveted together. In a comparatively short time heavier rolling mills were installed and processes and tools developed capable of cutting out a complete frame from a single piece. The strip frame construction was nevertheless used by many of the clockmakers long after the one-piece frame made its appearance, and

eight-day clocks were being built on the older principle as late as 1870. By 1840, however, the technique of making brass clocks had shifted from the relatively costly one of casting and filing to the vastly more economical process of rolling and stamping.

The firm of C. & L. C. Ives met with immediate success, and not only cased and sold rolling-pinion clocks under their own labels, but furnished the movements to other clockmakers throughout Connecticut. The firm of Case & Birge was organized at about the same time to make identical movements under license from Ives, and within a year or two of its first appearance, the eight-day, rolled-brass clock was being sold by a number of Bristol and Plymouth clockmakers.

Like most of their contemporaries, C. & L. C. Ives and Case & Birge failed during the panic of 1837, and Joseph Ives then removed to New York where he went into the clock business under his own name. In 1838, while living in New York, he patented a clock spring of the cantilever form designed to overcome the difficulties encountered with the conventional coiled spring when made by the methods then in vogue. The business in New York was not successful, so that Ives became involved in financial difficulties and was imprisoned for debt. John Birge, of Bristol, came to his assistance, he returned to Bristol, and the two men went into partnership to make rolling-pinion clocks. Birge, so it is said, eventually paid \$10,000 for the use of the patents, and the partnership was dissolved. It is supposed that Ives then undertook to make clocks on his own account in Plainville, and that the venture ended disastrously. In 1850, Irenus and George Atkins and Adna Whiting of Bristol formed the partnership of Atkins, Whiting & Co., and entered into an agreement with Ives to make clocks under his patents. The firm was re-

organized, in 1856, as the Atkins Clock Company, at which time Ives cancelled his contract with the original partners and entered suit for his share of the past earnings. In 1860, Elisha Brewster became interested in the so-called "rolling pinion rolling escapement" clock invented by Ives, but that business was not successful and was abandoned in 1862 upon the death of Ives.

A recent historian of Bristol has truly said that: "Joseph Ives, better known as Uncle Joe Ives, was probably the greatest inventive genius in the clock line ever resident in Bristol." While his detailed inventions have all been superseded, his introduction of rolled brass for the construction of inexpensive clocks gives him a place in the history of Connecticut clockmaking second only to that of Eli Terry.

While the rolled-brass movement was much less expensive than that of cast brass, it could not at first compare in price with wood. The earliest rolled-brass clocks were therefore designed to run for eight days and to compete directly with the eight-day brass clocks of the Willard type. The thirty-hour, wood clock, which had long since driven out the thirty-hour, cast-brass clocks, continued in production without competition, for the first thirty-hour, rolled-brass clock did not make its appearance until 1838. By that time, the output of rolled brass from the domestic mills was pressing upon the market, the machinery and methods necessary for the low-cost fabrication of brass clocks had been developed, and the business panic of 1837 had forced the suspension of many of the manufacturers of wood clocks.

Chauncey Jerome was responsible for first appreciating the commercial possibilities of the thirty-hour, rolled-brass movement, and his brother, Noble Jerome, built the original model of this clock early in 1838. According to

Hiram Camp, who was working for the Jeromes at this period: "In 1837 C. Jerome found a German movement in Virginia, and brought it to Bristol and got Noble Jerome to make a brass one day movement out of it by leaving out the main wheels and arbors, and inserting winding arbors in the second wheels, which made it a one day."

The thirty-hour, rolled-brass clock had a profound effect upon the industry. It immediately took the place of the wood clock, for it was both cheaper and better in every respect. Its economical production called for considerably greater capital than had previously been employed, and this in turn, necessitated increased output and wider markets. By 1842 it was being exported to England, and by 1855 substantially all the common clocks being made in the United States were of rolled brass, and most of them were being turned out by four large Connecticut manufacturers: Seth Thomas of Plymouth, E. N. Welch of Bristol, William L. Gilbert of Winsted, and the New Haven Clock Company of New Haven. It has been estimated that these four firms produced more than 400,000 rolled-brass clocks in the single year 1855.

Unlike Eli Terry and Joseph Ives, a great majority of the Connecticut clockmakers between 1815 and 1850 were neither creative inventors nor skillful mechanics. Some of them, of course, made individual technical contributions to progress in the art, and others were responsible for the designs of the various styles of clock cases which played so large a part in the commercial successes of the industry. Of the inventors, Noble Jerome, Silas B. Terry, and Asa Hopkins were typical; while Chauncey Jerome, Jonathan Brown, and Elias Ingraham were perhaps the most successful of the case designers. An accu-

rate picture of the nineteenth-century trade cannot be drawn, however, by simply reviewing the accomplishments of the outstanding individuals engaged in it. The crucial inventions and designs constitute convenient and necessary high lights in that picture, but its details are largely made up of endless struggles between competing business men, wholesale copying of designs and infringements of patent rights, concerted efforts to ruin competitors, fights for markets, litigation, and bankruptcies, with the eventual transfer of control of the industry from men who, like Terry and Ives, knew how to make clocks, to others whose talents were those of the merchant and industrial organizer.

Though hundreds of men went into clockmaking in Connecticut during the first half of the nineteenth century, only five businesses then established have survived to the present time, and but two of these five firms have weathered the intervening economic storms without passing through repeated reorganizations. Riley Whiting in 1807, Seth Thomas in 1813, Chauncey Jerome in 1824, Jonathan C. Brown in 1833, and Elias Ingraham in 1842 commenced the businesses which are now conducted under the respective names of the William L. Gilbert Clock Company of Winsted, the Seth Thomas Clock Company of Thomaston, the New Haven Clock Company of New Haven, the Sessions Clock Company of Forestville, and the E. Ingraham Company of Bristol.

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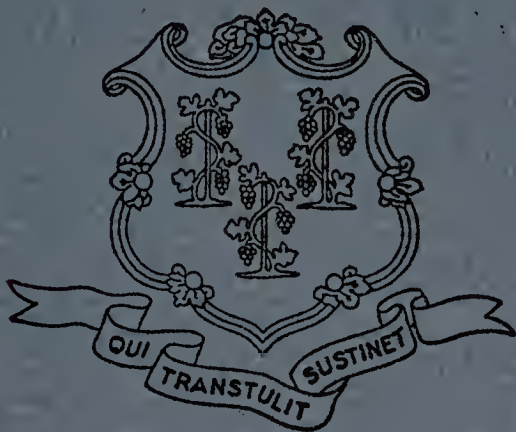
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The Hartford Convention

WILLIAM EDWARD BUCKLEY

I

THE Hartford Convention of 1814-1815 has always been a subject of the greatest interest. The contrast between what the country expected the Convention to do and what it actually did, the deep secrecy which surrounded it, the bitter controversy about its real purpose which raged for years after its adjournment—all these factors have aroused the curiosity of students and given rise to many attempts to explain the Convention. It has been denounced as an assembly of traitors plotting to destroy the Union, and lauded as a group of devoted patriots working to soothe the just wrath of oppressed and outraged New England and so to save the Union. This essay makes no pretense of adding any new information on the subject, but aims merely to present a reasonably complete account of the Hartford Convention for the reader who is not inclined to seek out the longer treatment given in biographies of members of the Convention or in the more extended histories of the time.

Two warnings should be given at the start. In exploring the period of the Hartford Convention we enter a time when the national government was still in the stage of experiment. The union of the country under the Constitution had been brought about with much difficulty after years of dissension among the newly independent states, each jealous of its sovereignty and reluctant to surrender to a central government any of its powers. Could the new government endure? That question could not be answered in 1814 with any more assurance than we can now bring to predicting the future of the League of Nations. Until the Civil War finally established the principle that no section could withdraw from the Union, threats of secession were likely to arise whenever a group of states felt seriously aggrieved.

Moreover, the political atmosphere of the period from 1790 to 1816 is strange to us. Political convictions then were of the utmost importance, so intensely felt that it was difficult even for well-balanced and temperate men to think of the opposition party without bitterness. To the rank and file of the Federalists, the Democrats¹ seemed a vulgar, ignorant mob at best, at worst a group of "knaves and blockheads." To the Democrats, the Federalists appeared abandoned traitors fawning at the feet of the British government, a blindly selfish aristocracy who deserved little better treatment than the French nobility had received a few years before during the Reign of Terror.

II

The hatred of the Federalists for Jefferson was bitter. Though his policies were more moderate than either his friends or his enemies had expected, he had removed

¹ The term Democrats to designate the opponents of the Federalists has been used for convenience, though it is not precisely correct.

Federalists from office and replaced them by Democrats. He had purchased the vast Louisiana territory, and his dismayed opponents foresaw the creation of new states in this great region to reduce still further the importance of the old seaboard states in the Union. His sympathy with the French Revolution made him an object of abhorrence to the aristocratic and conservative element in New England to which Great Britain now seemed the defender of the established order against French attack.

The passage of the Embargo Act in 1807, moreover, gave the commercial group in New England a definite and important grievance. Though the policy of restriction of trade and the war which followed encouraged manufacturing in New England and brought great prosperity, the immediate effect of the embargo was to destroy foreign trade and to hamper greatly coastwise commerce. The New England air was filled with excited talk of resistance to the embargo, of a convention of the commercial states, and of possible withdrawal from the Union. In the autumn election of 1808 the Democratic newspapers appealed for support on the ground that a vote for the Federalist candidates was a vote for a New England confederacy under British protection. In fact, no convention of the commercial states was called, and early in 1809 the Embargo Act was repealed. The Non-Intercourse acts which took its place removed all restrictions on the coasting trade, and allowed commerce with all European nations except France and England, leaving some opportunity for trade even with them. The excitement in New England subsided.

Soon, however, new causes for dissatisfaction arose. The congress of the 1811-1812 session contained the group of "war hawks" from the West and South, whose voices were strong for war with Great Britain. For a time

many of the Federalists voted with the war hawks as a political manoeuvre. They felt that the Democratic clamor for war was insincere, that the war would not injure New England further, and that, if the conflict came, the administration would manage it so badly that the Federalists might be returned to power on a wave of popular resentment. Nevertheless the Federalist votes were cast against the declaration of war. Conflict with Great Britain was too horrible a thought for the Massachusetts men whose sentiments had been expressed at a Federalist dinner in Boston, in honor of the British minister recently dismissed from Washington, in the toast "The world's last hope—Britain's fast-anchored isle."

The story of New England's part in the war is not a pleasant one, but it must be remembered that national sentiment was weak in 1812, and that the bitterness of party feeling blinded many men to the full significance of their actions. Immediately after the declaration of war the Massachusetts legislature passed resolutions urging the people to protest against the war, and asking them not to volunteer except for defensive operations. The governor proclaimed a public fast to atone for the wickedness of the administration's action in declaring war. Then began the long conflict over the state militia. In June the war department asked the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to order out certain units of the militia for coast defence. Both governors refused, declaring that the Constitution gave the president authority over the militia only "to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions," and that none of these emergencies existed. The Connecticut legislature endorsed the governor's action, denounced the war as unnecessary, and took steps to form a state army. In July, 1812, delegates were appointed by

several Massachusetts counties to a state convention which was to take some action against the war, but the moderate Federalists opposed the plan and it was dropped.

The discontent in New England seemed to offer a chance for the enemy to profit. The British government may have hoped for a separation of the New England states from the Union or for a declaration of neutrality. It is more likely, however, that the British ministry desired to use New England as a source of supplies and to weaken the Madison administration by encouraging the opposition. Whatever the motive, the New England states were exempted from the blockade which the British navy began along the Atlantic coast, and New England products were exempted from the general prohibition of American goods in the West Indies. An extensive trade with Canada was carried on from New England during a great part of the war. On October 27, 1814, Sir George Prevost, commander of a British army which was preparing to invade the United States from Canada, wrote to the war office that two-thirds of the British forces in Canada were eating beef provided by American contractors, and drawn mainly from New York and Vermont. This circumstance, he added, as well as the shipment of large sums in specie from New England into Canada, was common knowledge in the United States.

In December, 1813, Madison recommended a new and rigorous embargo bill to cut off this trade with the enemy. In his message to congress the president stated that the British armies were obtaining from our merchants supplies which were necessary to keep them in the field against our armies. When the proposed measure was passed, the New England Federalists again broke into wrath, and towns of western Massachusetts once more

petitioned the legislature to call a convention "for procuring such alterations in the federal constitution as will give to the Northern States a due proportion of representation, and secure them from the future exercise of powers injurious to their commercial interests." The moderate element, which was in control of the Massachusetts legislature, suggested that action be postponed until after the spring elections. When the new session assembled in the spring of 1814, the embargo act, which had not been workable in some respects, had been repealed, and the president, at the suggestion of the British government, had appointed a commission to negotiate peace. Consequently the Massachusetts legislature took no action.

The events of the later spring and summer of that year, however, were momentous. In April and July the national government tried to raise new war loans. Although the banks of New England held most of the specie of the country, and although this section, because of the increase of manufacturing and the trade with the enemy, was prosperous, New England followed its usual course by refusing to subscribe to the loans. The government obtained subscriptions for only eleven and a half million dollars instead of the twenty-five millions asked. By June the British had extended their blockade to the ports of New England and were making raids on its coasts. In August, 1814, came the capture of Washington, which was followed by the suspension of specie payment by the banks everywhere except in New England. The treasury department admitted bankruptcy, and the national government seemed on the verge of complete breakdown. Early in September it became known that a British expedition had captured Castine and Belfast in Maine (which was then a part of Massachusetts) and had taken formal possession of the country as far as the Penobscot

River. This expedition was supposed to be preparing for an attack on Boston.

New England now felt the need of protection from further British attack. Because of the controversy with the national government over the militia, to say nothing of the war department's inability, throughout the war, to raise adequate armies, there were few federal troops in New England. On the day that Washington was captured by the British forces, the governor of Connecticut withdrew from federal control the militia brigade then in the national service, and placed it under a major general with strict instructions to obey no orders except from state authorities. Early in September Governor Strong of Massachusetts called out five thousand of the militia for the defence of the state, and summoned a special session of the legislature to meet on October 5.

In his address to the legislature the Massachusetts governor reported that the war department, as might have been expected, had refused to pay the expenses of the Massachusetts troops unless they were in the service of the federal government. The legislature was asked to take whatever measures seemed necessary for safety. The committee to which the governor's message was referred submitted a report accusing the national administration of deliberately neglecting the defence of Massachusetts, a task which the state must now undertake. Massachusetts could not support its own armies and at the same time contribute to the expenses of the national government. The committee undertook the sacred duty of informing the country that the day of salvation was passed unless it discarded an administration which made war for party purposes. It added that Massachusetts had been dishonored, deprived of all influence in the national councils, and dragged into an unnatural and distressing

war. Furthermore, it was evident that the present Constitution did not give the eastern states their proper rights, and that the usual means of amending the Constitution were inadequate to the emergency. The committee, therefore, recommended that a convention be called to undertake the task.

Accompanying resolutions, later adopted by the legislature, provided for the raising of a state army of ten thousand men, authorized the governor to borrow a million dollars, and called for the appointment of twelve delegates to confer with delegates from other New England states on their common grievances and concerns, upon means of defence, and upon measures for summoning a convention of all the states to revise the Constitution in a way "to secure the support and attachment of all the people by placing all on a basis of fair representation." This was the resolution that called the Hartford Convention. It was passed by a vote of about three to one in the lower house of the legislature, and by less than two to one in the upper house. On October 17, 1814 the governor was authorized to invite the other New England states to the Convention, and on the following day a joint session of both houses, attended only by the Federalist members, chose the Massachusetts delegates.

Minority protests against the action were submitted in both the senate and the house. The senate protest characterized the convention plan as alarming and pernicious and tending to confirm the opinion already widely held that Massachusetts wished to take the lead in a scheme to break up the Union. The Democrats in the house were more outspoken, declaring that the convention plan was an obvious attempt to prepare for a division of the federal Union. The Federalists of the house, assuming the lofty tone common to politicians of the period, particu-

larly to Federalist politicians, termed the protest disrespectful, and refused to receive it.

The Connecticut legislature referred the invitation from Massachusetts to a committee, whose report was milder in tone than that adopted in Boston. The committee denounced the alliance of the administration with the fearful tyrant of Europe, Napoleon, and its abandonment of New England to defend itself against the enemy. It considered the convention plan submitted by Massachusetts "an eligible method of combining the wisdom of New England," and suggested that delegates be appointed for the objects enumerated by Massachusetts and for any other objects tending to the welfare and safety of New England which were consistent with the obligations of the states as members of the Union. A resolution to that effect passed the legislature by an overwhelming majority, for the Federalist control was more complete and secure in Connecticut than in any other New England state.

The committee of the Rhode Island legislature to which the Massachusetts invitation was referred confined its report largely to a discussion of the military situation and of the national administration's failure to defend the state. It recommended the appointment of four delegates to meet with others at Hartford and confer on the dangers threatening New England, on means of coöperation for defence, and on measures, consistent with the obligations of the states, to secure for the people their rights under the Constitution of the United States. This recommendation the legislature adopted, though by a smaller majority than in Massachusetts or Connecticut, and the Democratic minority submitted a protest. As in Massachusetts, the Federalist majority refused to enter the protest on the records.

Neither Vermont nor New Hampshire accepted the invitation of Massachusetts. The New Hampshire legislature was not in session when it was received, and the governor wrote that he found none of the state leaders in favor of calling a special session. Moreover, the upper house of the legislature was controlled by the Democrats. Vermont was in Federalist control but the governor had come to the belief that the war was now defensive and should be supported by all, and a Federalist caucus in the legislature decided not to accept the invitation to the Convention. Nevertheless, both Vermont and New Hampshire were represented. When the regularly appointed delegates assembled at the State House in Hartford, they found two delegates present from New Hampshire, chosen by conventions in Cheshire and Grafton counties, and it was voted to give them seats in the sessions. Likewise, on December 28 the Convention voted to seat a delegate from Windham county, Vermont, chosen by a county convention there.

With Vermont and New Hampshire represented only in this irregular fashion, with protesting minorities in the legislatures of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and with a very considerable Democratic group among the voters bitterly opposed to the gathering, the Hartford Convention was a purely party assemblage, lacking the united support of New England. This situation must have strengthened the hands of the moderate Federalists who took the leadership in its sessions.

III

The twenty-six "wise men of the East" who assembled for the Hartford Convention represented the political and legal wisdom and experience of New England Federalism. Twenty-two were lawyers, many of whom had

served in the national congress, most in their state legislatures. In the Connecticut delegation were the chief justice and one of the associate justices of the supreme court of the state. Daniel Lyman, a delegate from Rhode Island, was the chief justice of that state. All were men of high character and standing in their communities, and most of them belonged to the moderate group of the Federalist party, apparently. Certainly the leaders of the Massachusetts and Connecticut delegations were not acceptable to the extremists of the party, among whom were some more ready to resort to secession.

As the largest and most important New England state, Massachusetts sent a delegation of twelve, among whom the most notable were George Cabot and Harrison Grey Otis. Cabot, one of the founders of the Federalist party and for a time United States senator from Massachusetts, emerged from retirement to accept the appointment as head of the delegation from his state. Though thoroughly imbued with the Federalist distrust of democracy, he had moderated his opinions with the years, and he seemed to the extremists a restraining influence on the Convention. Otis, who had been active in the Massachusetts legislature in passing the resolution calling the Convention, was naturally looked on as the leader of the assembly. Of a prominent Massachusetts family, eminently successful as a lawyer, widely experienced in state and national politics (he had been a member of the house of representatives in congress as well as of the state legislature), an eloquent speaker and endowed with great personal charm, Otis might have been expected to take a leading part in any New England gathering of the period. He had opposed the convention scheme when it was suggested for the first time in the Massachusetts legislature, and his course in this, as well as in other matters,

had aroused some doubts as to his consistency and dependability.

Nathan Dane, author of the famous Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, Stephen Longfellow, father of the poet, and William Prescott, son of Colonel Prescott of Bunker Hill and father of the historian Prescott, were members of the Massachusetts group. The one known extremist in the delegation, Timothy Bigelow, speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, must have found himself in rather uncongenial company when the Convention assembled.

Chauncey Goodrich of Hartford, then lieutenant governor of the state, was the leader of the Connecticut delegation. He had been mayor of Hartford and had served in both houses of congress. The members of the Convention frequently called at his home in Hartford, and on one occasion he entertained them all at dinner, the only social function, apparently, which they attended. James Hillhouse of New Haven, treasurer of Yale College, had served as an officer in the Revolution, and for twenty years had represented Connecticut in congress, for five years in the house of representatives, for fifteen in the senate. John Treadwell of Farmington was the oldest member of the Convention. He had served in the Continental congress and in both houses of the legislature, and had been lieutenant governor and governor of the state. Zephaniah Swift of Windham and Nathaniel Smith had been members of the house of representatives in congress, and at the time of the Convention were justices of the supreme court of the state, the former being chief justice. Calvin Goddard of Norwich, a member of the legislature in 1814, had served in congress for four years, and was appointed to the supreme court of

Connecticut shortly after the adjournment of the Convention. In the course of his long career of public service he was mayor of Norwich for seventeen years. The seventh member of the Connecticut group was Roger Minot Sherman of Fairfield, a lawyer of considerable reputation and a member of the state legislature.

The Rhode Island delegation represented far less experience in national affairs than the groups from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Samuel Ward had been a member of Benedict Arnold's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec in 1775 and had been captured in the attack on that city. Exchanged, he had returned to the Continental army, and had risen to the rank of colonel. Daniel Lyman, a native of Connecticut, had served as a major in the Revolution, and was chief justice of Rhode Island at the time of the Convention. Benjamin Hazard and Edward Manton, the other delegates from Rhode Island, were members of the state legislature.

Of the three county delegates from New Hampshire and Vermont, Benjamin West was the most distinguished. He was noted as a refuser of offices. He had been elected a member of the congress under the Articles of Confederation, of the state constitutional convention, and of the national house of representatives, all which offices he had declined. In addition he had refused appointments as attorney-general of the state and judge of probate. Miles Olcott, representative from Grafton county, New Hampshire, was a lawyer of Hanover. William Hall, Vermont's only representative in the Convention, was a merchant of Bellows Falls and a member of the state legislature.

In their correspondence with David Daggett, United States senator from Connecticut, Goodrich and Sherman speak of the members of the Convention as "a graver

body than either house of Congress," and "a collection of sedate, temperate, serious and I trust generally wise men." We can agree that they were sedate and serious, that by comparison with the extremists of their party they were temperate; but their presence at Hartford casts doubt on their wisdom. If the leaders of the Federalist party had been wise, the Hartford Convention would never have been called.

IV

The Convention held its first meeting on the morning of December 15, 1814, in the council chamber of the State House in Hartford, which had been placed at its disposal by the Connecticut legislature. Hartford viewed the assembling of the delegates with much interest. The Democratic party had many adherents in Connecticut, and one of the Hartford newspapers, the *American Mercury*, supported it. According to the *Mercury*, a considerable throng of Hartford citizens assembled, but was disappointed, "as the great men resorted to a private apartment, like beasts of prey to their den." The expression on the faces of the crowd, this newspaper reports, was in general that of contempt and abhorrence of the plot, though "some of the lighter sort appeared as much pleased as if it were the annunciation of a jubilee." The American flag was displayed at half-mast during the day by the Democrats, the bells of three of the meeting-houses tolled solemn knells, and the "United States band of music played appropriate [funeral] marches through the streets."

The whole proceedings of the Convention were, according to the *Mercury*, "involved in darkness, like those of all persons whose deeds are evil." The members seemed to this opposition newspaper to be melancholy and de-

jected while on the streets. They rarely looked up except when passing under a tree or some other object from which something could be hanged. Their secretary, Theodore Dwight, the *Mercury* reports, undertook to arrange a subscription dinner in their honor, but the Convention declined. The *Mercury* rejoiced at the report that the Convention was having difficulty in securing clergymen to offer prayer at the opening of its sessions. One clergyman who had been invited refused, this newspaper stated, on the ground that he knew no form of prayer for treason and rebellion.

From the journal of the Convention, the official copy of which was deposited, some years after the sessions, in the office of the secretary of state of Massachusetts, it appears that twenty-four delegates attended the opening session, Samuel Ward of Rhode Island arriving for the meeting of December 16, and William Hall of Vermont attending for the first time on December 28. Cabot presided at this first meeting, and was unanimously chosen president of the Convention. Theodore Dwight of Hartford, editor of the *Connecticut Mirror*, and a member of the Dwight family so closely connected with Yale, was the unanimous choice as secretary. A committee on credentials was appointed, and reported that in addition to the delegates appointed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, there were two delegates from county conventions in New Hampshire, who should, in its opinion, be seated as members of the Convention. This report was approved, and a committee was appointed to draw up rules of procedure. Adjournment was taken until three in the afternoon in order to give this committee time to prepare its report.

At the afternoon session the report of the committee on rules was adopted. The only section of this very brief

report which is of interest is its second paragraph: "The most inviolable secrecy shall be observed by each member of this Convention, including the secretary, as to all propositions, debates, and proceedings thereof until this injunction be suspended or altered." Secret sessions were in 1814 still the usual procedure in some legislative bodies, and were entirely in accord with custom. Moreover, in the opinion of the members of the Convention, its business could be transacted more speedily in private. Whatever the arguments for the regulation, its acceptance by the Convention was unwise. The cry was at once raised, as the quotations from the *Mercury* indicate, that the actions of the Convention would not bear the light. Indeed, until the whole matter had passed from the stage of public interest, the charge was persistently made that the secrecy was intended to conceal treasonable plottings.

The first report of matters to be considered by the Convention presented only subjects immediately arising from the war, including the powers over the state militia claimed by the president, the conscription bill then before congress, the failure of the national government to provide for the defence of the country, and the means by which the states should undertake this defence. A later report added to this list the projects for amending the Constitution to which the final report of the Convention devoted much space. The sessions between December 16 and December 24 were occupied with discussion of these topics. A committee was appointed on December 21 to prepare the final report for adoption and publication. From the 24th to the 30th the Convention marked time, waiting for this committee to finish its work. On the 28th William Hall was admitted as a delegate from Windham county, Vermont. The four sessions between December 30 and January 3 were devoted to discussion of the final

report, part of which was sent back to the committee for revision. The amended report was finally adopted on the afternoon of January 3, 1815.

Two other motions were adopted that day. The first renewed the injunction of secrecy as to the debates and proceedings, except as to the report. No desire to facilitate business can explain this action. The secretary, Dwight, in his *History of the Hartford Convention*, explained the motion on the ground that the members supposed it might be necessary for them to hold another meeting, an explanation which seems most unsatisfactory. The second motion was for the appointment of a committee of three to suggest measures which should be recommended to the states for their defence. This committee's report, accepted the following morning by the Convention, seems to have suggested the formation of state armies, and the authorization of the governors to send such armies to the aid of other states asking for assistance. The final session of the Convention was held on January 5, 1815, a brief formal meeting, as the report had been adopted on the preceding day.

The journal of the Convention is of the formal type, very brief, and recording only the actions taken. There is no record of debates, no statement of motions or amendments which might have been presented but not adopted. In their letters members of the Convention state that the injunction of secrecy was most faithfully observed. Roger Sherman may have kept some record of the debates in a diary which was stolen some years ago from his manuscripts in the possession of the Bridgeport Scientific Society. From the fact that Otis served on all three of the important committees, and from his statements in letters to his wife that he was being kept extremely busy, we may conclude that he was the most

active and influential member. With this our knowledge of the meetings of the Convention ends.

V

The report of the Convention, formally adopted on January 4, was published in an extra of the *Hartford Courant* on January 6, 1815, the day after the Convention adjourned. Other newspapers printed it within a few days, and numerous pamphlet editions appeared. The authorship of the report has usually been ascribed to Otis, who, according to his biographer, Professor S. E. Morison, "never claimed or disclaimed the honor," and "never failed to defend each and every word of it."

The opening paragraphs were addressed, apparently, to the more violent Federalists, and tend to justify the claim made by Otis and the moderates that one of the objects of the Convention was to turn the popular excitement and resentment into legitimate channels. Sentiment for secession, the report conceded, was extensive in New England, and such action might be necessary eventually. Since the evidence was not yet deemed conclusive, some considerations against such a course were advanced. The first of these was that the Constitution under the auspices of a wise and virtuous administration (in other words, while the Federalists were in control) had proved an eminently satisfactory instrument of government, and under it the country had gained the highest felicity. The troubles of the period 1801-1815 should therefore be charged to the incompetence, corruption, caprice, extravagance, and oppression of the Democratic administrations rather than to the system of government. Moreover, the passions convulsing war-torn Europe had crossed to this country and blinded our people to their true policy. This, however, was a temporary condition,

and was already passing. Finally, if events should prove it impossible for the commercial states to remain in the Union, the separation should take place in time of peace and by common consent, not violently and in the midst of a foreign war.

These arguments against secession, the last two eminently sensible and statesmanlike, were expressed in such a fashion that the extremists could not take offence, and might even feel that the Convention, while agreeing in the main with their premises, felt that the time had not come for the action which they desired. There was evident here, as in other sections of the document, the desire to conciliate all elements, to hold the party together, and to retain in the party armory every weapon which might be of any possible use. In fact, the Convention was a party gathering, and its report took the tone of a party platform.

The report next took up the military policy of the administration during the war. The division of the country into military districts and the effort to raise armies by conscription were denounced as unconstitutional. While it was conceded that the president had the power, under certain circumstances, to call upon the state militia, the states did not need to accept his decision that the occasion for such action had arisen. The implication was, of course, that the states ought to decide whether or not they should respond to the call. The states were urged to uphold their authority against encroachment by the national government, to protect the rights of their citizens, and to prevent the administration from building a military despotism upon the ruins of the liberties of the people.

Proceeding to the question of the defence of New England, the report charged that the administration, in its desire to conquer Canada, had left New England

stripped of defence and open to enemy attack. The prospect for the future afforded no hope. The government was bankrupt. If the New England states should continue to pay taxes to the national treasury, they would have no money to protect themselves, a task which the national government had been unwilling and was now unable to assume. It was suggested that each state should undertake its own defence, and that the national government should pay into the state treasury for this purpose part of the national taxes collected within each state. If the administration should refuse to accept such an arrangement, the legislatures of the states, or conventions, should take such action as might seem necessary.

The report next turned to the safeguarding of the future of the commercial states. As a contrast to the distressing condition of the country in 1814, a description of the happy times of Federalist control was given. "A free constitution, administered by great and incorruptible statesmen, realized the fondest hopes of liberty and independence. . . . The progress of agriculture was stimulated. . . . Commerce, after traversing every sea, returned with the riches of every clime. . . . A revenue, secured by a sense of honor, collected without oppression, and paid without murmurs, melted away the national debt. . . . The arts flourished . . . the sciences were cultivated, the comforts and conveniences of life were universally diffused, and nothing remained for succeeding administrations but to reap the advantages and cherish the resources flowing from the policy of their predecessors." Truly, a golden age!

The list of charges against the Democrats was lengthy. They were accused of trying to secure perpetual control of the government for one section of the country. They were charged with excluding Federalists from office under

the national government, with unconstitutional interference with the courts, with unwise economy, with appointing unfit men to office, with destroying the balance of the original Union by admitting new states in the West, with appointing naturalized citizens to high office, with hostility for England and partiality toward France, and finally with a hatred for commerce and a ruinous effort to make it (through embargo and non-intercourse measures) an instrument of war.

The destruction of the "balance of power which existed among the original states" was a particularly sore point with the Federalists. From a table drawn up by the Convention, but omitted from the report, it is clear that by the term "balance of power" the Federalists meant domination by the commercial states. Of the original states they considered eight to be commercial in their interests, four agricultural, with one, New Jersey, in which the two interests were equal. By the admission of new states in the interior, the situation had been changed completely in 1814. Then the non-commercial states numbered nine, and held control of the senate.

This state of affairs had long worried the leaders of the Federalist party. They had no hope of regaining the South or of building up a following in the new western states. Until the embargo and war policies of the Democratic administrations had given it a new lease of life, Federalism had been on the decline even in New England. In 1814 the party was again in control of New England, but even if it could maintain that control, what availed the effort if the northeastern states were to be outnumbered in steadily increasing proportion by the addition of new states in the South and West? Not long before the meeting of the Hartford Convention the Massachusetts legislature had passed a resolution calling for a repeal of

the act which admitted Louisiana to the Union. The more ardent Federalists looked with intense horror at the possibility of a complete submergence of the party of the wise, the good, and the rich. Consequently, one of the amendments to the Constitution proposed later in the Convention's report was designed to check the admission of new states.

Having listed the disastrous policies of the administration, the Convention's report turned to amending the Constitution in such manner as to remedy certain Federalist grievances and to give the party an opportunity to continue as a factor in national affairs. The first of these amendments proposed to base representation in the house of representatives in congress (consequently votes in the electoral college) and direct national taxes on the number of free inhabitants of the states. This proposal was a fair one, but the leaders of the Convention, as practical men with wide political experience, must have known that it could never be adopted. The arrangement by which slave population was counted in determining the apportionment of representatives in congress was one of the great compromises found necessary in drawing up the Constitution in 1787. Slavery was more important in the South in 1814 than at the earlier date, and the number of slaves had increased greatly. What possible chance was there that this amendment would receive any southern support?²

The second amendment proposed that a two-thirds vote of both houses of congress be required to admit new states to the Union. This amendment the Convention considered indispensable to the continued happiness of

²One of the schedules omitted from the final report of the Convention advanced the contention that Jefferson's election in 1800 was due to slave votes in the electoral college, and that most of the ills suffered by the nation since that date had come about largely because of that disastrous choice.

the nation. It would, of course, have given the commercial states, where Federalist strength lay, a veto over the admission of new states. In no other place do the workings of the Federalist political mind appear so clearly. The liberties of the nation were safe when the northern commercial states, where the Federalist party had flourished in the early days of the nation, were in control. When the southern and western states, agricultural and in part slaveholding, increased, the Constitution must be amended.

The third and fourth amendments aimed to make difficult a repetition of the commercial policy of the Democrats which had been so objectionable to New England. They provided that an embargo must be limited to sixty days and that any act shutting off commercial relations with a foreign nation must pass congress by a two-thirds vote.

The fifth amendment would have required a two-thirds vote of both houses of congress for a declaration of war. This would have been a wise arrangement, but when we turn to the arguments then presented in favor of it, we enter again the atmosphere of frenzied partisanship. Since agriculture is the last interest to suffer from war, it was alleged that western states, remote from immediate danger, would not be averse to exposing the seaboard to the ravages of war. The conduct of the "war hawks" in bringing about the War of 1812 had given basis for this accusation, but with all allowance for the just bitterness of New England, it is unfortunate that the Convention advanced only this sectional argument in behalf of a logical and reasonable proposal.

With the next amendment there appeared again the Federalist objection to naturalized citizens, an objection of which the Alien Act and the Naturalization Act of

1798 were earlier expressions. This amendment would have barred naturalized citizens from serving in congress or holding any civil office under the national government. The last amendment provided that the president was not to be eligible for re-election and forbade the election of presidents from the same state for successive terms. The first of these provisions has been suggested many times, and there are sound arguments in its favor. The second part of the proposal was aimed to put an end to the Virginia dynasty in which Madison had succeeded Jefferson and Monroe was soon to follow Madison.

The main part of the report closed with an appeal to all patriotic citizens to support the program presented, and with the assurance that no hostility to the Constitution was intended. Then followed some formal resolutions recommending to the legislatures of the states the proposals which have just been reviewed, with an additional suggestion that if the war should continue and the desires of the New England states should remain unsatisfied, the legislatures should summon another convention to meet in Boston on June 3, 1815. In the interim a committee consisting of Cabot, Goodrich, and Lyman, the heads of the three state delegations, was authorized to call another meeting of the present delegates at Boston should such action prove necessary. The report was signed by all the delegates, those from Massachusetts heading the list.

To the report the Convention added a series of "schedules" dealing with financial matters. Figures were given to show that the commercial states contributed most of the income of the national government, that commerce and, in consequence, the receipts from tariff duties had declined greatly since 1809 when the effects of the embargo began to be felt, and that there had been gross extravagance in the conduct of the war. The accuracy of

some of the figures given was at once attacked by the opposition newspapers, which termed them grossly misleading.

The moderation of the report was a disappointment to the extreme Federalists who had been talking of a New England secession or, at least, a declaration of neutrality for the rest of the war. Nevertheless the extremist newspapers, whatever the private opinions of the editors might have been, in general expressed their approval of the Convention's report, and there was a virtual end to the wild talk which had preceded the gathering of the delegates at Hartford.

VI

On December 24, 1814, while the delegates were meeting at Hartford, a peace treaty was signed at Ghent by commissioners of the United States and Great Britain, and was on its way to Washington for ratification when the recommendations of the Convention were being sent to the legislatures of the New England states for action. While peace negotiations had been in progress for some time, and while peace was the ardent desire of the Federalists, the signing of the treaty made the Convention seem a futile blunder.

The rest of the story can be told briefly. The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut approved the suggestions of the Convention in regard to the raising of state armies and the retention in the state treasuries for this purpose of part of the national taxes collected in such states. The governors of both states were authorized to appoint commissioners to go to Washington to seek the consent of the administration to such a plan. The Massachusetts commission, headed by Otis, left Boston on February 3, 1815, and arrived in Washington on Febru-

ary 13. The news of the signing of the Peace of Ghent reached the city on the following day, and Otis and his colleagues, their mission rendered quite unnecessary, found themselves objects of ridicule for the Democratic newspapers throughout the country.

Governor John Cotton Smith of Connecticut appointed Calvin Goddard and General Nathaniel Terry as the Connecticut commissioners, and they seem to have proceeded to Washington in the wake of the Massachusetts delegation. Certainly Goddard was in Washington on February 16, on which date he wrote home the news of the ratification of the peace treaty. The Connecticut commissioners, however, seem to have escaped much of the ridicule of the Democratic newspapers.

As for the amendments to the Constitution which the Convention had proposed, they were approved by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Rhode Island and New Hampshire took no action on them, while Vermont and eight other states passed resolutions condemning them.

With the passage of time, the theory that the Hartford Convention was part of a contemptible scheme to dismember the Union, a theory to which the utterances of the extreme Federalists and the secrecy of the Convention gave some plausibility, came to be widely accepted. In a futile effort to combat this idea the journal of the Convention was published; Dwight, its secretary, printed his *History of the Hartford Convention*; and Otis spoke and wrote so frequently in its defence as to call forth the comment that, whatever subject brought him before the public, he always concluded with a defence of the Hartford Convention. The effort was vain, and for years the delegates were pursued by Democratic taunts about their part in a treasonable conspiracy.

VII

In the long controversy which followed the Convention, John Quincy Adams was the most notable exponent of the secession-conspiracy theory. He contended that the Federalists at Hartford were marking time until the peace negotiations should be completed; that in case the war continued, they would make one more effort to get control of the national government; if that effort failed, they would attempt a withdrawal from the Union and the establishment of a New England Confederacy. The chief aim of the Convention, he declared, was to develop among the people the belief that withdrawal from the Union was a necessity.

The Democrats in 1814 feared, and the extreme Federalists hoped, that the Convention would do far more than build up a sentiment for secession. They expected at least a declaration of neutrality for the rest of the war, if not the actual drawing up of a constitution for a new confederation. The tone of the Democratic press was that of anxiety and fear. The Convention was called a "rebel parliament," and all citizens were urged to preserve the country from civil strife.

For this misinterpretation of their plans and motives the Federalist leaders had themselves to blame. In their bitter hatred of the administration and their assurance that the salvation of the country depended on the restoration of their party to power, they had feared to check the wild outpourings of the extremists of their party. Moreover, it must be admitted that the report of the Convention gives ground for the interpretation which John Quincy Adams advanced. But the fair-minded reader of the report and of the correspondence of the members (which was, of course, not available to

Adams) will realize that his explanation is a perversion of the spirit of the document prepared at Hartford, and that the contention of Otis that the Convention wished to silence the secession clamor is at least as logical as the theory which Adams advanced.

In his many defences of the Convention, Otis claimed that it had two objects, to provide for the defence of New England, and to "turn the popular excitement into legitimate channels." It was intended, Otis wrote, "as a safety valve by which the steam arising from the fermentation of the times might escape, not as a boiler in which it should be generated."

To recent students it seems that Professor Morison, in his biography of Otis, has given the correct statement of the aims of the Convention: "to secure a strong and united expression of New England's grievances, an arrangement for New England to provide for her own defence from the national taxes, and a radical reform in the national compact." Perhaps we should add a political motive. The calling of a convention of some sort in 1814 had become desirable from a political viewpoint, as a means of holding the Federalist party together. The extremists, tired of mere talk, were demanding action. The moderate group feared that action would play directly into the hands of their adversaries and might split the party irretrievably. Thus, the Hartford Convention, though an official gathering summoned by the legislatures of three states, was a purely partisan meeting, and its report, viewed as a political platform, was intended to promote party unity. That it had such an effect the Federalist newspapers of the time give evidence.

The Hartford Convention, then, has finally taken its place as an episode of the bitter political struggles of the formative period of our national history. The Federalist

party was unable to adapt itself to the changing times and ideas. Its leaders, men of high character and honest intentions, still faced the past. The calling of the Hartford Convention was the final blunder which led to the disappearance of their party from the stage of American politics.

Bibliographical note.

THE report of the Hartford Convention and the journal of the Convention are available in *A History of the Hartford Convention* by Theodore Dwight. Dwight does not, however, print the "schedules" which were appended to the report by the Convention. His book will be found an excellent example of the frenzied political writing of the period.

Documents relating to New England Federalism, 1800-1815, edited by Henry Adams, contains the views of John Quincy Adams on the Convention, and also many letters of the period.

S. G. Goodrich was a young man living in Hartford with his uncle, Chauncey Goodrich, at the time of the Convention. His *Recollections of a lifetime* gives some interesting material on the topic.

The best account of the Convention is given in *Life and letters of Harrison Grey Otis* by Professor S. E. Morison. Extensive use has been made of Professor Morison's work in preparing this essay.



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The Spanish Ship Case
A Troublesome Episode for Connecticut
1752—1758

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Spanish Ship Case

ROLAND MATHER HOOKER

I

THE story of the Spanish Ship Case is a notable example of how great issues may develop from insignificant origins. At first thought, it seems incredible that because a Spanish ship sprang a leak at sea and was forced to take shelter in New London harbor, a governor of Connecticut should be defeated for re-election, the government in Great Britain should on two occasions send a naval vessel from England to New London, and, for a time, the friendly relations between Spain and Great Britain should be endangered.

The story is complicated, for there were involved the questions of salvage, of vice-admiralty jurisdiction in Connecticut, of the duties of the governor of Connecticut, of the status of the British customs official in Connecticut in relation to the local authorities, and of the relationship between Great Britain and the colony. The issues involved in the case may be interpreted in various ways. Who is to be held responsible for the unfortunate

events which ensued? With what degree of tolerance are the ethical standards of those implicated to be viewed? Fortunately the ability to render an impartial verdict in the case has been simplified through the preservation of all the official papers, and their publication by the Connecticut Historical Society, in the volumes of its Collections, entitled *Wolcott Papers* and *Fitch Papers*.

The vessel in question, the *Saint Joseph and Saint Helena*,¹ was known as a "snow," a type of vessel common during the colonial period, although extinct now—a two-masted square-rigged vessel having a boom mainsail traversing on a trysailmast. It sailed in August, 1751, from the port of Cadiz in Spain for Honduras. The voyage was successful, and in Honduras a cargo of considerable value was taken on board, which consisted of forty chests of silver containing about 2,000 Spanish dollars each, one chest of gold valued at about 7,000 Spanish dollars, and five hundred and sixty-two seroons or bags of indigo, as well as other valuable merchandise. The total value of the cargo was about 400,000 Spanish dollars.

In August, 1752, the return voyage to Spain was begun in the company of two other vessels. It was uneventful until, having passed Cuba, the snow began to leak badly. Under such conditions the captain thought it inadvisable to try to continue to Spain, and determined to put into some American port where repairs could be made. Shortly thereafter, a brigantine called the *Susannah* was sighted, bound for New London, with Captain John Simson the master. Distress signals were given by the Spanish captain and a small boat was sent over to the *Saint Joseph and Saint Helena* from Simson's vessel. After a

¹ The name in Spanish was Santa Elena y Señor San Joseph. See *Fitch Papers*, 1:88.

conference, Simson agreed to guide the snow into the port of New London, and to put aboard one of his crew to assist in piloting it. The ship seems to have suffered no further difficulties during the voyage until she approached New London where, at some distance from the harbor, she anchored on the night of Thursday, November 24, 1752.

II

Here the first of a series of problems was to present itself. Although the Spanish snow was not at this time in condition for a transatlantic voyage, it seems likely that she could have been easily repaired. Yet by the time she was finally docked in New London she had been run on the rocks twice, had had one of her masts cut away, and was so damaged that she was considered beyond hope of repair. Whom to condemn for this disaster is difficult to determine, as the evidence is conflicting.

A statement made by Captain de Urannaga of the Spanish ship placed the blame for the first part of the disaster on Daniel Vosper, the man whom Captain Simson placed as pilot on the snow. Captain de Urannaga declared that Vosper refused the aid of a New London pilot and insisted upon piloting the ship himself, and that, although warned by a nearby vessel, he held his course until the snow was on the rocks. Vosper had then turned over his position as pilot to a New London seaman who had come alongside the snow at this juncture and who subsequently assisted in freeing the vessel. This new pilot had been no more helpful in bringing the snow into harbor than Vosper had been, for he too ran her aground, with even greater damage resulting. Vosper's account of the wrecking of the snow was directly contrary to that of Captain de Urannaga. He reported that the Spanish

captain, against general protest, insisted upon sailing into New London harbor, in spite of bad weather conditions and the difficulty of handling a leaking vessel under such circumstances, with the result that the vessel went on the rocks.

The most detailed account of the events from the time the attempt was made to bring the snow into New London until her actual arrival in the harbor is given by one of the chief actors in the story, Joseph Miguel de San Juan. He was the supercargo, whose relation to the cargo was comparable with that of the captain to the vessel. San Juan had been appointed in Spain by the owners of the vessel to make the trip out to Central America, in order to see that the cargo was safely loaded and brought back to Spain. Although he had no control over the actual navigation of the vessel, he was the owner's agent. The captain and the crew were employed by him in much the same way that the present-day yachtsman employs a crew to navigate his yacht. In his account of the accident he stated that Vosper had offered to bring the vessel into port, but that after the vessel had been under way for an hour or more, when questioned by the Spanish captain as to whether any rocks were near, had replied, "You need not fear it's all Clear; and we have nothing here to Stumble against." A few minutes later the vessel was on the rocks.

Which of these conflicting statements is to be accepted? It would seem that there had been no deliberate attempt on the part of Vosper to wreck the vessel, for although he knew New London harbor, he had been at a disadvantage in piloting an unwieldy ship with a certain amount of water in her hold. He would naturally have been desirous of bringing the ship in himself, without aid from shore, for he could then be certain that all the salvage money

to be paid would fall to his captain and himself. He undertook a difficult task and failed.

The second wrecking of the *Saint Joseph and Saint Helena* presented a different aspect. As soon as the snow had grounded, a small boat put out from a nearby vessel which had stood by watching the affair. In this small boat were John Simson, the captain who had guided the snow to New London, Andrew McKenzie, the owner of the vessel commanded by Simson, and James Gardiner, a New London pilot. Drawing alongside the snow, Gardiner offered his services as pilot, which were readily accepted by the Spanish captain. Boarding the snow, Gardiner then gave certain orders which freed the vessel, but as soon as he attempted to sail her towards New London, onto the rocks she went again, with even greater force than before.

It was soon evident that the vessel could not be freed until high tide, and it was realized that until that time she would be in considerable danger of breaking up. Andrew McKenzie then offered to land the gold, silver, and the most valuable part of the cargo and keep them in safety. The supercargo refused this offer on the ground that he did not want the cargo and vessel separated, as he wished to be able to keep an eye on both. A little later, Simson left the snow to order some boats from shore to come out and take off some of the heavy gear such as the guns, anchors, and cables, hoping thus to be able to float her. While the snow was waiting for the tide to rise and for Simson to return, the wind freshened and the snow began to pitch so violently that the rudder was broken off.

About seven in the evening, a schooner under the command of Captain Richard Durfey came out to the snow, and as it was growing dark and the snow was suf-

fering serious damage from the increasing violence of the wind, the supercargo agreed to put the gold and silver on board the schooner, hoping to get it safely ashore. While the gold and silver were in the process of being transferred, McKenzie returned with a sloop, and a dispute arose between him and Durfey as to which of them should land the gold and silver. It was finally decided that Durfey should take it but that he should be accompanied by McKenzie, as well as the supercargo.

Soon thereafter, through the aid of the sloop, the snow was floated safely. The captain wished to anchor until morning but, according to San Juan's story, the pilot refused to permit this, and again the snow started for New London harbor. After a short sail, the pilot changed his mind, and decided to anchor. This was done, but as the tide ebbed it was found that the snow was anchored over some rocks which were near the surface at low tide. Once again the snow was in trouble and in grave danger of breaking up. The pilot suggested that the cable be cut so that the snow could run ashore but the supercargo, who had returned to the snow after landing the silver and gold in New London, fearing for the safety of his remaining cargo if this were done, refused, and for the remainder of the night, the snow smashed against the rocks.

During that night and the following day the plight of the snow remained unchanged, so that it became at last necessary to cut away the mainmast to prevent her sinking. Simson again came on board and offered to pilot the vessel into the harbor, but according to the supercargo his actions were more those of a pirate than a pilot. With the aid of Vosper he broke open lockers and the provision room and in spite of the protests of the Spaniards took off all the spare sails, fusels, and arms. Having accomplished this, he again suggested beaching the

vessel, but the supercargo, fearing the theft of the cargo if left on the beach unguarded, refused. The next day with the aid of another sloop from New London, the snow was pulled off and safely towed into New London harbor.

Blame for all the disasters which had befallen the vessel can never be positively determined, but Captain Simson and Captain Durfey appear seriously at fault. The greater the damage done to the vessel, the greater could be the claim for salvage, and if the vessel were piled up on the shore, the theft of the cargo could be easily accomplished. At this time Spaniards were in great disfavor in New London and heartily disliked by the entire English-speaking world owing to the various wars that had been waged between England and Spain. Though at the moment England and Spain were at peace, the average English or colonial seaman regarded the Spaniards as potential, if not actual, enemies. The dissimilarity between the religions of the two nations, especially the distrust which the Connecticut Puritans felt for anything Catholic, was certain to intensify racial antagonism. To wreck a Spanish vessel, therefore, would be a very different matter from harming one that was British or colonial. When it is considered that the Spanish vessel had formerly belonged to England and had been captured by the Spaniards about twelve years before it anchored at New London, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the New Londoners regarded the vessel as property providentially restored.

The evidence which points most strongly to a deliberate attempt by Simson and Durfey to wreck the vessel is the fact that these men, who so ineptly piloted it, were able mariners who had spent a large part of their lives sailing in and out of New London harbor. They must, of

necessity, have been thoroughly acquainted with the dangers of the channel which they so carelessly ignored at this time. That one mishap should have inadvertently occurred during their piloting is excusable, but that three successive accidents should befall the vessel, each likely to prove profitable to those responsible for them, suggests deliberate intention on their part. Add to this, the reported suggestion of beaching the vessel, which proved quite unnecessary, and the guilt of Simson and Durfey seems evident.

III

The snow, without its gold and silver, and in such shape that it could never put to sea again, had finally arrived in New London harbor. Its arrival caused great excitement in New London. It was a unique event for the town. Foreign vessels were forbidden, by the admiralty law of the day, to come into an English colonial harbor except in case of distress. The arrival of a foreign vessel alone would have been sensational, but that a Spanish vessel laden with silver pieces of eight, gold pistoles or doubloons, and other goods of great value should arrive was an event which stirred the imagination of the most lethargic.

The leading citizens of New London were not slow to sense the excitement, and quickly realized that the Spaniards were in danger of being robbed of a large part of their cargo. Among these citizens was Gurdon Saltonstall, one of the magistrates of the colony, or, as he was officially called, one of the governor's assistants, a man of undoubted integrity and a son of a former governor of Connecticut.

When Captain Durfey came into the harbor with the gold and silver, a crowd collected near the wharf and Durfey, fearing an attempt might be made to take the

treasure from him by force, appealed to Gurdon Saltonstall for protection. Saltonstall answered the appeal and, as he said in a letter reporting the case to Governor Roger Wolcott, "I Immediately com[mande]d the Kings peace, & with much dificulty avoided any persons being wounded. Finally it was agreed by the Collector &c that the Money & Goods should be del[ivere]d me, & they are now in my Custody, the Colector having the kees, tho' no Seisure is made." Saltonstall pointed out to the governor the seriousness of the matter and gave it as his opinion that Captain Durfey should receive some salvage, but that McKenzie also might put in a claim. Saltonstall asked the governor to appoint him his agent in order that he might protect the property of the Spaniards as, without the authority of the governor, he would have great difficulty in defending the Spaniards against the mob which desired to plunder them.

Governor Wolcott was not slow to realize the import of the arrival of the Spanish vessel. He, at once, wrote an order to Saltonstall directing him to keep in his custody all the goods landed from the snow, and to try to land safely the remainder. He also announced his intention of coming to New London as soon as possible to hold an inquiry into the entire matter and to determine what should be done to protect the Spaniards while in New London and to hasten their return voyage to Spain. Although the weather in December made travel difficult and the roads of colonial Connecticut were then suitable only for travel on horseback, the governor; Thomas Fitch, deputy governor; Hezekiah Huntington and John Bulkley, two of the governor's assistants; and Gurdon Saltonstall met at New London on December 8 to hold an inquiry.

Depositions of several members of the Spanish crew

and of Captain Simson and Daniel Vosper were taken. The facts brought out were those already mentioned, and it was resolved that the Spanish vessel should be repaired as quickly as that could be done. If, however, it should be found impossible to repair it, the Spaniards were to be given permission to charter any other suitable vessel for the return voyage to Spain. It was soon discovered that the snow was beyond repair, and so it became necessary to charter another vessel. On December 18, the governor appointed Saltonstall his agent for dealing with the Spaniards, and directed Joseph Hull, the customs collector of New London, "to Keep the s^d Goods till they are shipt on bord for their voyage to Spain."

A word should be said here as to the character of Governor Roger Wolcott. He was, in truth, an exponent of all that family distinction and personal integrity represented. Yet he had the unenviable distinction of being the first Connecticut colonial governor to be defeated for re-election. This defeat was entirely due to the events leading out of the Spanish Ship Case, and it seems to have been the sole instance in Connecticut colonial history in which a governor unjustly incurred public condemnation. The charges brought against him were that, either through dishonesty or bad judgment, he had exposed Connecticut to serious claims for damages from the Spaniards, and was thus unfit for his high office. Wolcott had a very difficult problem to handle and it is doubtful whether anyone could have dealt with it more effectively. The fact that, after his defeat, he came within a few votes of winning in a later election shows that the freemen of Connecticut soon discovered their error in censuring him for events over which he had no control.

The situation caused by the arrival of the Spanish vessel in New London was unique in Connecticut's

colonial history. Connecticut had no vice-admiralty court to determine such cases. All former suits, being of minor character, had been tried before one of the courts of common pleas. Lewis Morris was the vice-admiralty judge for the New York district, which included Connecticut within its jurisdiction, but up to this time he had never visited Connecticut to hold a court. At this point Captain Simson applied to Judge Morris for an order to hold the Spaniard's cargo until salvage should be paid to him. Morris, thereupon, decided to hold court in New London in order to determine the amount of salvage due.

A minor conflict arose out of this hearing. Judge Morris wished to inspect the cargo to determine its value before making an award of salvage. In order to do this, he had to enter Saltonstall's warehouse, which he started to do with Collector Hull and about sixty men. There he was met by Saltonstall and some forty men who refused him admission on the ground that Saltonstall would be held liable for embezzlement if any of the cargo was lost during the inspection. The latter further declared that he would open his storehouse only on an order from the governor. Though a pitched battle was narrowly averted, Saltonstall held his position and the inspection was not made. Saltonstall and Morris each wrote to the governor complaining of the other's action. The governor approved Saltonstall's attitude in guarding the cargo and stated that Morris, in bringing so many people with him to make the inspection, appeared to be in the wrong.

The case continued without the inspection having been made. Judge Morris rendered a decision that 23,000 pieces of eight and costs should be paid to Captain Simson as salvage. When this award was made, the supercargo left the court room in a rage and announced that

he would appeal the case. He even went so far as to say that Judge Morris had promised him an appeal before the case was completed. This was denied by Morris. To enter an appeal it was necessary for the Spaniard to have a bondsman, and as no one was able or willing to serve him in New London, the supercargo went to Boston to find some one to act for him. There he was successful, but when he returned to New London he found that Judge Morris had left for New York and that there was no one in New London before whom he could bring the appeal. Off to New York went San Juan in search of Judge Morris and there the real troubles of the Spaniard began. Up to this time, although an attempt had been made to wreck his vessel, San Juan had been fairly treated on shore and his cargo had been well protected by Saltonstall and the governor. The judgment of Judge Morris, although it seemed excessive to the supercargo, was a just one for salvage. In fact, up to this point, the Spaniard had, while ashore, dealt with honest and conscientious men.

IV

Unfortunately, San Juan now fell into the hands of a Spanish Jew who became his official interpreter, and of two New York men, Henry Cuyler, Jr. and Henry Lane, who seem to have been interested only in making a profit from the Spaniard. Under their influence San Juan soon refused to have Saltonstall continue as his agent, and appointed Cuyler and Lane in his place. This led to a serious situation, as Governor Wolcott refused to remove Saltonstall and, not knowing Cuyler or Lane, refused to appoint them his agents or to recognize them as empowered to act for the Spaniard.

It would seem that the governor was justified in adopting this course as he well knew that in Saltonstall

he had a local man whom he could trust, while, as events proved later, the outsiders, Cuyler and Lane, were untrustworthy. It would not be just to blame the Spaniard too harshly for being duped by the Spanish Jew and by Cuyler and Lane, since he could neither speak nor understand English.

Nevertheless, all the Spaniard's subsequent difficulties, in fact, all the troubles that plagued the entire colony of Connecticut had their origin in this unfortunate alliance. If San Juan had maintained his confidence in Saltonstall, he would probably have sailed for Spain with all his cargo, less the salvage charge and costs, within a very short time after the termination of the vice-admiralty trial; but owing to the new turn of events, two years were to elapse before he was able to do so.

During this time, Captain Durfey, who had helped unload the gold and silver from the vessel while it was on the rocks, had not been idle. He refused to join Captain Simson in a joint claim before the vice-admiralty court for salvage as he did not wish to share with Simson the percentage of the total value of the cargo which he knew to be the customary form of award in such cases. He planned to institute a separate suit in the local Connecticut courts where he hoped to obtain as much as Simson had received from the vice-admiralty court, if not more. To further his purpose, Durfey applied to Joseph Hull, the collector of customs at New London, for salvage. Hull after some consideration appointed three neighboring justices to hear the case. The justices met but adjourned upon the protests of Cuyler and Lane, acting for the Spaniard, who asked that he be given time to return from New York and appear in person. At the next meeting of the three justices, a judgment for salvage was given Durfey. It has not been possible to discover the exact amount,

but as San Juan refused to pay Durfey anything at that time, the amount is not of great consequence.

More important is the fact that as long as this judgment remained unpaid, Joseph Hull, the collector, felt that he had to hold the Spaniard's cargo as security against the judgment. In a letter of April 27, 1753, to Governor Wolcott he stated:

I am Clear in this one point, Namely that the Statute of 12 Anne, directs me to hold the Goods, till Salvage & all Charges, are paid, the Spanish Merchant, has Never Ofer'd to pay Cap^t Durfey, nor is it in my power to Compel s^d Durfey; to bring his Action therefor, & as ther's a Judgm^t of 3 Justices in his Fav^r am Obliged by s^d Statute to hold the Goods, till y^t as well as other Charges are Satisfied.

The "other Charges" mentioned also became causes of dispute. These charges were concerned chiefly with the wages paid the guards who were supposed to protect that part of the cargo that was held in Saltonstall's warehouse. Saltonstall was asked to send in his bill, but replied that he could not make out a bill for wages until the termination of the guards' employment, which would not be until the goods were taken from the warehouse. This of course created a vicious circle, as the goods could not be taken from the warehouse until the charges were paid.

It is not surprising that, confronted with such confusion and red tape, the Spaniard should become more and more suspicious of the Connecticut authorities and more certain that in the Spanish Jew and Cuyler and Lane he had found his only friends. This led to greater complications. San Juan refused to deal in any way with Saltonstall, and when Cuyler and Lane, as agents, offered to pay Hull certain amounts, Hull refused to receive the money, believing that Saltonstall alone had the

authority to make such payments. Saltonstall also refused to render to Cuyler and Lane any account of his charges due until such time as Governor Wolcott should remove him as agent and appoint Cuyler and Lane in his stead. This, for very sound reasons, Governor Wolcott refused to do.

V

Added to the already existing confusion, complications now arose regarding the vessel to be chartered to carry the Spaniard's cargo to Spain. Saltonstall, as agent acting under the governor's orders, had chartered a vessel of about 150 tons burden belonging to [Matthew(?)] Stewart of New London. There seems to be no doubt that this vessel was seaworthy and that the charges for the voyage were justifiable. If San Juan had not fallen into the hands of Cuyler and Lane he would probably have accepted this vessel from Saltonstall, paid to Hull and Durfey all the charges incurred, and have been able to sail for Spain at the end of March, 1753. But Cuyler and Lane, seeing an opportunity to make money out of the gullible Spaniard, insisted that, as agents, they had the right to choose the vessel for the voyage to Spain, and proceeded to charter one to their own profit. The Spaniard was now in the unfortunate position of having two vessels chartered for him. Each was causing him great expense and under the circumstances neither could be of use to him. Saltonstall's vessel he refused to use, and the Connecticut authorities declined to recognize his right to use that chartered by Cuyler and Lane. The conflict between Saltonstall and Cuyler and Lane continued. Saltonstall offered to charter some other vessel for San Juan, but the latter insisted that Cuyler and Lane alone should do so. Saltonstall pointed out that this would be illegal, to which the

Spaniard replied with a shrug of the shoulders; and so the deadlock continued throughout the spring and summer of 1753, with the bills for the two unused vessels increasing every month.

At this time Cuyler and Lane decided to use the charter money they had received from the Spaniard to buy a vessel for themselves, which they then, as owners, chartered to San Juan, thus buying a vessel for themselves with the Spaniard's money and then charging him again for the charter privileges.

Just what profit Cuyler and Lane expected from this transaction is seen in a letter written on July 30, 1753, by Governor Wolcott to Richard Partridge, at that time the agent in London for the Connecticut colony. Wolcott wrote:

Now their ship was ready and on Demurage the Cargo Might have been put into there hand every day when they pleased but what do they Do Never Come for the writt but go a way to New York leave their ship on Demurage and the Goods to perish to this day and hatch up a protest to make us pay for all I can Give no Account for this Conduct but sure it is that five pounds sterling Demurage per Diem in a years time will amont to 1825^{ll} sterling this will pay for the ship and a round sum besides in the owners pockett

It is Evident that this is a Great profit to the agents who are the owners to have this ship Ly on such Demurage in a safe Harbour and if this temptation is not the Cause of this delay I know not what is

During these months of uncertainty and delay another event took place which tended to add even greater complexity to the situation. Andrew McKenzie, the owner of the *Susannah*, wrote to the owners of the Spanish ship in Cadiz, and in reply received an order from them to hasten the return of the Spaniard with the cargo to Spain, and if no other arrangement had been made, to ship the

cargo on Captain Edward Cahill's ship, which was soon to sail from Boston, on a voyage to Spain. This plan would have upset the plans already made, and as McKenzie had no authority from the Connecticut government to touch the cargo, the order only increased the confusion.

A very interesting light on McKenzie's position appears in a letter which he wrote to the supercargo in answer to one he had received from him complaining of his delay in New London. On June 7, 1753, McKenzie wrote:

I can prove by every person in this Governmt that knows Any thing of you, that if you had been Steady to follow your owners Interest, you might have been in Spain Some months agoe, your Going for Boston, & next for New York, & being led by the nose by a faithless Jew, . . . how cou'd you think that he cou'd be true to you, who is of a place, where none of their Sect is tollerated.

he has even been So imprudent as to disclose his own Secrets, & Said, if I had given him as much money as other people had, he wou'd never have Sold You to Lane & Cuyler, . . .

I must tell you that if you don't come here by next post, I shall follow my orders from Messrs Rogue & Anto Aguado, & Ship the Goods to the Gentlemen by Capt. Edward Cahill, by whom you may goe passenger, if you incline, . . .

What purpose McKenzie had in writing so bluntly to the Spaniard, apart from self-justification and from putting on record his position, is difficult to say. As he wrote in English, it is extremely doubtful whether either the Jew or Cuyler and Lane would have translated into Spanish so severe a condemnation of their actions.

McKenzie, having thus received authority from the Spanish owners, applied to the governor for authority to ship the goods with Cahill. The governor granted this appeal, in an effort to break the deadlock, and made McKenzie his agent for that purpose. If this plan had

been adopted Cuyler and Lane would have been eliminated. Their influence over the Spaniard, however, was great enough to cause him to refuse to have any dealings with McKenzie. The question then arose as to whether the governor would give McKenzie the power to ship the cargo in spite of San Juan's protest. It was thought better policy not to take such a drastic step and the deadlock remained unbroken.

VI

Time passed and the Spaniard's departure for Spain remained as uncertain as when he had first arrived in New London and, with each day's delay, the charges against the cargo were mounting. At last Cuyler and Lane hit upon a plan which if accepted would have the double advantage of being very profitable for them and of leaving San Juan, in the eyes of the Spanish owners, guiltless of the mismanagement of their affairs. The plan was so to entangle Governor Wolcott that he would appear to have acted arbitrarily, and thus he and the colony of Connecticut would be liable to suit for damages.

As a first step in the plan, San Juan protested to Governor Clinton of New York, on June 7, 1753, against the bad treatment he had received in Connecticut. This protest included among other charges the following: first, that a deliberate attempt had been made on three occasions to wreck the snow so that the cargo could be easily stolen; second, that although the vice-admiralty court's judgment was excessive it had been paid, therefore, there was no reason why the balance of the cargo should not have been released to his agents, Cuyler and Lane, and shipped at once to Spain, but that the governor had refused to recognize Cuyler and Lane as agents and thus had caused the cargo to be held illegally; third,

that he had, through his agents, petitioned the governor for a writ of replevin against the collector of customs, which the governor had refused, and as a result he was delayed and his cargo endangered. For these reasons he protested against the governor and council of the colony of Connecticut and against all others "who have been any ways Concerned in the Hindrance or Delay of him the said Joseph Mig^l de St Juan in the free and full Exercise of his Right, . . ." He also claimed as damages due him, all that the cargo had suffered in respect to quality and quantity; interest on the value of the cargo during the time it had been detained and the policies of insurance for the cargo for the same period; all demurrage on the ship while waiting in the harbor to load the cargo for Spain; and all costs and expenses that he had incurred in regaining the cargo.

Many interesting problems arise from this protestation of San Juan. One of the most involved is the question of the writ of replevin. A writ of replevin is an order issued by one in superior authority to a subordinate ordering him to return goods seized to the original owner. In this case, the collector of customs had the cargo and was holding it against the payment of certain charges. The Spaniard claimed he was willing to put up bond to meet the charges and would pay any that were justifiable. The collector of customs was not satisfied with this promise and continued to hold the cargo. The superior authority in Connecticut was the governor, who was legally qualified to issue this order or writ of replevin to the collector to return the goods to the Spaniard if he felt him to be legally entitled to them.

Governor Wolcott found himself in an equivocal position should the writ of replevin be demanded. The collector of the customs was not one of his own officials but

was appointed by the commissioners of the customs in London. The governor naturally did not desire to come into conflict with the authorities in England, as might easily happen if he issued such an order to the collector. On the other hand, if the Spaniard could prove that the collector was unjustified in holding the cargo and that the governor upheld him in this illegal action, the governor would be liable to suit for damages, which would involve not only himself but the entire colony of Connecticut. It might even lead to severe criticism from the government in England and might cause diplomatic tension between the Spanish and English governments. Placed in this position the governor followed a wise course, and called for advice from his council. They considered the matter carefully and decided that when the Spaniard called for a writ of replevin it would have to be granted as a measure of self-protection. The governor promptly informed the collector of this decision and also let it be generally known that he would grant the writ when requested.

VII

Now comes one of the strangest happenings in this extraordinary case. As soon as the Spaniard and his agents learned that the writ would be granted upon application, they decided not to apply for it. Their reason for so contradictory an action is found in their above-mentioned plot to discredit the governor and then try to collect large damages. If the writ were granted all hope of damages would be lost and nothing would remain but to ship the cargo to Spain. If, on the other hand, they did not receive a writ, they had gained a point in their attempt to victimize the governor. As long as they had no writ, they could always claim that the governor had

refused to grant them one, which as we have seen, is just what they did claim in the protestation quoted above.

A reply to this protestation was sent on June 21, 1753 by Governor Wolcott to San Juan. In it the governor stated his side of the case very clearly, pointing out that there was no truth in the statement that he had refused to grant the writ of replevin, but that he had been ready to do so for some time. He also asked San Juan to withdraw the protestation, assuring him that he had done and would continue to do everything in his power to aid him in gaining a quick and safe passage to Spain. There seems to have been no reply made at this time by the Spaniard, who apparently was tarrying in New York.

About two months later, August 20, 1753, San Juan, having returned to New London, wrote to Governor Wolcott, asking that, as he had settled all his affairs to the satisfaction of the collector, the goods be delivered "to me directly, & to noe other Person, who may have any pretension, for if there should, it will remain as before without determination." He added that he felt that there was no remedy for past delays but that if he received the goods now he would feel satisfied. The reason for this request of personal delivery, thus eliminating the agency of Cuyler and Lane, appears to be the fact that Cuyler and Lane were placing such heavy charges for their services upon the Spaniard that he had at last begun to question their integrity.

It was at this point that Governor Wolcott made his only error in the entire affair. He seemed to have entirely overlooked the "personal delivery" request of San Juan and in his reply to the Spaniard appointed Lane as agent to receive the Spaniard's cargo for shipment to Spain. It is astonishing that the governor should have reversed his former decision as to the agency of Cuyler and Lane. It is

likely that by this time he had become so harassed by the entire affair that he was willing to do anything to put an end to the matter, and as San Juan had been so anxious to have Cuyler and Lane his agents, he felt that by appointing Lane he had at last solved the problem. He may have felt also that, as Cuyler and Lane had chartered the ship for the Spaniard, they would probably cause still more delay and trouble if they should be left entirely out of the collecting and loading of the cargo. The governor, moreover, made Lane's appointment only in a letter to San Juan so that it would not take effect unless presented by San Juan to the proper authorities in New London. In this way, doubtless, the governor felt that he was protecting himself as well as the Spaniard against any future trouble.

As soon as San Juan received the letter from Governor Wolcott, he requested Lane, who had accompanied him to New London, to help him load the cargo on the *Nebuchadnezzar*, which Cuyler and Lane had chartered to the Spaniard. Lane had agreed to do this, but insisted upon receiving $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the value of the cargo as his commission. San Juan refused to agree to this charge and went to Windsor to see Governor Wolcott, to request that Lane be dismissed as his agent and that he receive the cargo personally.

Lane by some means obtained a copy of the letter from the governor to San Juan, and as soon as the Spaniard had left New London, he began to act under its authority. He paid several bills with some of the silver and began to load the remainder of the cargo on the *Nebuchadnezzar*. While this was being done a great fraud was discovered. The chest which had held the gold pistoles or doubloons broke open and was found "to be filled wth nothing but stones, sand, Rags, & Weeds." Lane

at once wrote to Governor Wolcott of this discovery and attempted to put the blame upon one of the Spaniard's crew.

In the meantime, San Juan obtained an order from the governor to prevent any more of the cargo being shipped until he might consult his council or San Juan should make provision "to pay all Lawfull Charges Due." Lane, as soon as he heard of this order, took four of the chests of silver with him on another vessel and sailed away. It was the last the Spaniard was ever to see of either the silver or of Lane, who by this time had been declared a bankrupt and his available property seized by the sheriff. As the ship *Nebuchadnezzar* was part of Lane's property, that also was seized, thus involving the part of the cargo belonging to the Spaniard which had been placed upon her.

San Juan's plight was now deplorable. The gold had been stolen and Lane had disappeared with four chests of silver. The *Nebuchadnezzar*, with part of the cargo on board, was in the hands of the sheriff and the remainder of the cargo, having been released by Collector Hull and no longer under his protection, was in great danger of being pilfered. The portion that was on board the *Nebuchadnezzar* was not only held by the sheriff, but was improperly protected from the weather or from sneak thieves. It seemed likely that the Spaniard would lose his entire cargo.

In great perturbation, San Juan petitioned the Connecticut general assembly, on October 16, 1753, requesting it to order Collector Hull to unship and take again under his protection all the cargo on the *Nebuchadnezzar*. He also asked it to appoint proper persons,

to make full Enquiry with Regard to any Losses, or Imbezelmements, that have Arisen, or been made of said Cargo, . . .

And Generally to Grant your Petit^r all that Assistance & Protection with Regard to his Person, & Property which by the Law of Nations belongs to a Foreigner, whose Sovereign is in Amity with the King of Great Brittain

The general assembly considered this petition some days later and called San Juan before it for questioning. After considerable discussion it decided that it would not order Collector Hull to take the cargo back, but that the Spaniard, having gotten himself into all this trouble, should extricate himself.

In December, Governor Wolcott received letters from men in New London pointing out that the unguarded goods of the Spaniard were being stolen in large quantities and that the governor should take steps to prevent it. Wolcott felt the soundness of this advice and on December 22, 1753, wrote to San Juan: "I assure you, that if you will take the said Cargo, into your own Custody, I will do my utmost, to secure it in your hands, . . ." Upon receipt of this letter the Spaniard replied that he could do nothing until he received orders from Spain. From the nature of this reply, it seems likely he believed that the more of his cargo that was stolen, the better would be his chance of collecting damages from the colony of Connecticut. In his reply we find the words: "I believe without doubt, as I now maintain the aforesaid, that either your Honor, the royal official, or the province, ought to make good all the damages, thefts, delays and time lost, which follow on this business, . . ." Governor Wolcott's reply to this letter was very direct. He first pointed out how San Juan had endangered his cargo by refusing to keep Saltonstall as his agent, and concluded:

your Conduct has alwaies been of a piece a Great pretence to put forward and Lay the blame of the delay to others but

When Every thing has been ready you have Constantly refused to proceed and of late to take any Care of your Cargo and Abandoned it to be ruined as much as possible

These things I put you in mind of that you may Come to your self and Consider how much you have Damnified your owners Whome I heartily pity. . . .

VIII

Governor Wolcott, at this same time, fearing that he and the colony might be held responsible for the damages done to the cargo, wrote to the civil authority in New London, on January 8, 1754, to collect evidence to justify himself and the colony, and also drew up a formal statement of the entire case. There is nothing in his statement that deserves special mention, as all the facts there established have already been covered in greater detail in this paper. However, it might be well to point out that the statement is clear-cut and honest, and proves, without doubt, that the governor had no cause to blame himself for any of his actions. It further proves that the Spaniard had no justification in claiming damages. A copy of this statement was forwarded to Richard Partridge, the colony's agent in London, so that Connecticut should be protected there against any charges that might be brought against the colony by the Spanish government.

At this time a rumor was started to the effect that Governor Wolcott and Lane had conspired to rob the Spaniard. The story was based on the appointment of Lane as the Spaniard's agent at a time when San Juan had requested the governor to appoint no other person than the Spaniard himself. It was feared that if this were true the colony would be forced to pay the Spaniard all the damages he had claimed, which amounted to about a million Spanish dollars. This rumor came to Governor Wolcott's notice, and in a letter, dated January 21, 1754,

to Daniel Coit of New London, he presented his defence, which is very strong. The governor again pointed out that he never wrote to Lane appointing him agent, but only wrote to the Spaniard giving him the power to make the appointment, and that evidently Lane got hold of the letter, made a copy of it, and as soon as the Spaniard was out of town, without his knowledge, acted upon it.

In spite of all his protests, the feeling against Governor Wolcott in the colony continued to grow. People, even if they were not convinced that the governor had acted dishonestly, believed that in some way he should have handled things so that Connecticut would not be liable to damages. In other words, they felt that Governor Wolcott was a bungler and not a fit person to continue in office. At the next election in April, 1754, he was defeated and Thomas Fitch, who had been deputy governor, was chosen in his stead. This was the first time, since the granting of the charter in 1662, that a governor had not been re-elected. All governors during this period of ninety-two years had died in office or retired voluntarily. This fact indicates clearly the great importance the Spanish Ship Case had for the people of Connecticut.

A few words should be said at this point concerning the theft of the gold from the chest that contained it. As we have seen, while the chest supposedly containing the gold was being placed by Lane on the *Nebuchadnezzar*, it was dropped and broke open, and the discovery was made that it contained only stones. At first the attempt was made to place the blame for this theft upon some of the crew of the Spanish ship, but it soon became evident that they never had had the opportunity to approach the warehouse where the gold had been kept. Then suspicion was directed against the men who, as guards, had access to it. The guards were called before the magistrates

for examination and under cross-questioning one of them broke down and confessed. The gold had been kept in an inner cellar. During the warm weather the guards had been stationed outside the building, but as the weather grew cold, they were admitted to an outer cellar. Four of the guards decided upon a plan to enrich themselves. They tunnelled from the outer cellar into the inner one, dragged the chest of gold through the tunnel and substituted stones for the coins. The gold was then divided into four parts and each of the four thieves took one of these parts and hid it.

After this confession had been heard, all four of the men involved, as well as some others who were believed to be guilty of minor thefts, were placed in the town jail. Early in the following spring some friends of the incarcerated men smuggled crowbars into the jail, thus enabling the men to make their escape. They were never recaptured and were never vigorously pursued. Popular feeling was so much in their favor at that time that if they had been captured it would have been almost impossible to prevent their escaping again. As to what became of the gold, there is no definite information. It was rumored that, years later, two colored slaves found some of it hidden in an old stone wall which they were repairing, and were able, through its use, to buy their freedom. Whatever the fate of the gold, the Spaniard never saw any of it again.

In this story of the theft of the gold, the Spaniards were the victims and the local authorities the inefficient guardians. It must not be forgotten, however, that if San Juan had not severed his relations with Saltonstall he would have arrived in Spain before the theft was even attempted, so in the last analysis responsibility for its loss rests with him.

IX

The defeat of Governor Wolcott and the election in his stead of Thomas Fitch did not change the status of the Spanish Ship Case or relieve the colony of a measure of responsibility. The case was now taken up in a letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state for the southern department, to the Governor and Company of Connecticut, written June 13, 1754. In this letter the Connecticut government was severely criticized for not having more effectively protected the cargo, and the statement was made that the *Triton*, a British man-of-war, was to be sent to New London under the command of Captain Whitwell, to see that the cargo was quickly shipped to Spain and there delivered to its rightful owners. The letter ended with the sentence:

It being his Majesty's most Serious Intention (which I cannot help repeating to you in the Strongest manner) that the Court of Spain shall have the fullest Justice and Satisfaction imaginable.

On October 31, 1754, Captain Matthew Whitwell informed the governor and council of Connecticut of his arrival in Rhode Island and of his intention to sail at once to New London to carry out the orders as given in Sir Thomas Robinson's letter. Before Captain Whitwell could arrive, however, another issue had arisen to add to the Spaniard's difficulties. Richard Keats had been employed as mate on the *Nebuchadnezzar* for the proposed voyage to Spain. When the voyage was indefinitely postponed, Keats demanded that his wages of £86 be paid him. The demand being refused, he libeled the vessel.² San Juan then appealed to Governor Fitch to

² Keats withdrew his action for libel on December 17, but under what circumstances does not appear.

disallow this libel, and the governor in his reply of November 4, 1754, drew a very interesting distinction between his own powers and those of the vice-admiralty courts. He said in part:

I have no Command over the Admiralty to Stay their proceedings if they go beyond their Jurisdiction so must Refer you to the Chiefe Judge or other Judges of our Superior Court who by law are impowered to grant prohibitions to the Court of Admiralty when that Court Exceeds its Jurisdiction but then you must be Able to Shew the Law in Your Favour

Some time after this minor difficulty was under discussion, Captain Whitwell arrived in New London and began a vigorous attempt to get the Spaniard ready to sail for Spain. He notified his arrival to Governor Fitch, delivered to him the above-mentioned letter from Sir Thomas Robinson, and requested him to order the cargo embarked at once and to employ his efforts to recover the stolen goods. The governor and council met and issued the requisite orders, and appointed Jonathan Trumbull³ and Roger Wolcott, Jr., to go to New London and concert with Whitwell "the best means and Measures for Answering the Kings Intentions." The council requested the governor to prepare a statement in defence of Connecticut to be sent to Secretary Robinson at Whitehall. A proclamation was issued by the governor which required all persons having any of the cargo in their possession to hand it over immediately to the Spaniard.

Trumbull and Wolcott, upon their arrival in New London, communicated with Whitwell, and at once set to work to collect the remainder of the cargo and to load it on the *Nebuchadnezzar*. With their arrival a most re-

³ Later governor of Connecticut.

freshing efficiency was injected into the confusion of the preceding two years. By January 5, 1755, they were able to write that "The Spanish Effects are now embarked" and that the ship was ready to sail. The following day Whitwell acknowledged the letter and voiced his pleasure at the coöperation of Trumbull and Wolcott. He also expressed the hope that more of the stolen goods might be recovered.

It is interesting to discover just what part of the cargo had been stolen or damaged. A comparison of the full cargo upon arrival with that part which was ultimately shipped gives the following information. Out of 562 bags⁴ of indigo 323 were found undamaged, 154 damaged, and 45, in casks and barrels, but slightly damaged. So the total loss of indigo was 40 bags. Out of 83,621 dollars in silver 305 $\frac{1}{4}$ remained. Not all the missing silver had been stolen. Six chests had been given to San Juan in January, 1753, to pay off his crew; fourteen had been given to San Juan in February, 1753, to pay the salvage charges; and six more in August, 1753, for personal expenses. Of thirteen chests which had been delivered to Lane in August, 1753, Lane had stolen four, had used four to pay various bills owed by San Juan, and had left five on the *Nebuchadnezzar*. These five were unguarded, and were plundered from time to time. So out of the 39 chests, containing about 2100 dollars each, the Spaniard had personally received 26 and had paid bills with four more. The four chests stolen by Lane and the five on the ship which were plundered were his only absolute loss, a matter of about 20,000 Spanish dollars. There were recovered 480 dollars out of an original 5100 in gold. The

⁴In a deposition made by Trumbull and Wolcott in June, 1756, or later, it is remarked that the inventory taken at New London on December 12, 1752 mentioned only 549 bags of indigo instead of 562.

remainder of the cargo was about the same as upon arrival.

While such a record is discreditable to a law-abiding community, it seems that too much blame can easily be placed upon the people of New London and Connecticut. Certainly the gold should have been guarded more carefully and greater effort should have been made to recover it, but the loss of most of the silver was due to Lane, and the damage and loss of the indigo was due to the Spaniard's refusal to deal with the Connecticut authorities. It is surprising that more of the cargo was not stolen when the opportunity for theft was so great. Soon after the cargo had been placed aboard, the *Nebuchadnezzar* sailed in January, 1755. On May 20, of the same year, Richard Partridge wrote from London to Roger Wolcott, a letter which he must have found much to his satisfaction. The letter reported:

I have lately had Notice from one at y^e Sec^{ry} of States Office y^t y^e Spaniards are now pretty well satisfied wth what they have got of y^e Cargo of their Ship y^t was carr^d into N. London, in that there was a large quantity of Indigo left for them w^{ch} now was worth double y^e price it was wⁿ it was first landed there, So y^t I believe you will scarce hear of any more Complaints about it, . . .

X

Partridge's optimism proved ill-founded, for on November 3, 1755, Secretary Robinson wrote to the Governor and Company of Connecticut that the Spaniards were far from satisfied, claiming that nearly the whole of the money and part of the effects were still detained in Connecticut, and that the king was sending another warship to New London to collect the remainder of the Spanish effects.

In May, 1756, the *Syren*, a British man-of-war, entered the port of New London under the command of Captain Charles Proby, with orders to collect and take to Spain the remainder of the cargo of the Spanish ship. Governor Fitch again called upon Jonathan Trumbull and Roger Wolcott, Jr., to act as his agents and to aid Captain Proby in his mission. Governor Fitch also wrote to Captain Proby that he believed it impossible to recover any of the stolen property and emphasized the fact that four chests of silver were in New York and could only be recovered by a search in that province. He enclosed various statements and depositions from interested parties as to what had been done in the past, relative to the case, as well as an official statement of the case. In this statement the entire subject was again reviewed. It appears from the records that Captain Proby returned to London with nothing but these papers, none of the stolen part of the cargo having been recovered.

It was not until January, 1758, that the Spanish Ship Case again attracted attention. At that time William Pitt, who had been appointed secretary of state, wrote that the Spanish ambassador to the court of St. James had again complained to the British government regarding the thefts suffered by the Spaniards. Pitt's criticism was severe, and concluded:

I am now to Signify to you the Kings pleasure that you Do Employ Your utmost Endeavours for the Recovery of whatever shall be still Due to the Owners of the said Spanish Ship S^t Joseph and S^t Helena or full Satisfaction for such part thereof as shall not be forthcoming; . . .

Governor Fitch in his reply attempted to justify all that had been done by the Connecticut authorities. He pointed out that when the Spaniard was leaving for

Spain he had signed a paper stating that he was well satisfied with the conduct of the Connecticut government and had no further cause for complaint. Fitch added that he thought the case had been closed two years earlier and was very much surprised to hear that it had been reopened. Consequently, he had duplicates of all the papers made and forwarded them to Pitt in October of the same year. About the same time Partridge wrote:

I hear nothing further of y^e Spaniards Complaints about their Ship S^t Joseph & S^t Helena & believe that is all over, that Nation continues neuter still as it is hoped they will do for the future.

The last record mentioning the case is a report sent by Jared Ingersoll, at that time Connecticut's agent in London, to Governor Fitch, August 10, 1761. He reported:

the matters about which I was particularly Instructed at Setting out from home, you will remember. As to one of which viz the Affair of the Spanish Snow & her Cargo, I Acquainted you formerly that in Conversation with M^r Secretary Pitt, Soon after my arrival at London, I Learnt that no further Complaints had been made on the part of the Spaniard, Since the Colonys Account of their proceedings & Conduct in that affair had been laid before the Spanish Minister. Since that time another Ambassador has been Sent to the British Court from that of Spain, in the room of the former & no new representations made, So that I believe it may Safely be Concluded there is nothing farther to be apprehended from that Affair.

Thus ends the Spanish Ship Case—an affair that strained the relations between Spain and England, as well as those between England and Connecticut; an affair that put at odds the different branches of the Con-

necticut central and local government, that caused the unjustifiable disgrace of Governor Wolcott (although he was later vindicated), and that, for several years, gave the people of Connecticut real anxiety lest they be required to pay a million dollars in damages to the Spanish government.

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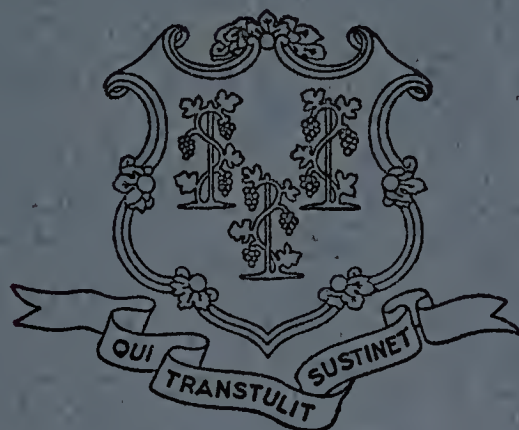
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of Connecticut
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COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Great Awakening
and Other Revivals in the Religious Life
of Connecticut*

MARY HEWITT MITCHELL

I

THE Puritan founders of Connecticut, like those of Massachusetts, were the offspring of a remarkable revival of religious fervor in England. They moved across the Atlantic to set up their religious Utopia in the New World. Spiritual exaltation and earnestness sustained them amid the perils and pains of establishing homes and churches in the New England wilderness. Clergymen were their leaders. On the Sabbath, the minister, in gown and bands, preached to his flock beneath a tree or under some rude shelter. On other days, in more practical attire, he guided and shared the varied labors incident to the foundation of the new settlement.

The younger generation and the later comers, however, had more worldliness mingled with their aims, but religion continued a dominant factor in the expanding colonial life. Perhaps the common man felt personal enthusiasm for religion less than he did necessary regard

for provisions of the law, yet as he wandered into unoccupied parts of the colony, he was not leaving the watch and ward of the church. Usually, indeed, he did not wish to, since even the most worldly-minded desired the honors and privileges attached to membership in the church-state.

When distance made it difficult and burdensome to fulfill religious obligations in the original community and little outlying or detached groups wished for local self-government, the process of separation often began naturally and simply through the ecclesiastical organization. For instance, the first step would be to request allowance during winter months for their own neighborhood worship; then would come formation as a separate parish; and finally, incorporation as a town. If the new locality were more remote, the settlers would be accompanied by a minister, or would soon seek to secure one so that the religious and political organization of their new community might proceed with equal pace. Incorporation was granted only when the members of the new group had proved to the satisfaction of the general court that they had both the desire and the ability to establish a church and to support an able and orthodox minister. This requirement was enforced by the explicit regulation that a meeting house must be built in every town. The settlement of thirty families in a locality came to be the recognized basis for a new parish and town. Thus, in a double sense, Connecticut "was settled with a particular view to religion."

Utopias are more easily dreamed, and even founded, than maintained after the first enthusiasm wanes, so in a short time, weeds and brambles appeared among the vines of the new plantation. In the words of Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven, historian of the colony, "there

was a sensible decline as to the life and power of godliness . . . a general ease and security in sin." By 1660 the golden age of piety in Connecticut was drawing to a close. The authorities observed with sorrow the decline in religious life and morality, and recalled the exaltation of the early days with regret. In 1674, James Fitch, the first minister of Norwich, said in an election sermon, "Let us call to minde the first Glory in the first planting of New England and of the Churches here. Let me say multitudes, multitudes, were converted to thee O Hartford, to thee O New Haven, to thee O Windsor!" In 1686, John Whiting of Hartford, in another election sermon, questioned, "Is there not too visible and general a declension; are we not turned (and that quickly too) out of the way wherein our fathers walked?" He added, "A rain of righteousness and soaking showers of converting, sanctifying grace sent from heaven will do the business for us, and indeed, nothing else."

To this decline in piety various forces contributed. Life in the wilderness, with its almost inevitable "indianizing," was demoralizing. Recognition of this danger had been shown in the first sermon preached in New Haven, on "The temptations in the wilderness." The disasters, license, and horrors which accompanied the colonial wars of the century took men's minds from spiritual things. Furthermore, there were disputes with other colonies, distractions over the contemporary political changes in England, and fears that the Restoration would deprive the colonies of their liberties. Later on, the days of the Andros rule and of the hiding of the charter were even less favorable to religion.

More lamentable was the fact that, even before death had removed all the first leaders, trouble began in the very strongholds of religious life, in the churches them-

selves. Discord appeared in the Hartford church, and "from the fire of the altar, there issued thunderings and lightnings and earthquakes through the colony." New Haven, at that time distant and independent, felt the reverberations. "The differences arisen in the church of Hartford make me sad," remarked Governor Eaton. Though he would not consider his wife's suggestion to return to England, it was not long before Davenport and Pierson, holding the maintenance of their ideas of religion above other considerations, left New Haven and Branford, thus pathetically ending their hopes and visions of a religious Utopia in Connecticut.

Before the close of the century dissension was disturbing other churches. There were troubles in Wethersfield and Stratford, and the church in Windsor was described in 1680 as in a "bleeding state and condition." So serious were these controversies that the whole colony was affected. The present interest, however, in these symptoms and results of the altered conditions attaches to the measures taken to remove the trouble and revive the spirit of piety.

Official action of ministers and magistrates, the logical way to attempt reform in a church-state or Holy Commonwealth, was tried in all its forms. Every kind of civil and ecclesiastical machinery of the colony was set in motion. Inquiries into religious conditions and needs were ordered. Assemblies, councils, and synods; the general court, county courts, and town meetings; judges, justices of the peace, and selectmen, all were called upon to help in the effort "to further religion and reformation in these declining times," that "all possible means may be used for our healing and recovery from our degeneracy."

The first solution adopted, known as the Half Way Covenant, was directed towards keeping as many as

possible, especially of the younger generation, connected with the churches. This plan permitted baptized persons, under slight restrictions, to acquire formal church membership, though regular membership with admission to the Lord's Supper continued to be reserved for those who made profession of special or conscious religious experience. Like many compromises, this met with only partial approval, and those churches which did adopt it gave it up one by one, often as a result of a revival. From the point of view of early leaders such as Davenport and Street, it was "an uncouth way, and very unpleasant divinity," and later many men like Lyman Beecher regarded it as "this anomaly in religion."

In 1708 action was taken along another line, in an attempt to end increasing variations and confusions in the organization and management of churches by their submission to the Saybrook Platform. This was an ecclesiastical constitution which, it was hoped, would secure order, uniformity, and stricter government among the churches. It was drawn up by a group of ministers and laymen chosen under instructions from the general court, and with the special approval of Gurdon Saltonstall, influential minister as well as governor. Colony and county *consociations* of churches and *associations* of ministers were set up to which were assigned certain powers in connection with such matters as forming churches, settling religious disputes, and licensing ministers. The Platform was ordered printed and distributed at the expense of the colony, and was the first book printed in Connecticut. Since the fundamental idea of Congregationalism allowed each church to choose whether it would accept such measures, the refusal of some of the churches to adopt the Half Way Covenant and the Saybrook Platform prepared the way for trouble and dis-

putes. This difficulty was accentuated by different interpretations of its rules of discipline by those churches which did adopt the Platform.

As the churches became formalized under the influence of this constitution and secularized through the connection with the civil state, which must give final permission for constituting churches and which passed laws for their support by general taxation, the Puritan idea of the need for spiritual religion seemed about to disappear. Avoidance of openly scandalous conduct was considered sufficient by many people, churches grew lax in discipline, and there came to be little difference between many who were church members and many who were not.

The old spirit, however, never became extinct, and the attempts at reform by authority of formal bodies were constantly paralleled by the efforts of those who emphasized experimental religion, the "quickenings" of individual experience, the "washing of regeneration." As the method of reform by authority failed, and as formalism and secularization increasingly threatened religious life, awakenings or revivals, as they came to be generally called, were developed into the recognized means of gaining church members and of arousing and sustaining religious enthusiasm. The history of these movements was not unbroken, though in almost every year some church in Connecticut felt "gentle refreshings from the presence of the Lord"—something like a revival. Great outpourings of the Spirit that might properly be called revivals came at rarer intervals, and affected more than a single church or a single colony. In Connecticut as elsewhere there were two outstanding periods of revival activity: the first of these, known as the Great Awakening, reached its height in the short revivals of 1735 and 1740. After another era of religious decline, the second

and longer period of successive and wide-spread awakenings began about 1792.

Revivals had other results than the conversion of hundreds of individuals. In Connecticut, an immediate effect of the first period was to introduce new causes of division in the established church which had hitherto been substantially united. Still another result was to afford other denominations better opportunities to establish themselves in the colony. Its final effect, acting in conjunction with other forces, was to place all denominations on the same basis by the disestablishment of the Congregational Church. The revivals of the second period brought about the overthrow of infidelity which had been alarmingly prevalent, and gave the churches strength to survive the loss of state support in 1818. They also stimulated, by the broadened view of religious duty, the development of the great nineteenth-century religious and philanthropic activities, such as the opening of Sunday schools, the organization and support of foreign and domestic missions, and the efforts for the reform of morals, for example the struggle against the evils of intemperance. Even the earlier period of revivals had awakened in men like David Brainerd and Eleazar Wheelock missionary zeal for the conversion of the Indians. The school which Wheelock had started for Indian boys in North Lebanon, now Columbia, originally with the purpose of educating Samson Occom, converted during the Great Awakening, developed later into Dartmouth College.

An American clergyman, Calvin Colton, writing in the early nineteenth century to describe American revivals to English people, divided them into two classes (not corresponding to the two chronological divisions): those revivals which came with no apparent preparation,

“directly from the presence of the Lord, unasked for, unexpected,” supernatural visitations of the divine sovereign spirit; and those which were promoted by human instrumentality, “matters of human calculation by the arithmetic of faith in God’s engagements.” These human instruments, the zealous and efficient workers, were themselves the product of revival experiences.

Even prior to the first period of revivals, awakenings had occurred in individual churches. Some were occasioned by a special trial or calamity, such as an epidemic or the earthquake which prompted Eliphalet Williams, minister in East Hartford, at a later time, to preach on “The Duty of the People Under Dark Providences or Symptoms of Approaching Evils to Prepare to Meet Their God.” At the time of King Philip’s War, in 1675, the covenant of the church in Norwich expressed humble thankfulness “for some progress of Converting Work in some of the rising Generation among us; But . . . we do behold many unconverted Souls in this destroying year.” Hartford experienced a revival in the winter and spring of 1696, perhaps partly attributable to an Indian alarm and to poor crops. Between the end of February and the beginning of April nearly two hundred persons became members of the First Church, though the fact that all but twelve joined on the Half Way Covenant plan suggests aroused sensibilities rather than radical conversion. Only ten were received by the Second Church.

A few early awakenings, however, occurred apparently without such external causes. After the ordination of Timothy Edwards in East Windsor in 1694, the church is reported to have felt frequent revivals, though no record was kept of admissions. Some family letters state that in 1715 and 1716 Mrs. Edwards and two daughters made profession of faith as the result of a revival. In the early

years of the eighteenth century Branford had three small "ingatherings," that a later pastor said would have been technically called revivals. In 1721, though the general assembly felt obliged to pass an Act for Preventing and Punishing the Prophanation of the Sabbath or Lord's Day, Franklin, Norwich, Windham, and Windsor experienced revivals. The church at Windham, which added eighty to full membership within six months, was compared to "Gideon's fleece, which was filled with moisture when all around it was dry."

II

THE first period of revivals began in 1735. Strictly, the term, the Great Awakening, applies to the high tide of this movement in 1740-41, but it may also be properly used to refer to the earlier period of revivals as a whole. Though the rain of righteousness had started in Massachusetts, it soon spread over a more extensive area in Connecticut. By the end of May, 1736, about twenty parishes,¹ to a greater or less degree, had been affected. Personal reasons seem to account in some measure for the appearance of these revivals in particular localities. Thus, the pastor of East Windsor was father of Jonathan Edwards in whose church in Northampton the movement started. Benjamin Lord of Norwich, and John Owen of Groton, went to Massachusetts in 1735 to observe the work there. Lord's report of the work at Northampton was said to have been the chief influence in starting a revival in his church.

This initial revival was short-lived, and left many localities and the great body of the people untouched.

¹ These were Windsor, East Windsor, Coventry, Lebanon, Durham, Mansfield, Stratford, Ripton, Franklin, Tolland, Hebron, Bolton, Preston, Groton, Norwich, Guilford, New Haven, Windham, Woodbury.

Decline in religion continued, but ministers prayed for quickened life in their churches. In February, 1738, Daniel Wadsworth, minister of the First Church of Hartford wrote in his diary, "I am much concerned w^t to do to revive a Concern about religion among my people." George Whitefield, when he spent a night in 1740 with the Reverend William Russell of Middletown, found that he had been "long mourning over the Deadness of Professors." Prayers for a revival of religion were answered, but in a manner that filled many ministers with perplexity and dismay, and almost destroyed many churches.

The revival of 1735 aroused such general interest that Jonathan Edwards wrote *A faithful narrative of the surprising work of God in the conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton, and the neighbouring towns* (London, 1737; Boston, 1738). This account and the visits of the young English preacher, George Whitefield, and of Gilbert Tennent of New Brunswick, New Jersey, "the Soul of Fire," awakened a new and wide-spread religious enthusiasm in 1740. It extended practically to all places in Connecticut, among all kinds of persons, and was more powerful here than in other colonies, profoundly affecting religious life for fifty years.

The first visit of Whitefield to Connecticut began in October, 1740, when Jonathan Edwards brought him from Northampton to the house of his father in East Windsor. After preaching there, Whitefield went on to Hartford where, according to Daniel Wadsworth's diary, he preached "in the forenoon to a vast concourse of people here . . . and in the afternoon at Wethersfield." Thence he proceeded to Middletown, Wallingford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, and New York. Thousands in Connecticut heard him preach; the legislature of the colony, in session in New Haven, was

adjourned that all might hear him; Governor Talcott embraced him and thanked God for such refreshings; but Daniel Wadsworth wrote, "W^t to think of the man and his Itinerant preaching I scarcely know," and men like him were worried and troubled.

Others were roused to enthusiasm and coöperated eagerly in promoting the revival. The clerical leaders of the Great Awakening in Connecticut were closely bound together by their acquaintance with Whitefield, by their ties of blood or marriage, or by their close mutual friendships and neighborly contacts. Four of these were conspicuous for their zealous activity in the revival and for their prominence in the resulting controversies, namely: Jedidiah Mills, pastor of Ripton,² Whitefield's "dear man of God," and the "three Boanerges in voice and manner," Eleazar Wheelock, Benjamin Pomeroy, and Joseph Bellamy. Wheelock, the winning and strenuous pastor at North Lebanon, often with tears flowing down his cheeks and those of his hearers, preached one hundred more sermons in one year than there are days. Pomeroy, who was Wheelock's brother-in-law, and also neighbor, as pastor in Hebron, was considered a man of real genius and "a most thundering preacher of the new light order." More than once he was placed under arrest, and for seven years he was deprived of his salary. Bellamy, who was just entering upon his long ministry in the frontier town of Bethlehem, with his commanding presence and powerful voice soon became

. . . . a giant in the pulpit there,
Whose eloquence the devil's self might scare.

This masterful and domineering personality, whose learning distinguished him as the doctrinal Jonathan

² A new parish in the northern part of Stratford, now the town of Shelton.

Edwards of Connecticut, wielded almost despotic power in the religious affairs of the colony for half a century.

Through the efforts of these men and others, such as Jonathan Parsons of Lyme, and John Graham of Southbury, more or less aided by the prevailing commercial depression, the revival spread like wild-fire in the years 1740, 1741, 1742. Though there were towns such as Branford which were scarcely touched, and such as Danbury which were passed over entirely, most places rejoiced in large additions to church membership. Thus, in 1740, in five or six months, eighty were added to the church in Groton; in the same year one hundred and four were added in North Stonington, as against sixty-five in the nine previous years. In 1740 and 1741 about two hundred and fifty joined the two churches in Lyme, while in a little more than a year one hundred were added to the church in Franklin.

Unfortunately, though perhaps not unnaturally, much excitement and many indiscretions were connected with the movement. The theology of the time made conversion painful and exciting at best. The normal stages of experience were "awful apprehension" and misery over man's sinfulness and total depravity; submissiveness to God's absolute sovereignty; dependence on His grace and recognition of His justice even if it meant eternal damnation; and finally, in successful cases, happiness over conviction of being elected of God to eternal life. Such an experience, being "wounded" it was well called, inevitably produced extreme agitation so that meetings too often degenerated into scenes strangely incongruous with the sober Puritanism of Connecticut. Hysterical manifestations of all kinds were seen: "screachings, cryings out," bodily contortions, jumping, dancing, visions, trances, and faintings. Jonathan Parsons of Lyme said of

the effects of his own preaching: "Great numbers cried aloud in the anguish of their souls. Several stout men fell as though a cannon ball had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts. Some young women were thrown into hysteric fits." Occasionally meetings became so disorderly that a constable had to intervene.

By some these manifestations were considered marks of divine favor. Others regarded them as "the most strange management and a pretence of religion," and called them the work of Satan and the scenes a sort of Bedlam. The General Association, the organization of ministers, declared in 1742: "The great Enemy of Souls who is ever ready with his devices to Check, Damp & Destroy if possible the Work of God, is very busy for that purpose."

The most extravagant and influential, in Connecticut, of the followers and imitators of this part of Whitefield's methods was James Davenport, great-grandson of the founder of New Haven, and a favorite with Whitefield, with whom he travelled for a time. He was one of the youngest persons who ever entered Yale College, and was at this time a graduate of less than ten years standing. Hitherto sound and faithful, he became infected with the enthusiasm of Whitefield and started out to follow the example of his "ranging" or itinerant preaching. At this time the position of a minister settled, supposedly for life, in a geographical parish (a town or subdivision of a town), and supported by taxation under the laws of the colony, was different from that of a minister today in a poll-parish (a group of individuals), who is supported by voluntary contributions. Davenport felt called upon to go uninvited into the parishes, or domains as they might almost be termed, of such settled ministers to preach.

Indeed, he did not hesitate to denounce publicly as hypocrites and wolves in sheep's clothing those ministers whom he regarded as unconverted, and to declare them unfit to continue in the pulpit. These intrusions, as they were considered in many cases, and these denunciations became sources of contention. The Connecticut General Consociation of 1741 took the position that when men had been regularly chosen and ordained "they are lawful ministers of Christ, even if after all they should Really be Unconverted men." There are biographical accounts of more than one individual which report that he intended to become a minister even before he was converted. As late as 1789, President Stiles of Yale frequently gave as a topic of debate for seniors a question like this: "Whether a Man may go into the Ministry knowing himself to be irregenerate & unconverted."

In the pulpit Davenport went to extremes in noisy and eccentric conduct. Joshua Hempstead's diary described his meetings as "all mere confused medley," praying "without form or comeliness," and "nothing that was regular." He told of one meeting that lasted until two o'clock in the morning. Some people stayed all night in the meeting house or under the oak tree nearby where the meeting had been held because of the crowd. Often Davenport went singing through the streets, "bawling" his enemies called it, and stirring people to acts which remind one of the time of Savonarola. His career in this work was comparatively brief, covering only about three years, but was conversely lasting in its damaging effects. In July, 1741, he came over from his parish at Southold, Long Island, and travelled from Stonington to New Haven. Many went to hear him, and in Stonington, it is said, one hundred were converted under his first sermon, though his actions were described as boisterous. In New

Haven great confusion was reported, and ultimately the single church of the town was divided. About a year later complaint of his doings was made to the general court, and he was tried by that body. This did not end his activities as in March, 1743, while in New London to help form a Separate church, he organized in the main street a bonfire of religious books condemned by him as blind guides, and of idols, that is, worldly books, ornaments, and apparel. This was his last recorded appearance as a fanatic. The expostulations of friends and illness, followed by the recovery of his reason, led him in August, 1744, to put forth a retraction of his violent deeds, though this produced little or no effect on his followers. His extravagant behavior, however, was imitated by such laymen as "Lawyer Paine" of Windham who "has set up for a preacher . . . and makes it his business to go from house to house and town to town to gain proselytes to this new religion."

The excesses of Davenport and his "zealous yet wildish and scatterbrained" followers alienated "steady christians and the most Judicious among ministers and people," including many who had favored the revival in the beginning. Aside from objections to the strange conduct of the itinerants and resentment of their personal denunciations, many settled ministers naturally disliked the intrusion into their parishes of this new kind of strolling preachers and lay exhorters. They might apply Whitefield's own words, "Some called me a spiritual pickpocket," and oppose the itinerants as disregarding the laws for the settlement of ministers in parishes and the legal establishment or allowance of churches. As Governor Wolcott said, about this time, to a missionary of the Church of England, "Tis the first Time I have ever heard that an Itinerant was Minister of a Parish."

In an attempt to secure peace and to end the confusions resulting from the Great Stir, magistrates and ministers, authorities civil and ecclesiastical, once more legislated on religious matters. Isaac Stiles, Old Light minister of North Haven, in the election sermon of 1742, "turned the artillery of heaven in a tremendous manner" against the revival, comparing the New Lights, as the followers of Whitefield were called, to "Will with his wisp and Jack with his lanthorn." In response to such agitation, and to demands for measures to blow out the New Lights, the general assembly in May, 1742, passed a bill to restrain itinerant ministers, and another to arrest Davenport and Pomeroy and bring them before the assembly. The two-day trial of these arch-offenders was held in Daniel Wadsworth's meeting house, nearly causing a riot and necessitating calling out forty militiamen. Davenport, adjudged an enthusiast and breaker of the peace but "disturbed in the rational faculties of his mind," was not punished. He was ordered sent out of the jurisdiction as a vagrant, according to the law recently passed, and, guarded by a sheriff and led between two files of musketeers, was marched from the meeting house to the river and put on board a vessel for his home. Pomeroy was discharged as comparatively blameless, but was roughly treated by the people. Twice later he was in trouble with the authorities for disorders he committed.³

Soon after the first visit of Whitefield to Connecticut, Wadsworth wrote in his diary, "The prospect of our religious affairs Looks melancholly, the great awakening

³ Davenport became a respected minister in New Jersey, though he still had troubles. He died there about a dozen years later at the age of forty. After restoration to his parish in Hebron, Pomeroy seems to have confined himself to local duties except for helping his brother-in-law, Wheelock, found Dartmouth College and for service as an army chaplain in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars.

&c seems to be degenerating into Strife and faction." His fears were realized to such an extent that the next forty or fifty years have been characterized as "the unhappy time," "separatical times," "the great schism," "the civil wars of the Lord." Parties were formed: those who opposed the awakening, the Old Lights; those who recognized the need for such a movement, but felt aversion to its excesses, the moderate New Lights; and those who favored it in all its aspects, the radical New Lights. Many of the latter, especially in southeastern Connecticut, went so far as to form Separate churches (more than thirty in number), denying the authority of the Saybrook Platform and coming into open conflict with the established order of the colony. Sooner or later, as religious liberty was gained, some of these returned to the church from which they had separated, while others joined the denomination most like them, the Baptist, or disappeared entirely. The Old Light party was especially active in New Haven county; the radical New Light party was strong in New London and Windham counties, in the eastern part of Fairfield county, and prevailed to some extent in Hartford and Tolland counties. Representatives of each party were found everywhere, ministers were about equally divided, leading citizens inclined to the Old Light party, and the rank and file of New Lights and Separatists were "chiefly of the lower and Younger Sort" or so it seemed to the Consociation of 1741.

The troubles arising from the Great Awakening may be grouped as follows: excommunications, arrests, and imprisonment of church members for frequenting Separate meetings or refusing to pay taxes for the support of the established church; removal from public office of justices of the peace and other officials for New Light activities; expulsion of a few students from Yale for

attending Separate meetings; rebuke and expulsion of ministers from their Associations and withholding of their salaries for helping form Separate churches, for licensing New Light ministers, or for preaching in other parishes than their own, either to Separate congregations of their own denomination or to Baptists; greater diversity of theological opinion; disputes and divisions of churches, with the consequent growth of Baptist and Anglican societies, made up of those who were disgusted with the excesses of the New Lights or were offended by the repressive acts of the authorities.

Examples of each form of conflict might be given, unfortunately, in considerable number,⁴ but again our interest is not in details of these happenings, but in their effect on religious life and revivals. Repressive measures, as might have been expected, served only to heap fuel on the fire of New Light enthusiasm, and to bring criticism on the colony. New Light ministers, shut out of meeting houses, preached in private houses or out-of-doors, immediately recalling memories of the first ministers of the colony. Men and women who were put in prison for failure to pay taxes were regarded as martyrs by their sympathizers, and their opponents complained that they spent their time "glorying in their Sufferings, and preaching daily to those that will come to hear 'em, moving their compassions." In the eyes of their party there was, as Benjamin Pomeroy said, "no Colony so bad as Connecticut for persecuting laws." Even some members of the Old Light party felt that the authorities went too far.

From the mother country, whose own established

⁴ Some verses written in 1769 said:

And this is what I have observed,
Of folks who've been new-lighting,
Like Saracens, Saints Soldiers make,
And prove their faith by fighting.

church was represented in the colony, and whose laws for the toleration of "sober dissent" had to be observed, came protests against the persecuting spirit prevailing in Connecticut. From other colonies came criticism. In 1759, Dr. Alison, vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia wrote to Ezra Stiles, later president of Yale, "I am heartily grieved for the Contentions and divisions that are like to prevail in Connecticut: I highly esteem that Church and people, and had almost determined to make it the retreat of my old age; but am vexed that they bite and devour one another. Nothing can be more fatal to their piety, morals or liberty; they will be swallowed up by the Episcopal Church, who envy them their prosperity and will avail themselves of these divisions." The Congregationalists were not swallowed up, but did lose many members to the Church of England, resulting in the formation of many new parishes and the erection of churches of that denomination. A group of people in Northbury, for instance, declared in 1744 that they fled to that church for safety from the confusions resulting from New Light "insufferable enthusiastic whims and extemporaneous jargon." The Anglicans said, "If these dissenters will but confute one another, it will save us the trouble."

The quarrels and confusions, however, as well as the conversions, ultimately brought good. From the spiritual quickening of the churches and the revolt against the dull, formal preaching of conventional morality there resulted for a time almost a moral revolution. From the revolt against intolerance and persecution by the established church and the civil authorities came religious liberty and equality. Before the end of the century, the persecuting acts and the Saybrook Platform, which had been ratified by the general assembly in 1708, were

omitted from revisions of the statutes and persecution was ended. Favoritism to the Congregational Church, still the established church, and to its ministers, continued some years longer, until religious equality was secured by the constitution of 1818. During the latter part of this period the Federalist party, kept in office continuously by the steady habits of Connecticut voters, and the clergy of the Congregational Church "like Moses and Aaron walked together" in such close alliance as to form a powerful ruling class known as the Standing Order. One clerical leader in the Federalist period, Timothy Dwight, was called Pope Dwight because of his political power, and enemies of the Standing Order said Connecticut was a priest-ridden state. On the other hand, toleration and democracy were regarded as almost synonymous with French atheism. This period of the Standing Order brought to a close the era of the church-state, the Holy Commonwealth, the religious Utopia.

The reaction from the extravagance and confusion of the Great Awakening, and the possession of political power by Connecticut ministers made the typical clergyman of the established Congregational Church a formal, stately personage, too frequently dull in manner, indirect, and non-committal in matter. The sarcastic McFingal said of the pulpit of this period:

Oft dulness flying from disgrace
Finds safety in that sacred place.

Lyman Beecher told in characteristic fashion of a sermon preached by one of these staid, conservative divines, his uncle, Noah Williston, pastor of the church in West Haven, in which he repeated the text "over and over, and turned it this way and that, and scratched it as a hen

does an ear of corn." People expected from their ministers little in religion beyond the doctrinal exposition of theology, read to them on the Sabbath, often with none of the graces of oratory, and regarded their own obligations as sufficiently fulfilled by faithful weekly attendance at the meeting house.

In this long period of religious controversy and of decline in piety which followed the Great Awakening, few people took an interest in experimental religion and none in revivals. Ministers, who had come to look upon these manifestations with fear and distrust, found it hard to believe that there could be any good in them when they reappeared at the close of the century. Nor was this the only unfortunate result of the injudicious acts connected with the Great Awakening. "Waste places," districts burned over by the destroying zeal of Davenport and his followers, existed, particularly in the eastern part of Connecticut, the hotbed of New Light enthusiasm. From them, said Lyman Beecher, "sally forth the infidel, seeking whom he may devour." Such places were long in recovering. As late as 1813, Thomas Robbins observed that a town in another part of the state, "is almost ruined by religious sectarianism, which has prevailed here seventy years."

"Moral camp distemper," following the frequent wars of the second part of the eighteenth century, added to the religious demoralization. Gratitude for French help in the War for Independence and sympathy with certain phases of the French Revolution increased "the corruptions of Deism" which, Ezra Stiles said as early as 1759, "are spreading apace in this Country." Yale College, which had been a school for the training of orthodox ministers, was described, in 1787, as "ardent, intensely studious, factious, infidel, opinionated." When Shubael

Bartlett entered Yale in 1796 he was the only member of the freshman class who was pious, while there was no sophomore and only one junior, though there were eight or ten seniors. At this time practically no young people in New Haven were religious, and this condition was not merely local. A minister in Windham, in 1790, made this sweeping denunciation: "The present day is peculiar for men's throwing off the fear of the Lord. Declensions in religion have been increasing for about thirty years past, such as profaneness, disregard of the Sabbath, neglect of family religion, unrighteousness, intemperance, imbibing of modern errors and heresies and the crying prevalence of infidelity against the clearest of light." Others gave the same testimony, and conditions were summed up in the phrase that it was an age of free drinking and free thinking.

To meet the decline of church life and morality and the general indifference of people to religion, all sects and denominations, except the Episcopalian, returned to revivals as the means by which reform might be brought about. Dependence on revivals was inevitable, for theology had not changed, and men were still held to be totally depraved by nature and in need of radical conversion. Leaders and revival preachers appeared, such as Timothy Dwight, who became president of Yale in 1795. The connection with Jonathan Edwards and the earlier revival period is interesting, for not only was President Dwight his grandson, but his own theological training had been received from his uncle, Jonathan Edwards the younger. The latter, one of Connecticut's great teachers of young ministers during the closing years of the eighteenth century, was the pupil and successor of Joseph Bellamy on whom the mantle of the first Edwards had fallen.

A new era of revivals began in the last decade of the

century, after many years during which they had been shunned and feared in Connecticut. "About the year 1798," wrote a New Haven minister, Samuel W. S. Dutton, in 1842, "they commenced again in Litchfield and Hartford counties; were frequent and powerful, and have been growing more frequent and powerful ever since . . . Within the last thirty-seven years, there have been more revivals of religion, and more hopeful conversions in New Haven, than between that time and the first settlement of the place, during a space of one hundred and sixty-six years. The same remark, I presume, is substantially true of the rest of the state and New England."

III

THE second era of revivals, like the first, was preceded by awakenings in individual churches—in Coventry, Norfolk, Preston, and Woodbury—as early as the decade of 1760–1770. "But alas!" as it was said of one of these towns, "It was like a vernal shower—pleasant, but of short continuance." By 1790, however, about twenty churches in Connecticut had experienced revivals,⁵ resulting in additions to membership ranging from twenty in Franklin to ninety-six in Saybrook. In the succeeding years the movement steadily gained in force. "In 1799," said Edward Dorr Griffin, later a famous revival preacher, "I could stand at my door in New Hartford, Litchfield County, and number fifty or sixty congregations laid

⁵ West Hartford, 1772; Wolcott, 1773; Wethersfield, 1774; Killingly, 1776; Goshen and Franklin, 1779; Lyme and Woodbury, 1780; Lebanon, 1781; Yale College and several towns in Litchfield county, 1783; Berlin, Franklin, Harwinton, New Britain, and Farmington, 1784; Saybrook, 1787; Killingly, 1788; Wolcott, 1791. Throughout this Pamphlet, unless otherwise stated, facts and figures refer to Congregational churches, to which, in general, this account has been confined.

down in one field of divine wonders, and as many more in different parts of New England." Within four or five years not less than one hundred and fifty churches in New England experienced revivals. From that time practically each year witnessed a "celestial visitation" in at least one church in Connecticut. The series of revivals thus started extended over more than a half century, and soon spread over a large part of the state.

The general attitude to revivals underwent a change. Instead of feeling dread and avoidance, ministers and leaders longed for them. Little groups of pious persons held special meetings of prayer to petition for an outpouring of the Spirit, and rejoiced at the least sign of an awakening. It might take a year or two of such effort to get a revival started, but once begun it might extend over a considerable period of time. If no general revival was felt for several years, there might be instead a succession of "gentle refreshings from the presence of the Lord." Consequently it was often difficult to draw the line between such a time and one of ordinary growth, or between one revival and the next.

Each church regarded some awakening as its own particular happy time. There was, for instance, the "memorable revival" of 1798-1799 in Canton when, in two groups, about one hundred and seventy new members were added to the church; and that of 1816 which equalled the "glorious day" of 1799. For the state as a whole, there were certain years of special grace: 1800, 1815, 1821 (when between eighty and one hundred congregations were awakened), 1831, 1837-1838, 1842, 1857-1858. Those awakenings known as the Great Revivals of 1800, 1831, and 1858 were parts of movements that were continental in extent. The almost periodic character and succession of these awakenings, often compared to tidal

waves,⁶ were said by an English observer to differentiate them from all other religious excitements. The revival of this kind, in fact, was considered a peculiarly American phenomenon.

In this second period no individuals stood out as prominently as did Edwards, Tennent, and Whitefield, yet there were able leaders and workers. Indeed, at this time as in the preceding century, Connecticut produced a surprising number of effective revival preachers: Samuel John Mills, known as Father Mills, President Dwight, Edward Dorr Griffin, later president of Williams College, Nathan Strong, Joel Hawes, Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Asahel Nettleton. Among Connecticut revivalists of the early nineteenth century was a personage far stranger than any produced by the Great Awakening. This was a native of Coventry, the famous Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834) who was known, with his own approval, as the Crazy or Eccentric Cosmopolite.

Other denominations too—Anglicans, Baptists, and Methodists—were affected by these revival movements. Though most of the churches in Connecticut throughout the colonial period belonged to the Congregational order, these three denominations also came to be represented during the eighteenth century. This is not the place to trace their history, but to indicate their attitude to revivals.

Soon after 1700, Anglicans and Baptists began to appear in the colony. The former placed no dependence

⁶Illustrations of the periodic succession of revivals are afforded by statistics from a few churches (some evidently calling gentle refreshings revivals). Revivals in Woodbridge church in 1800, 1821, 1828, 1832, 1837, 1841, 1843, 1858; in Southington church in 1802, 1831, 1838, 1843, 1846, 1849, 1850, 1854, 1858; in Branford church in 1814, 1821-1822, 1831, 1840, 1842, 1851, 1858; in Cornwall Second church in 1800, 1806-1807, 1813, 1817-1818, 1824, 1826-1827, 1831, 1838-1839, 1846, 1851, 1856, 1859-1860.

on revivals as a means of growth. Indeed, as has been seen, their feeling was one of disapproval, and they relied for increase on the labors of missionaries sent over from England to minister to the few churchmen already here. These workers came into Connecticut to baptize the children, to celebrate communion, to organize churches where there were sufficient numbers, and through regular services, to attract others and to gain new members. In 1722, Timothy Cutler, rector of Yale College, and four associates announced their conversion to Anglicanism, but this was brought about by reading and study of books in the college library, not through the work of missionaries. The labors and influence of these men were added to those of the missionaries, but none of them could be classed as a revivalist. They corresponded more nearly to the regular ministers of the Congregational Church. They were regarded by the authorities, however, as intruders and met with the same hostility as the New Light exhorters. Since the missionaries came into Connecticut from New York, and since the first church was formed in Stratford in 1707, it followed that churchmen were most numerous in the southwestern part of the colony, especially in Fairfield county and, in considerable numbers, in New Haven and the surrounding towns.

The way in which the Church of England profited by reactions against the excesses of the Great Awakening has already been indicated. The attitude of its clergy in 1740 was typical of that taken during later revivals. Little direct notice was given to these movements, but there was eagerness to benefit by the increased interest in religion aroused in every one by a local revival. It might be called an attitude of watchful waiting on the activity of others, combined with special attention to the spiritual welfare of their own people. Thus, in 1832,

Bishop Brownell said: "The times in which we live, require that we should take especial heed to ourselves and to our doctrine; that we should be abundant in our labors, vigilant in our care of the Church of God committed unto us, and faithful and zealous in the performance of all our duties. . . . The subject of religion occupies an unusual share of public attention . . . the present has, not inaptly, been called a season of revival. It is highly important, brethren, that we participate in this characteristic of the age." His meaning was not that they should share in promoting the revival, but in the activities stimulated by it, such as missionary work. An even more cordial attitude was manifested in 1858, perhaps partly because the revivals of that period were not attended with undue excitement. Greater efforts were put forth by the clergy, and unusually large numbers were confirmed, especially in New Haven.

While Anglicans were increasing in the western part of Connecticut, Baptists were coming into the eastern section, owing to the nearness of Rhode Island. Missionaries from this neighboring colony labored here, and through the efforts of one of them, Valentine Wightman, the first Baptist church in Connecticut was formed in Groton in 1705.

Baptists placed more dependence on revivals than did Anglicans. They too profited by the Great Awakening and from the troubles following that movement. Mrs. Elizabeth Backus of Norwich was imprisoned for thirteen days for refusing to pay taxes to the established church. Her son, Isaac, became a Baptist minister of such great influence that he is often called the "father of American Baptists." Not only individuals but groups increased the numbers of this denomination. Some Separatist churches became Baptist, and many individuals who objected to

the repressive acts of the authorities joined churches of that order.

In Groton, Valentine Wightman was followed by his son, Timothy, in whose ministry four awakenings occurred between 1764 and 1787. Under the ministry of John Gano Wightman, of the third generation, ten revivals occurred between 1800 and his death in 1841. The Burrows family, of the Second Baptist Church of Groton, was equally favorable to that form of growth. Silas Burrows, of the second generation, minister from 1765 for fifty-three years, himself converted in a revival, added many to his church by that means—one hundred and thirty, for instance, in 1809. In 1840 Jacob Knapp, a pioneer Baptist evangelist from New York state, was in Connecticut for a time, working in Hartford and New Haven. In the latter place several hundreds were converted, including seventy Yale students. About the same time, Jabez S. Swan, born in Stonington in 1800, and settled as minister in that town and in Norwich, conducted revivals in his own church and in other places in the state.

Methodists appeared later in Connecticut, and were definitely and strikingly revivalistic in methods and aims. Jesse Lee came into Stratford in 1789, followed soon by Bishop Francis Asbury and others famous in Methodist annals—men somewhat like the exhorters and itinerant preachers of the Great Awakening. Their piety, zeal, and fervor caused rapid growth in numbers, and the Great Revival of 1800 in particular, added many to this recently organized church. Almost continuous lists of revivals might be given, many occurring simultaneously with those in the Congregational churches. In fact, in some cases it is hard to separate them. Thus, in 1790, Freeborn Garretson visited Cornwall, and reported, "I found that

the Lord had begun a blessed work in this town." Moses Osborn, a local preacher in Southbury, prepared the way for a great revival in the surrounding region, in which many were converted. Some of them joined the Congregational Church, others the Methodist. In Farmington, in 1838, the revival started among the Methodists and spread to the rest of the town. These examples illustrate the remark of Beardsley in his *History of American revivals* that, "if the Methodists shared in the great revival movements of the period, it must be said that other denominations shared in the revivals of the Methodists." A new feature of religious life, the camp meeting, was introduced by the Methodists. Their growth was emphasized by the establishment of Wesleyan University at Middletown in 1831. It should be mentioned also that Episcopalians had established Cheshire Academy in 1801; Washington College at Hartford, now Trinity College, in 1823; and Berkeley Divinity School in 1854 at Middletown.

The progress of the revival of 1800, the general name under which the awakenings of the first years are usually grouped, may be followed in the diary⁷ of Thomas Robbins, who was minister in East Windsor from 1809 to 1827 and a typical member of the Standing Order. Though he was a grandson of Philemon Robbins, who had suffered from the reactionary measures of the preceding century, and though memories of that time were still vivid, his diary reveals none of the apprehension that Daniel Wadsworth had felt in 1740. References begin in December, 1797—"We hear now and then of a little attention to religion"—and continue from time to time

⁷*Diary of Thomas Robbins, D.D., 1796-1854, printed for his nephew, owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, edited and annotated by Increase N. Tarbox (2 vols., Boston, T. Todd, 1886-1887).*

with mention of revivals in various churches. In the spring of 1799 he recorded, "The awakening at Hartford still continues. There is reason to hope for one hundred and fifty. It also spreads in Wethersfield, Farmington, Simsbury, etc. . . . It is beginning in Norfolk with power. I believe there never was a greater work of God in this land; perhaps not so universal as in 1741 and '42, but where it is, more powerful and more evidently the work of God only. It is evidently 'the still, small voice.' It is in about half the towns of this [Litchfield] county, and perhaps nearly as great a part of the county of Hartford." Robbins gave figures showing large numbers added to churches in several towns, and noted the further spread of the revival over most of Litchfield and Hartford counties. The former, which had not been touched to any great extent in 1740, became so distinguished for this sort of religious activity that people talked of Litchfield county divinity. In other parts of the state, churches were awakened that had not been moved since 1740, notably the one in New Haven which owed its existence to circumstances arising out of that revival.

Special mention should be made of the effects at Yale College of the preaching of President Dwight during these years. Just before he entered upon the presidency in 1795, the college church had almost ceased to exist. His efforts here, as elsewhere, were particularly directed toward reviving an interest in religion among educated people, and toward improving the quality of preaching. In general, sermons had become either systems of metaphysical tactics, preached by ministers of the established Congregational Church, or the unpremeditated inspirations of the Separatists. Many of the latter were untrained and justified their undertaking to preach by saying, "St. Peter was a fisherman, do you think he ever

went to Yale College?" Following the awakenings of 1740 and 1757, Yale experienced eighteen revivals between 1783 and 1838. Four of these during Dwight's presidency resulted in the conversion of over two hundred young men. In the first, the "glorious revival" of 1802, at least one third of the students was converted. Besides those who joined their home churches, sixty-three joined the college church, and Yale College became "a little temple." In the one of 1815 seventy or eighty were converted; and in that of 1831, for which long preparation had been made, seventy-four joined the college church and about thirty united with other churches. Another preacher of this period who had great influence in bringing about revivals and in securing their results was Nathan Strong, pastor of the First Church in Hartford from 1774 to 1816. His own church experienced revivals in 1794, 1798-1799, 1808, 1815, and the work was continued by his successor, Joel Hawes, who was minister until 1864.

In many respects the revival of 1800 was a purified and sobered Great Awakening. It rested on the same theological basis—the hard sayings, as they were now called—of man's total depravity and of God's absolute sovereignty in saving whom he pleased, the elect. Converts in 1800 had the same painful experiences as in 1740, starting with conviction of sin and wrestling for salvation. An observer⁸ said, "I have never seen men in such agony, as might easily be mistaken, in its apparent signs, for the remorse of a murderer or the anguish of a convict." This stage often lasted a long time. Samuel John Mills, Jr., son of Father Mills of Tarringford, was under conviction

⁸ Supposed to have been the Reverend Orville Dewey to whom is generally ascribed the authorship of the quoted work, *Letters of an English traveller to his friend in England on the 'revivals of religion' in America* (Boston, 1828).

for two years, and Asahel Nettleton for more than ten months.

Simple means were uniformly used in conducting a revival. Dependence was placed mainly on preaching by the minister of the parish, supplemented by such help as he might request from neighboring ministers or from those who were especially successful in revival work and went on tours among the churches of their vicinity. Among such were Alexander Gillett of Torrington, the "good Mr. [Jeremiah] Hallock" of West Simsbury, later Canton, and Father Mills of Toringford. These means were adequate. In 1804 Hallock wrote: "Went with Rev. Mr. Porter to Roxbury. I preached on the depravity of Man, Mr. Mills exhorted; there were evident signs of unusual attention." It was said of a certain sermon by President Dwight that in two instances it obviously brought about a great revival among students at Yale, while similar results followed its delivery in two other places. Besides meetings with preaching (people sometimes attending six or seven sermons a week), conferences were held with those who were aroused. There was, however, little method or plan of procedure, nothing like a religious campaign. On the other hand, there was none of the extravagant behavior which had marred the Great Awakening, and there were no resultant quarrels or divisions of churches. So strong was the dread of repeating the disorders of the earlier period that care was taken against extravagance, undue enthusiasm, and singular actions. Distress over sin was shown, not by hysterical manifestations, but by sadness, tears, and a "solemn, awful stillness, which indicated the special presence of the Lord."

Revivals started in different ways. Sometimes, as has been said, church members, individually or in groups,

were moved voluntarily to pray to bring about such an event, and to prepare themselves for it. Sometimes ministers appointed such meetings of prayer. People were accustomed to pray for definite objects, and believed in special answers to petitions. The actual beginning of a revival might come from the report of such a movement in a neighboring church, or from the conversion of an individual. Often there was no apparent cause, and the revival was described as coming straight from God like manna; or, to borrow another phrase, because the dry bones were animated by the breath of the Almighty. The moving Spirit might manifest itself either as the still, small voice or as a mighty rushing wind. Accounts, prepared by their ministers, of revivals in several churches at this time reveal the remarkable coincidence that the same month, February 1799, witnessed the beginning of special attention in their parishes, and that in many cases the Spirit began almost unexpected and unperceived to move the hearts of individuals. There seemed to be no reason for these visitations except that, "As the wind bloweth as it listeth, so in a free and sovereign might, God's Spirit breathes upon His church."

At such times other occupations were largely set aside. Persons of all ages were affected, but many accounts make particular mention of young people, to emphasize the importance (even under the theology which demanded a definite, individual experience) of the Christian nurture of children in preparing the way for conversion. Though such a result was not inevitable and though Christian training was not an essential preliminary, yet, to use the words of President Dwight, it was felt that, "It is the soul which is taught, alarmed and allured, upon which descends the efficacious grace of the Holy Spirit."

Perhaps the most important immediate accomplish-

ment of these first years of revival was the overthrow of the prevailing infidelity. This was notably illustrated at Yale College under the influence of President Dwight. Lyman Beecher, an undergraduate at the time, describing the low moral condition of the college, observed: "Most of the students were skeptical and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling and licentiousness were common . . . Most of the class before me were infidels, and called each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, etc., etc. They thought the Faculty were afraid of free discussion. But when they handed Dr. Dwight a list of subjects for class disputation, to their surprise he selected this: 'Is the Bible the word of God,' and told them to do their best. He heard all they had to say, answered them, and there was an end. He preached incessantly for six months on the subject, and all infidelity skulked and hid its head." The extent of the influence of President Dwight throughout Connecticut is indicated by the statement of Samuel Griswold Goodrich (Peter Parley), who was neither a student at Yale nor a resident of New Haven, that he had been trained from childhood to regard him as second only to St. Paul.

An effect of this revival that touched everyone was the enforcement of greater strictness of life, both by public disapproval of dancing and similar amusements, and by the revival of obsolete laws, such as those for the observance of Sunday. Belief in "The Practicability of suppressing vice by means of societies instituted for that purpose"—the title of a sermon by Lyman Beecher, first preached in 1803 and again in slightly different form in 1812—resulted in the formation, in 1813, of the Connecticut Society for Promoting Good Morals, which had branches in various towns. These societies flourished for

a few years, until attention was turned more specifically to the long-standing evils of intemperance. In fact, as early as 1710 Cotton Mather had suggested action against this vice by the principal ministers of Connecticut, for he declared, "The Consequences of the affected Bottel, in that Colony, as well as in ours, are beyond all imagination." Ministers themselves needed reform for they often drank freely and sometimes disastrously. The amount of liquor consumed at meetings of ministers, such as ordinations, became a scandal. Nathan Strong, in his earlier ministry, had even been partner in a distilling business, and when the firm failed, was obliged for a time to stay at home to avoid the sheriff's efforts to serve a writ. Fortunately, the writ could not be served on Sundays, and so he could go out to preach. One clergyman's son said that while ministers, who had come to his father's house, examined his brother in Greek and Latin, he went out behind the barn to gather tansy for their morning bitters. In 1806, Ebenezer Porter of Washington, who had found a man dead in the snow with a bottle of spirits by his side, preached a sermon on intemperance. From this time forth special efforts against this evil steadily became more prevalent.

The pamphlet and sermon war that followed the Great Awakening had a happier counterpart in some literary results of the revival of 1800. Nathan Strong of Hartford published *Sermons on various subjects, doctrinal, experimental and practical* (2 vols., Hartford, 1798-1800), of which the first volume was designed to awaken sinners and the second to develop and confirm the feeling of piety in recent converts. Doctor Strong, with the help of Abel Flint of the Hartford Second Church, compiled *The Hartford selection of hymns* (Hartford, 1799; several later editions), "adapted to the happy revival of religion,"

which is said to have been the first American publication of the sort. The revival movement also led to the publication of a number of religious magazines.⁹ There is good reason to believe that the periodicals and organizations thus begun as the result of the revival of 1800 enabled it to continue longer than any earlier revival, and "more than did all previous movements to fix permanently the evangelistic type of American Christianity."

Sunday schools began to be somewhat generally established, often due to the zeal of some one recently converted in a revival. Joseph Bellamy had had something of the sort among children of his parish in Bethlehem from 1740 until his death, and many ministers had been accustomed to meet young people on Saturday afternoons to hear them recite the Catechism. In Washington, about 1781, children had been instructed during the intermission between services on Sunday. The same thing was done in other places. The first regular Sunday school in Connecticut was started at Norwich in 1816. In the same year the first one in Hartford county was opened at New Britain, and another was started at Derby. In 1818 Sunday schools were begun at Wallingford and in four churches at Hartford, and thereafter the movement spread rapidly.

Not only was religious life re-awakened, but in Connecticut as elsewhere, broader ideas of man's duty as a

⁹The first of these, *The Connecticut evangelical magazine* (15 vols., Hartford, 1800-1815), was also originated and mainly sustained by Strong and Flint, assisted by Jeremiah Day and other ministers. This magazine, which is valuable for its records of revivals, was continued as *The religious intelligencer* (22 vols., New Haven, 1816-1837). Another periodical containing useful material on revivals was *The Christian spectator* (10 vols., New Haven, 1819-1828), changed to *The quarterly Christian spectator* (10 vols., New Haven, 1829-1838), then merged into *The American biblical repository*, which was later continued as *Bibliotheca sacra*. Later there was issued, as a weekly journal, *The Congregational observer* (2 vols., Hartford and New Haven, 1840-1842).

Christian were developed. Instead of being concerned almost exclusively with his own personal salvation, he began to be socially minded, to use a modern term, and he came to feel responsibility for his fellow-beings in less favorable circumstances or outside his immediate vicinity. In 1798 was formed the Missionary Society of Connecticut (incorporated 1802), again largely under the influence of Dr. Strong. This, the second missionary society formed in the country, had been preceded since 1792, and even earlier, by the custom of General or County Associations of Connecticut sending ministers on missionary tours, as they were called, to the new settlements in Vermont, New York, and Ohio. Thus Jeremiah Hallock, who wished to devote himself to itineracy but became the settled minister in West Simsbury, made several such tours under the Missionary Society.¹⁰ These activities recall in some measure the itinerant preachers of the Great Awakening. A Domestic Missionary Society, organized in 1815, paid particular attention to the "waste places"¹¹ in Connecticut. The need for such work was illustrated by the experience of Abel McEwen. When he became minister in New London in 1806, he was for some time the only settled Congregational minister in a territory in Connecticut twelve miles by fifty in extent.

The same spirit turned men's attention to foreign missions. The Foreign Missionary Society of Litchfield County, formed in 1812, was the first auxiliary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which had been organized in 1810 in Farmington and which is the oldest foreign missionary society in the

¹⁰ By 1859, the Missionary Society reckoned that its activities had resulted in the organization of "not far from 500 churches" in the newly settled sections of the United States.

¹¹ See above p. 21.

country. The inspiration for the organization of the American Board came from Samuel John Mills, Jr., and a group of his friends. A few years earlier, while a student at Williams College, Mills and some of his friends had held the famous Haystack Meeting which began the Student Volunteer Movement. Young Mills and all the members of the first group of foreign missionaries from the United States were converts in the revival period of 1800. Mills is also credited with suggesting the organization of the American Bible Society which was effected in New York in 1816 through the coöperation of several local societies. The first Bible Society in the United States had been formed in Philadelphia in 1808 and had been followed in order in the next year by others in Hartford, Boston, New York, and Princeton, and by many other local societies in the immediately ensuing years. The Foreign Mission School in Cornwall was opened in May, 1817, as a result of the plan of Samuel J. Mills, Jr., to educate Obookiah, a native of the Sandwich Islands, to become a missionary to his countrymen. From the New York Tract Society, formed in 1812, and the New England Tract Society, in 1814, came the organization, in 1825, in New York of the American Tract Society. "Wonderful day! Wonderful day! The Bible Society; the Tract Society; the Missionary Society—the waters of the Sanctuary are rising and rising; and by and bye they will overspread the whole earth, and then the latter day of glory will come in!" These words of joyful hope uttered by the old revivalist, Father Mills, touched a chord in the hearts of many converts of this period. In 1815 Joseph Harvey of Goshen, in the course of a sermon preached at the annual meeting of the Foreign Missionary Society of Litchfield County, expressed a confident expectation that the millennium would begin in fifty years. During the

revival of 1831 President Dwight's son, Sereno E. Dwight, proclaimed jubilantly, "I do not see why we may not consider the Millennium as now commencing."

IV

AFTER a short interval of partial suspension and of conditions unfavorable to religion, revival activity started again about 1814. A list of revivals for the succeeding years would practically be a roll-call of the churches of the state. Again certain revivals stand out in the history of individual churches. In 1814, Branford, almost untouched by the Great Awakening, had a partial revival, and the First Church of Hartford gained one hundred and twenty-eight new members, mostly quite young people. In 1816, the church of Shubael Bartlett in East Windsor had the greatest revival occurring during his fifty-year pastorate, 1804-1854. Revivals also took place in Miss Pierce's famous school for girls in Litchfield, in Herrick's School for Young Ladies in New Haven, and in Yale College. Shortly before this a revival in Fairfield, which had begun in the Academy, extended throughout the parish. Thus, even children were regarded as proper subjects for religious attention, and schools, as proper fields for revival activity. A little earlier Edward Dorr Griffin, the minister in New Hartford, had written: "School-masters of serious minds have been employed, who have entered in earnest upon instructing the children in the principles of religion and praying with them. The effect has been, that many schools have been awakened. . . . Three of the schools in this town were last winter under the care of men professedly pious, and very faithful in imparting these instructions. Out of these nearly twenty children, in the course of the winter, it is hoped, were introduced into 'marvellous light.'" Efforts of the

same sort are described in other schools including Cornwall and the academy in Hartford, where Noah Porter said the teachers took a ready part in a revival in the school. In the latter instance, however, the tender age of the twenty-five youthful converts caused their admission to the church to be delayed for a year.

Episcopalians considered this kind of activity unsuited to school life. The author of *The letters of an English traveller* remarked disapprovingly: "I have seen an assembly, and that too collected in a place where the very wisest instruction might have been expected—an assembly of youth—addressed during the whole evening with nothing but the most terrific representations of their state." Nevertheless, this encouragement of revivals in schools is worthy of comment. On the one hand, it was reminiscent of the attitude of early days when the object of education was the training of pious youths, especially to become ministers; and on the other hand, a convert¹² in one of their revivals was soon to rise among the people of Connecticut who was to attack the use of these methods in dealing with children and, indeed, the whole system of revivals.

The year 1815 is usually considered as the climax of this series of revivals, as 1800 was of the preceding one. Referring to 1815, Joshua Bradley said: "In Winchester, Norfolk, New Marlborough, Sandisfield, Goshen, Cornwall, and Salisbury, sinners hastened to Christ as clouds, as doves fly to their windows. From the most correct information received, I conclude that seven hundred were born again in these towns, in the course of the revival." The revival in Salisbury, which came at a time called the darkest in the history of that church, when its male membership was reduced to seventeen or eighteen, re-

¹² Horace Bushnell. See below p. 53.

sulted in the addition of about two hundred new members.

Again, as in the revival of 1800, attempts were often made to assign the beginning of a revival to some definite moment or to some specific individual impulse. This is well illustrated by the following account from Suffield: "The first instance of conversion, was a young woman, who like many others had been very careless and vain. Retiring to rest, one evening, as she blew out her candle, the thought forcibly impressed her mind, that God could as instantly blow away her breath, and what then would become of her immortal soul. Her distress was great, and her convictions increased, until she was enabled to resign her all into the hands of her blessed Saviour." This point of view differed but little from that of the ministers of the early eighteenth century who sought to use earthquakes and epidemics as warnings to awaken their parishioners to seek their souls' salvation.

Figures for later years show that this revival movement had not yet lost its force. In 1816 the church at Torrington gained seventy members; the one in Canton, seventy-one; the one in Woodbury, eighty; and the churches of Waterbury and Harwinton more than one hundred each. In 1817 a church in Seymour was organized because of the "increase of godly people in the present revival of religion," as the organizing council of ministers stated. The church in Haddam had its great revival in 1818 with the addition of one hundred and fifteen members, seventy-four joining in January, 1819. The reception of fifty-nine new members at this time gave a new lease of life to the church in Eastford, which had dwindled to a membership of fourteen women and six men.

One reason for the possibility of these large additions to the churches was, in fact, the small number in full

communion, because of conditions already noted. People generally went to church on Sunday. Attendance had long been compulsory, and fashion and public opinion still favored it. Though congregations were large, membership was small, so that a congregation of five hundred persons might contain not more than fifty who were members. In 1774 the First Church of Hartford had only fifteen male members. It was the number and devotion of those who joined the Congregational churches at this time that enabled them, in 1818, to survive not only disestablishment, with the consequent loss of pecuniary support from taxation, but also rivalry from the growth of other sects.

In 1820 a revival was started in Hartford. Joel Hawes, pastor of the First Church, like his predecessor, Nathan Strong, was a revival minister, of whom it was said that he prayed, preached, visited, talked, and trusted God for a revival. So great was his success, that he was often called upon for service in other cities at times of special religious interest. His own church experienced ten awakenings during his pastorate from 1818 to 1864, with 1681 additions to its membership, of which 1079 were by confession of faith. When the revival began Hawes had but recently come to this, his first charge, and to him, a self-made man, the congregation of "fine folk and fastidious lawyers" looked like an assembly of Roman senators. Feeling the need of help from an older, more experienced man, he sent for Lyman Beecher, a man also moved by one great idea, the promotion of revivals, who said of himself that he was baptized into the revival spirit.

A lively letter tells how a messenger roused Beecher in the night, and how he, "partly dressed, walked the room, with one boot on, saying, 'Wife! Wife! revival in Hartford and I am sent for!' And the Doctor came to us like

a lighted torch in full blaze." Over two hundred were added to the First and Second Congregational churches. The revival extended to all the churches in the Hartford County North Association and resulted in more than a thousand conversions. At the same time awakenings were experienced in other parts of the state—in New Haven about three hundred were added to the churches, one hundred of whom joined the North Church on a single Sunday; in Farmington, out of two hundred and thirty-four additions, one hundred and fourteen were received at one time—to give only two examples. Indeed, revivals occurred in several churches that had not been moved since the Great Awakening. The movement was described as coming on like a flood. Eighty towns in Connecticut experienced revivals in the years 1820, 1821, 1822. Of the thirty-one congregations in New Haven county at least twenty-five were awakened, with from fifteen hundred to two thousand members added to the churches. This was in striking contrast to the generally hostile attitude of people of that county to the Great Awakening. In fact, the revival of 1821, as it came to be known, is said to have started in that county, as the revival of 1800 had started in Litchfield county, and men from New Haven county were invited to visit other parishes to relate its origin and progress.

This revival too had its literary side. The evangelist, Asahel Nettleton, felt that a new selection of hymns was needed, because of the "various benevolent operations, and especially the presence of revivals, which are so characteristic of the present day." Accordingly, he published *Village hymns for social worship* (New York, 1824), designed especially for use in prayer, conference, and neighborhood meetings. Some of the hymns were intended to express the feelings of young converts. The list

of topics under which the hymns were arranged showed both the stages of a revival (alarming, inviting, penitential, conviction and conversion, rejoicing in a revival) and the theology on which it depended (the doctrines of depravity, election, regeneration, efficacious grace). This selection of hymns passed through several editions and had a large circulation.¹³ Nor was Nettleton the only one to feel the need for such a collection of hymns. In the same year, Chauncey Lee, then minister in Colebrook, published *Sermons on the distinguishing doctrines and duties of experimental religion, and especially designed for revivals* (Middletown, 1824) and an accompanying volume of *Scriptural hymns, adapted to Sermons designed for revivals* (Middletown, 1824).

The small meetings, for the use of which *Village hymns* was especially prepared, were a comparatively new institution, and had formerly been regarded with suspicion by many Congregationalists. In Norfolk, the minister started such a meeting on Sunday evenings during the revival of 1799, and was able to continue it. Charles Backus, in conducting a revival in his church in Somers in 1797, besides preaching on Sundays, conducted an extra meeting for the young on Wednesday afternoons and another on Sunday evenings, both held at his house. Nevertheless, he said that people generally needed to use the time during the week for retirement, meditation, and private prayer, rather than for attendance at meetings, and that no rival to the Sunday service should be permitted. When Edward Dorr Griffin, the revivalist, was preaching in different churches as a young candidate, he expressed another point of view: "I felt it to be a princi-

¹³ There was also published *Zion's harp, or a new collection of music, intended as a companion to 'Village hymns' . . . to be used in conference meetings and revivals of religion* (New Haven, 1824).

pal recommendation of a place as my residence, that the people would all allow me to hold as many meetings as I pleased. I held extra meetings in every place where I preached, which was a new thing at that day. What then appeared strange, bating some youthful indiscretions, has long since become the general usage."

Joel Hawes entered a practically new field when he delivered before young men in Hartford a series of lectures dealing with problems of every day life which he later repeated to students at Yale. These were published and the book¹⁴ had an extensive circulation abroad, besides many editions in the United States. Because of his interest in young people Dr. Hawes, a member of the Yale Corporation, was usually invited to preach at the college at times of special religious interest.

Approval of the system of revivals was not universal. Criticism from Episcopalians has been mentioned. Abigail May, sister of Samuel Joseph May, then the Unitarian minister of Brooklyn, Connecticut, wrote, in 1828, to Bronson Alcott whom she later married: "Our Lyceum is dissolved for want of life; and everybody is praying and weeping for his fellow-sinners. Even the children at school point at those they have been taught to consider sinners, wagging their heads, 'I am holier than thou.'" English observers were adverse critics, as has been seen in the case of schools.¹⁵ Though the author of *The letters of an English traveller* saw much in revivals that was objectionable, he discussed their various aspects in a fair-minded way. Unfavorable reports of this "transatlantic madness" were generally carried back by travel-

¹⁴ *Lectures addressed to the young men of Hartford and New Haven and published at their united request* (Hartford, 1828). In later editions the beginning of the title was changed to *Lectures on the formation of character*.

¹⁵ See above p. 40.

ling English clergymen, and when Asahel Nettleton went abroad for his health, he hoped incidentally to correct some of these impressions.

The career of this prominent pioneer evangelist belongs peculiarly to this period, and offers an interesting study in comparison with the careers of Whitefield and Davenport. Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844) was born in North Killingworth, Connecticut, of parents who belonged to the church only on the Half Way Covenant plan. He was converted in 1800. Because of poverty he was late in going to college, but was graduated from Yale in 1809. Inspired by accounts in the *Connecticut evangelical magazine* of missionary work, he wished to spend his life in labor among the heathen. But like Samuel J. Mills, Jr.,¹⁶ one of the first group in this country to plan to devote themselves to missionary work, he was not able to go to the foreign field. Because of this desire, Nettleton declined invitations to settle as pastor of a church after he was licensed to preach in 1811. Until he should be able to go as a missionary, he interested himself in similar work at home, notably in building up the "waste places" in Connecticut, which had never recovered from the effects of the itineracy of Davenport and his followers. He was very successful in this work, and having received ordination as an evangelist in 1817, he was called to assist many churches. He visited thirty-two Connecticut towns and held revivals during the years from 1812 to 1822. Besides extensive work in New England and New York, he labored two years in Virginia, whither he went on account of his health. Physical disability finally compelled him to give up the idea of becoming a missionary in the foreign

¹⁶ Mills was in Africa for two months in 1818 as agent for the American Colonization Society. He was commissioned to select a suitable place for the establishment of a colony, and chose what is now Liberia. He died on the return voyage.

field. In 1833 he was asked to become professor of pastoral duty in the new Theological Institute at East Windsor, which later developed into Hartford Seminary Foundation. He did not accept the appointment, but henceforth made the town his home and lectured occasionally to the students.

For zeal and devotion to his work, Nettleton is compared to Edwards and Whitefield, but his experiences and observations in the "waste places" developed views which set him off sharply from those men. Contrary to New Light ideas, he felt that piety was not sufficient equipment for an evangelist; training was equally necessary. Arousing emotions in his hearers, without instruction, was no part of his plan of procedure, and no extravagant enthusiasm was allowed in his meetings. Persons who became unduly affected were removed; in extreme cases, a physician was called or the meeting was dismissed and people were advised to retire in silence to their homes. He never denounced ministers or divided churches, as New Light itinerants had often done. On the contrary, he believed that evangelists had no right to come between pastors and people, and that their usefulness would be short without the confidence of settled ministers. "If they do not invite me into their field," he said, "my business is meekly and silently to retire." If invited, he might stay in a town for a considerable period, working with the minister. Lyman Beecher said of his stay in Litchfield, "Nettleton's preaching and my exhortation seemed to have great effect."

Nettleton's theology was orthodox Calvinism. He held the system of doctrines set forth by Edwards, Bellamy, Dwight, and other New England leaders, believing, for instance, in the depravity of infants. He thought it obviously impossible for those who held wrong doctrinal

views to have a real religious experience, for to deny depravity was to deny the need of redemption and regeneration by the Holy Spirit. Nettleton did not consider it possible to "get up" a revival at any time. His only machinery was the inquiry meeting, the use of which he is said to have started before 1820. He made no use of protracted meetings, as they were called, or of "anxious seats." Small prayer meetings, preaching on Sunday, and one or two weekly lectures were the means he employed.

V

BEGINNING in 1830, Connecticut, in common with many places throughout the world, experienced a great revival of religion, which lasted several years before it ceased entirely. Most towns in the state felt this awakening, and many had successive revivals, such as Woodbury with six between 1830 and 1837, which brought one hundred and sixty-two new members into the church. While statistics show much the same results as in preceding revivals, this period saw a development in methods. Though the several devices had occasionally been used earlier those now employed regularly included delegate meetings, conferences, evening meetings, inquiry meetings, and visitations of families by deacons or men appointed by the church. These visitations, when not received with coldness and hostility, must have been somewhat terrifying experiences, with questionings, warnings, and prayers.

Even earlier, in 1827, the English Traveller¹⁷ had considered that American revivals had brought into existence a system of operations as completely as American theology had developed into a system of speculations. He thought that the religion of New England was remark-

¹⁷ See above p. 31.

able, and that its most extraordinary characteristic was this system of revivals. According to his observations, they were not entirely supernatural visitations, but something deliberately worked up by human means, usually beginning with direct and systematic effort by the pastor, whom he spoke of somewhat disrespectfully as the Master of the Revival. At the outset (as already noticed in earlier movements), there was work by the minister to rouse the members of the church; then special meetings of fasting and prayer to ask God for a season of refreshing; and when the revival was actually under way, there were three kinds of meetings, corresponding to the three classes of attendants—converts, anxious, and unconcerned.

In 1831 a new kind of meeting was tried in the churches in Hartford. It was the first of its sort in Connecticut and was called a protracted or four-day meeting. An account is given by a participant in such a meeting held in Norfolk in 1831, at which ministers from neighboring towns assisted. The church first officially resolved on such an undertaking, and set the day on which it should begin. At sunrise of the appointed day a prayer meeting was held, followed in the forenoon by a public meeting for prayer, and by preaching in both afternoon and evening. The general programme for the four days was made up of preaching, interspersed with prayer meetings whenever there was opportunity. On the third day, after the sermon of the afternoon, members of the church retired for a season of prayer, while the anxious ones took their seats. About two hundred and fifty of these were addressed by the ministers; the number increased to about three hundred on the fourth day. After the separate meetings on this day, all came together again for an address, which "concluded the whole indescribable solemnity." This

course was followed by smaller meetings in different places in the parish, and by visitations on both distressed and rejoicing souls.

In order to spread revivals in neighboring towns delegates from the churches were appointed to go with the ministers to hold meetings, as was done by men from New Haven county in 1820-1821.¹⁸ These were in addition to regular evangelists, such as Asahel Nettleton.

The revival of 1838, the next important period, was said by some to have been a result of the panic of 1837. Lists of churches might be drawn up, with figures showing large additions to membership. Again, in each year, one or more churches, and in some years, several, were experiencing revivals. The extent of the movement as a whole and its continuance over a period of time were indicated in a letter written by Professor Chauncey A. Goodrich in 1841: "Saybrook, Westbrook, Essex, Chester, Deep River, Haddam, Wethersfield, Rocky Hill, Glastonbury, East Hartford, Windsor, Ellington, and I believe, Suffield together with New Britain, Worthington and part of Woodbridge, are at this moment visited." The church in West Haven, for example, which had experienced great revivals in 1821 and 1831, had a "crowning revival" in 1843, and, it may be added, one in 1858 in which it gained one hundred and fifteen new members. The church in Southington received one hundred and twenty-four members in the revival of 1838, and sixty-four in 1858.

The years from 1843 to 1858 are called a time of general religious decline, though awakenings continued to occur in individual churches as in Orange, which gained eighty members in 1843, and in East Haven which, in 1852, experienced the greatest revival in its history.

¹⁸ See above p. 43.

The awakenings in the final years of this half-century of revivals centered in the year 1858, after which the tidal wave again receded. As in 1838, this period of revival activity came directly after a panic, that of 1857, following a period of great prosperity. The revival of 1858, an extensive movement, began in New York city in a weekly, noon-day prayer meeting of business men of all denominations. A remarkable characteristic in Connecticut was the large number of conversions reported among young people and pupils in Sunday schools. At a meeting of the state convention of Sunday school teachers held in New Haven in 1858, conversions of more than five thousand pupils were reported. Since less than half the schools of the state sent in statistics, it was estimated that as many as eight thousand persons of that age were converts during that year. Similar results from individual Sunday schools had occurred before, while the effects of revival work in secular schools have already been noticed.¹⁹

VI

BEFORE considering the attack on the system of revivals made by a leader in the Congregational Church in Connecticut, it is well to estimate its accomplishments. Even so ardent a believer in revivals as Joel Hawes saw the objection which might be raised, namely that the best type of religion is not one that alternates between enthusiasm and earnestness at one time, and indifference and negligence at another. Nevertheless, he considered revivals essential to the existence of the church and gave figures in support of his belief. Between 1818 and 1832 about five hundred and fifty persons had joined his church, of whom not less than four-fifths had come from revivals, and the same thing he said was true in the state

¹⁹ See above, p. 39.

as a whole. This is borne out by the statements of other ministers. Luther Hart, pastor of the church in Plymouth from 1810 to 1834, had seen four revivals in his parish—1812, 1824, 1827, 1831—and had admitted between four hundred and five hundred to membership. In 1832, Noah Porter, the minister in Farmington, stated that, from revivals extending over a period of thirty-seven years (occurring in 1792, 1799, 1821, 1823, 1826), four hundred and sixty had been added to his church, and over three hundred by other means, including more than one hundred transferred from other churches. “But for revivals,” he remarked, “as it seems to us, the church would well nigh have ceased to exist, or have lost her distinctive character, in the spirit of the world.” John Marsh, who was minister in Haddam and an active leader in the temperance movement, asserted that “revivals of religion are the foundation of Zion’s prosperity.” Others gave similar testimony.²⁰

The preachers of the second era of revivals still held the faith delivered to the fathers, the theology which made conversion a hard and painful process. President Dwight said that the preacher must use the fire and hammer to break the rock in pieces; Nathan Strong in-

²⁰ In 1822, Nathan Perkins, minister in West Hartford from 1772 to 1838, in his half-century sermon, said that prior to that time there had been six extensive revivals in his church, and that the whole number added during his ministry had been six hundred. Frederick Marsh, minister in Winchester from 1809 to 1851, affirmed that there had been many revivals in his church and that six sevenths of the membership had come from that source. During the pastorate of William Robinson in Southington from 1780 to 1821, the average yearly additions to the church were eight or ten a year in ordinary times. In the revival of 1781 thirty-eight were added; in 1799, twenty-two; in 1815, twenty-eight. The church in Norfolk gained nearly seven hundred and fifty members from nine revivals: sixty in 1783-1784, one hundred and sixty in 1799, one hundred and twenty-five in 1815, sixty in 1821, one hundred and twenty-one in 1827, eighty-three in 1831, thirty-five in 1838 and 1841, one hundred in 1857-1858. Other examples might be given.

sisted that man must "lie at the foot of sovereignty to receive an undeserved favor"; Asahel Nettleton sometimes began his sermons by repeating the word, "Lost, Lost, Lost." Even children in infant schools were taught to sing, "A fallen creature I was born." The system of theology and the corresponding system of revivals had often been questioned, but now, in Connecticut itself, a man appeared whose criticism was constructive as well as destructive, and far-reaching in its effects, the Reverend Horace Bushnell. He had both a theory and a practice to substitute for conversion and revivals. These were the doctrine of Christian nurture and the method of church growth from within, through training, rather than growth from without through conquest, as he called conversion.

In a sense Bushnell was the product of the system he criticized. He was born in New Preston, in Litchfield county, the first home of the awakenings of this period. He was graduated from Yale in 1827, and while there later as tutor had a religious experience during one of the many revivals occurring at the college. As a result he changed his studies from law to theology, and became pastor of the North Congregational Church in Hartford, serving from 1833 to 1859.

In 1836 Bushnell wrote an article on "Revivals of religion," in which he questioned both revivals and the theology which gave rise to them. By a curious turn of fate, this was published in the *Quarterly Christian spectator*, one of the magazines started after an earlier revival. Ten years later, the article, in expanded form, was published as a book with the title *Christian nurture* (Hartford, 1847). It has been called second only to the work of Edwards in the influence which it exerted. Jonathan Edwards, in the first period of revivals, had begun to

undermine the idea of the union of church and state as the Holy Commonwealth or religious Utopia, by emphasizing man's direct, personal relation to God, and the necessity of his definite individual experience of conversion. Horace Bushnell, at the end of the second period of revivals, made an attack at another vulnerable point, the place of the child in the church, since conversion, as understood by the theology of the time, was properly an experience for an adult. Bushnell's thesis was that the child should grow up a Christian, never knowing himself otherwise; and he emphasized religious culture, furnished by the family and the church, as leading naturally into Christian life. To men holding the doctrines of total depravity and sovereign grace, such ideas were revolutionary, and to them Bushnell was an "able but singular" preacher, or as a freshman at Yale in 1842 said of one of his lectures, "It has set the big-wigs in tremendous excitement."

The difference between the two systems may be brought out sharply by quotations from the letters of one or two ministers to their own children—all well-behaved young people. Lyman Beecher wrote to one son: "I have no child prepared to die; and however cheering their prospects for time may be, how can I but weep in secret places when I realize that their whole eternal existence is every moment liable to become an existence of unchangeable sinfulness and woe." To another son he wrote that his father's prayers could not save him, and he could "rely only on the sovereign mercy of God, and saying to Him that if He passes you by He will do you and me no injustice . . . Oh, my dear son, *agonize* to enter in. You *must* go to heaven; you *must not* go to hell." Joel Hawes, who said that his theology was that held by the church for two hundred and twelve years, wrote to his son, in

1848, that his case was utterly hopeless unless God "may see fit to interpose in your behalf. To him, therefore, you are to go, just as you are—poor, guilty, lost—confess all this before him, owning your utter unworthiness of his favor, and submitting yourself to him forever."

These letters might be supplemented by accounts from young people themselves. Harriet Lathrop of Norwich, who later went as the wife of a foreign missionary, joined the church at the age of thirteen, after conversion. She said she felt herself "a great sinner [who was] wretched and must perish forever . . . I seemed to expect some special revelation from Him of my adoption, and often prayed that some angel might come and give me the so-much-desired assurance." This is the same kind of conversion as that of David Brainerd in the Great Awakening. Jonathan Edwards, who knew him, said: "His conversion was no confirming and perfecting of moral principles and habits, by use, and practice, and industrious discipline, together with the concurring suggestions and conspiring aids of God's spirit; but entirely a supernatural work, at once turning him from darkness to marvellous light, and from the power of sin to the dominion of divine and holy principles."

In contrast, Bushnell wrote to his child: "You have been religiously educated, and you are now come to a place where you must begin to be more responsible to yourself. Our prayer for you is, that every day, God would impart his grace to you and draw you on to a full choice of himself, and perform the good work which we trust He has begun in you . . . do not inquire so much what you are, whether truly a Christian in heart or not, as how you may come into the full Christian spirit, to become unselfish, to have a distinct and abiding love for Christ."

Another charge in Bushnell's indictment of revivals was that they were a kind of religious epidemic; that they were considered as something coming from heaven like manna; that they were viewed as the act of a wonder-working Providence, in response to the prayers and fastings of the pious, as well as the work of individuals of a certain temperament such as Whitefield and Nettleton.

Christian nurture was followed by other books from Bushnell's pen, which were regarded as heretical. "He seems to be going into Unitarianism," and "It is anything but Orthodoxy," said one of his clerical neighbors. Attempts were made to bring him to trial before the Consociation, as in the days of Old and New Lights. In 1852 his church, like some churches in the controversies following the Great Awakening, withdrew from the local Consociation, thereby making this action against him impossible, but he was the object of many literary attacks and much bitter feeling. Dr. Hawes, pastor of the First Church, for instance, whose theology was that of the New England fathers, suspended ministerial relationship with him.

It should be said, however, that Bushnell recognized a place for revivals, both as a variety of religious experience, and for what they had actually accomplished in bringing life into dead churches, and rousing the spirit that led to missions and other activities for the improvement of mankind.

Thus in a little over two hundred years the Congregational churches of Connecticut went through a cycle of thought and experience as to the best method of assuring the continued growth of religion. To a certain extent it was always recognized by every one that there is a place for both conversion and irregular increase by revivals, and for Christian nurture and steady growth. Though the

dreams of establishing a religious Utopia in the New World had vanished, though the outward forms of religion had undergone various changes, and though even theological views had become modified, the faith of the fathers was still in essential spirit the faith of their descendants.

Bibliographical Note

BESIDES works listed in the text or the footnotes because of their integral or intimate relation to the narrative, attention may be specially called to the following books devoted primarily to the history of revivals: Joshua Bradley, *Accounts of religious revivals in many parts of the United States from 1815 to 1818* (Albany, 1819); Calvin Colton, *History and character of American revivals of religion* (1832); Joseph Tracy, *The great awakening* (Boston, 1842); Bennet Tyler, *New England revivals* (Boston, 1846); Heman Humphrey, *Revival sketches and manual* (New York, 1859); Charles L. Thompson, *Times of refreshing, a history of American revivals from 1740 to 1877* (Chicago, 1877); Silas Leroy Blake, *The Separates or strict Congregationalists of New England* (Boston, 1902); Frank G. Beardsley, *A history of American revivals* (New York, 1904).

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Bushnell (Boston, 1899) by Theodore T. Munger. A wealth of data will be found in *Contributions to the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut* (New Haven, 1861), edited by Leonard Bacon and others. No attempt has been made to cite more familiar and easily accessible works.

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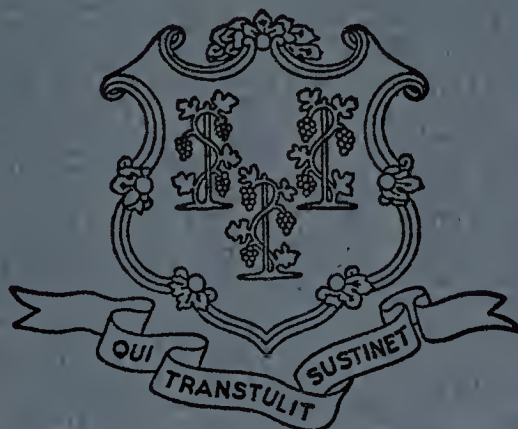
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Music Vale Seminary
1835-1876

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MUSIC VALE SEMINARY—FIRST BUILDING

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Music Vale Seminary

1835-1876

FRANCES HALL JOHNSON

I

THE first music school in this country was founded at Salem, Connecticut, in 1835 under the name of 'Music Vale Seminary' and was maintained with great success for over forty years. Here were educated in music many hundred young women from different parts of the country."¹ The chance encounter with these two casual sentences in a county history started a lover of Connecticut's music lore on the trail of research which has led to bringing to light once more the romantic story of this school.

There is no doubt that there was scant courtesy shown to the music of New England during the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the Puritanic period had long since passed, in which instrumental music was considered vain and worldly and very corrupting to youth, yet the writers of the day, with their many other sources of information, recorded the barest mention of music, and

¹*A Modern History of New London County*, vol. I, p. 58.

then it was of social, rather than educational importance. Nevertheless, through letters, diaries, music books, and memoirs of that period, many facts of surprising interest come to light, which are significant both in themselves and as an indication of musical growth in our country and state.

The founding of Music Vale Seminary, a hundred years ago in the little town of Salem, was an individual pioneer effort and as such deserves consideration in Connecticut's musical development. There is a glow of romance in its story, and it is high time to awaken an interest in its origin and progress and to recall the facts and legends which in the rush of modern life have been well-nigh forgotten, for it was the first music school in Connecticut, if not in the United States.

II

LET us pause a moment to get the environment and early history of Salem. The many families who spend their summers in and about New London county know the natural charm of its scenery, its healthful climate, and its rich historical associations. Those who belong to the colony of eminent artists in Old Lyme will feel perfectly familiar and at home with all the towns of this locality. For many, however, the little town of Salem has hardly been on the map, and that it possesses any historic interest they have yet to discover. Salem, Connecticut, first called New Salem, took its name from Salem, Massachusetts, and there is some poetic significance in the fact, for if our Salem had its first music school, which gave it a celebrity that was more than local, the Massachusetts Salem was distinguished for its "Olden Time Music."

Colonel Samuel Browne (1669-1731) of Salem, Massachusetts, was determined to get possession of all the land which is now Salem, Connecticut. He first purchased, in

1718, a considerable number of acres now known as Fairy Lake Farm, originally called Paugwonk lands and Paugwonk (crooked) pond.² This beautiful lake, some two miles long, situated among the hills, abounds in many legends. The Mohegan Indians had a settlement upon its shores in the olden times and their bark canoes skimmed its waters. Gradually Colonel Browne acquired the whole tract of country round about, amounting to eight thousand acres. The northern portion of these lands then lay within the town of Colchester, and the southern portion within the town of Lyme. Colonel Browne started to colonize this tract, and brought with him, to clear the land and work the fields, over sixty families of slaves. The last twenty-six acres that Colonel Browne purchased he presented to the parish named New Salem, and this was called "the ministry lot." At the date of this sale, 1729, there were three houses and a sawmill in Salem. One of the houses was built for Colonel Browne (but mainly occupied by John Mumford, his agent) and was a fine large mansion with panelled walls and massive beams, which stood just north of the Lyme and Colchester line, facing the west, near the Governor's Road. This house was torn down about the middle of the nineteenth century. The road leading through the center of Salem, being the most direct route between New London and Hartford, was probably an old Indian trail used by the settlers as a highway, but not formally laid out until 1716. Over this highway through Salem center Gurdon Saltonstall, who was governor from 1708 to 1724, probably regularly journeyed between his home in New London and Hartford and so doubtless was responsible for formally laying it out. Hence, presumably, it was called the Governor's Road.

²Now called Fairy lake. Other meanings besides crooked pond have been suggested for the word Paugwonk.

As other settlers came, they felt the need of a meeting house "for ye public worship of God, in ye new parish partly in Colchester and partly in Lyme commonly called New Salem." The land set aside for this purpose also included a training field and a burying place. The first church was either burned or destroyed before 1771 when a new church was built on the north cross highway. No early church records have been preserved previous to the nineteenth century, as church affairs did not seem to prosper. The thinly scattered rural population—there was not even a small village in the whole region—and its limited resources rendered difficult, sometimes impossible, the maintenance of regular services and a settled ministry till as late as 1813. Even so, Salem continued as an independent parish until its incorporation as a town in 1819.

To constitute the new town, sections were detached from the older towns of Lyme, Colchester, and Montville. Lyme, which had been settled about 1664 and set off from Saybrook in 1667, contributed its northeastern portion; Colchester, which dated from 1699, lost its southeastern section; and Montville, which had become a separate parish in 1721 and been made a town separate from New London in 1786, ceded its northwestern part. The town of Salem, as thus established, is nearly a rectangle with an area of a little less than thirty square miles. By the Governor's Road, now automobile route number 85, it is about thirty-two miles from Hartford to the Salem church and fourteen miles thence to New London. By the road from East Haddam to Norwich, route 82, which intersects the former road a short distance from the church, the distance is about twelve miles to the latter place and fifteen miles to the former. To the village of Lyme is about an equal distance. By the census of 1820, taken the year after the incorporation of the town, the population was 1,053. From that date the

numbers decreased steadily until in 1930 the count was only 404. By comparison New Haven, then the largest town in the state, had a population of 8,327 in 1820.

The period of the War for Independence marked an important transition in the life of Salem. Sympathy with the patriot cause was strong and more than a score of men from the parish enlisted. Before long it was discovered that William Browne, the grandson and heir of the Colonel, was persisting in his loyalties to the mother country. Consequently as a Tory, he suffered confiscation of all his lands and fled to England. His loyalty to the British government was rewarded by appointment as governor of Bermuda, which post he held for nearly a decade. The confiscation of the Browne estates was naturally followed by their dispersal into a considerable number of small farms occupied by new owners. When the town was organized in 1819, Salem was a thriving farming community in which blacksmith shops, grist-mills, and sawmills were kept busy. The old Bland tavern, later called the Dolbeare tavern, on the Norwich road, had its days of activity during the War of 1812. Somewhat later it had the honor of accommodating as overnight guests, General Andrew Jackson and his staff who were on their way from Norwich to New Haven. In 1835, in addition to the original Congregational church, the town also had an Episcopal church and a Methodist church. By this date there had also grown up near the Congregational church a score of houses, the town hall, the schoolhouse, the pound, and the post office, where the people gathered when the stage arrived.

III

ON a lovely, dreamy October day, to go in search of a music school founded in Connecticut as far back as 1835 was, you will agree, a novelty. People do not often go

in search of bygone music schools, especially when the country with its mists and shadows and autumn colors offered such alluring charm. With most companionable and sympathetic guides we started off for Salem, Connecticut. It is true that in the past it had been comparatively isolated and its prosperity retarded because of its inferior roads, but the reconstructed Governor's Road or Hartford-New London turnpike now makes a fine highway from Hartford through Glastonbury, Marlborough, and Colchester, to Salem and beyond. We discovered a certain sleepy dignity about the town, with its scattered farms and homes, for those who live there want to keep it a quiet, simple farming country. Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel) wrote his *Dream Days* there. When a boy he spent three years on his grandfather's farm³ and said in later life: "I feel sorry for the young people who passed their early years without having any home knowledge of gardens and orchards. I think if my childish feet had not known the wood walks and the climbing of hay lofts and apple trees, half the joy of boyhood would be plucked away." Salem is now a productive farming township. Fairy Lake Farm of twenty-eight hundred acres has been the pride of the locality, and has sent its products all over the country.

But we were in search of some trace of the first normal school of music, with its rules and regulations, rigid discipline, and diplomas awarded that were well earned. How much we should find

Of the wild mountain lake,
And our own Music Vale

we did not know. Some one had reported that the old harp weather-vane was still sighing and blowing in the wind

³Located a short distance west of the four corners on the road to East Haddam.

and would mark the place. We came to the farm land where once stood Music Vale⁴ with its surroundings of one hundred acres. There were the rolling country, the uninterrupted sky-line, the haze-like chiffon lying over the meadows—for nature's fairies were still preserving their rights—but of Music Vale with its two lions guarding the gate of entrance, its harp weather-vane, which was the familiar sign of the school, and the attractive buildings of rambling architecture, not a trace was left. The two lions we found guarding the entrance to the old cemetery where rest the founder of the school and his family.⁵

In our quest for information, we had been invited to visit "The Little Red House," over two hundred years old, where once lived the Reverend John Whittlesey, father of Oramel Whittlesey who founded the school. The house,⁶ in the simple architecture of its period, is situated on the Governor's Road. The garden, with its iron benches formerly used at Music Vale and the old trees, was quite ideal. Inside, one felt sensitive to the age of the house with the low ceilings, the wonderful old beams like stone, deep in color and strength, and the handwrought "H" hinges intact on the doors. The house contains many souvenirs of Music Vale. There is a dulcimer in perfect

⁴On the west side of the road, about half way between the Congregational church and the four corners, the cellar hole of the second building (see below, p. 21) may still be seen on the crest of the hill a little distance from the road.

⁵Pictures of the entrance to this cemetery and of the Whittlesey burial plot appeared in the *Hartford Daily Times* of October 27, 1922, together with a short article on Music Vale by Charles H. Dresser. This was followed in the same paper on November 9, 1922, by additional information furnished in a letter from Mrs. Frank H. Whittelsey, the widow of a cousin of Oramel Whittlesey.

⁶A picture of this house and other views of Salem illustrate an article on the town by Don Fraser in the *New London Day*, 1881-1931, *Half Century Progress Edition*.

condition, made by Whittlesey, with the tuning fork resting on its pin ready for tightening. The account books from 1851 to 1857 kept by one of the daughters, who assisted her father as secretary, are marvels of order and beautiful penmanship.

One must get in touch with the period when the old lumbering stage-coach made the daily trip from New London with the mail and the Hartford post coach passed through once a week, to imagine what a seminary devoted exclusively to the accomplishment of music must have been in the country town of Salem in 1836 and the forty years following.

Far from telegraph or railroad, inaccessible to the outer world, Salem made a fine location for concentrated study. Thirteen miles from Long Island Sound, it combined the advantage of fine sea and country air, a healthy outdoor environment, and was near enough to the towns of New London, Norwich, and Colchester to reap the benefits of their educational influence. Private schools for young ladies were still scarce in those days, but there had been several schools of renown in that locality. Salem's own environment was beautiful, and the neighborhood was full of interest and local color.

The young ladies who came from the South and West apparently thought it an ideal experience. They arrived at Norwich and they and their baggage were carried over to the school at Salem in two gaily-colored wagons called the Robin and the Bluebird. It must have been an exhilarating experience to have a robin or a bluebird carry one over the country road of those days. Music Vale and its surroundings became in time a kind of fairyland to the students, a world in itself. They learned to know the variety of the landscape around Salem, with its many lakes, wild crags, weird ravines. Fairy Lake, Lover's

Leap, Elfin Glen, and Moss Wood were names given to separate ponds, hills, and dales, which remain today. They were romantic and fanciful names that appealed to fair young ladies who had the joyous freedom of the woods. They claimed that Salem, Connecticut, was named after Salem, Massachusetts, because of the great number of "witches" they encountered in the Glen.⁷

In imagination we picture the young pupils as they were welcomed at the door of the school by Professor Oramel Whittlesey and his wife, Charlotte Maconda Morgan (1805-1865). Whittlesey was a free and warm-hearted Methodist, born at Saybrook in 1801, brought up with rigid discipline by his pious father, the Reverend John Whittlesey, a zealous advocate of Methodism, a new sect in the Connecticut of those days. Though he preached in New York City half of the year, during the other half he gathered about him in Salem many eminent clergymen so that his home became known as the Methodist tavern. His son, Oramel, must have been a talented and ambitious person—perhaps somewhat of an idealist, but certainly a practical man who knew how to carry on a music school and keep its students occupied, happy, industrious, and above all inspired. He seemed to have possessed an inexhaustible fund of good humor, as well as marked gifts as an earnest and enthusiastic teacher. He was greatly respected by the farmers in the community and was at different times justice of the peace (more of an honor in those days), judge of probate, postmaster, and senator from the old ninth senatorial district.

Immediately after his marriage at Salem in 1826, he moved to Buffalo and with his two brothers began the

⁷Such fancies were not confined to these young ladies for a half dozen miles away is located the Devil's Hopyard which is now one of Connecticut's state parks.

manufacture of pianos, which were made of rosewood and mahogany. All the finer workmanship, such as the sawing of the ivories and the inlaying of mother-of-pearl letters and ornamentations, was done entirely by hand, the work of the three brothers.

In 1833, Oramel Whittlesey and his brothers returned to their old home in Salem where they continued the manufacturing of pianos,⁸ which found a market in New York and elsewhere. The work, however, was carried on by the brothers, as something more constructive than the building of pianos became the ambition of Oramel Whittlesey. He had quite a little fame in the neighborhood as a musician, as he had always been interested in the study and teaching of music. He was requested by many parents to take pupils, and there was a growing demand for good instruction.

It was about this time that Connecticut developed a passion for self-improvement, which awakened interest in all academic training. One of the evidences of this is interesting. It is a comforting fact to know that in the year 1836 the United States' revenue was in excess of its expenditures, and congress directed that, in the following year, all the surplus, except five millions, be divided and deposited with the several states, according to their representation in congress. The amount thus appropriated was over thirty-seven millions. Three-quarters of this was actually paid to the states, and Connecticut's share was \$764,670. The general assembly distributed this sum among the towns in the state in proportion to their population, and one-half of the money received was required to be used to promote education in the common schools.

⁸A very good example has been found in North Canton, Connecticut. It has six carved legs and is marked "O. Whittlesey, Salem, Gem patent." Its number is 225.

This fund was called the Town Deposit Fund. Thus Connecticut, which had already been the first state in the Union to set apart a fund whose income should be used for the support of common schools, utilized this unusual opportunity for their further advancement.

IV

BEGINNING with a few students from Norwich, New London, and vicinity, Whittlesey soon found that his time was well filled, and as his fame spread pupils from a distance applied to be received as boarders. At first the school which thus developed was known merely as Mr. Whittlesey's Music School, but afterwards as Music Vale Seminary and Normal Academy of Music. Oramel Whittlesey entered into his life work with great enthusiasm. The pupils of his school came from widely remote parts, such as the Carolinas, Kentucky, Kansas, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies. The student body grew to an average of eighty during the year. At one time there were as many as one hundred pupils.

The pupils were taught voice culture and there were lessons on the organ, harp, and guitar as well as piano. Instruction was given in notation, harmony, thorough-bass, and the general laws of counterpoint and fugue. There were quartettes on two pianos practiced to the click of the metronome. Whittlesey's wisdom and advice to music students for practicing and making sure progress were as good as any found today, if not better. In fact his rules were probably copied and passed along to many present-day teachers.

The Connecticut state board of education authorized Whittlesey to give a normal degree to successful students. At that time Music Vale was the only music school in the United States authorized to confer degrees and it main-

tained its unique position for many years. The average number of graduates each year was twenty. Annual examination of the graduating class was held before a board of examiners. Nathan Richardson, author of a very popular instruction book in those days, Professor Louis Ernst, vice-president of the New York Musical Society, and Oliver Ditson, the publisher, of Boston, were at one time on the board of examiners and attested to the excellent discipline at the school.

Testimony favorable to the school also came from leading citizens of the state. William A. Buckingham, whose term as governor covered the period of the Civil War, was a native of the historic neighboring town of Lebanon and a resident of Norwich. Among the testimonials of his interest as a patron of the school is the following:

Norwich, July 4th, 1865

Prof. O. Whittlesey:

From what I know of the principles upon which your Seminary is established, and of your character for adhering to those principles, I can commend it to public favor. If by reference to me I can be of any service it will give me great pleasure.

Yours very respectfully,
William A. Buckingham

Charles J. McCurdy,⁹ who had been lieutenant-governor of the state, and United States chargé d'affaires at Vienna, and who was a judge of the supreme court of the state, together with Henry M. Waite,¹⁰ the chief justice of the state, joined in the following statement:

⁹Lafayette had been entertained at the McCurdy home in Lyme at two distinct eras in our national history: for several days during the Revolution when he was resting his troops in the vicinity, and in 1825 on his memorable journey to Boston.

¹⁰He was the father of Morrison R. Waite who became chief justice of the United States.

Lyme, Connecticut

To Whomsoever It May Concern:

This may certify that the subscribers have for many years, been acquainted with the Hon. Orramel Whittlesey, Principal of the "Salem Normal Academy of Music." He has been a member of the House of Representatives, and also of the Senate of this State, Judge of Probate of the District in which he resides, and has held other offices of trust and responsibility. He is a man of respectability in his social position, and of unblemished reputation for integrity, morality and propriety of conduct. We therefore cheerfully commend him to the confidence of the community.

Charles J. McCurdy
Henry M. Waite

Governor Henry Dutton, writing from New Haven in 1854, said "That he felt proud that Connecticut could boast of so fine an institution as Music Vale Seminary." In 1869 Governor Marshall Jewell of Hartford wrote, "It gives me pleasure to place my name at your disposal for purposes of reference."

The young ladies of Music Vale had to rise at five o'clock in the morning and practice from six to seven, and were required to dust their pianos prior to commencing practicing. No pupil was allowed to speak during practice time except to her teacher, or to leave the piano, or to play any other composition except that assigned for the practice hour. A student wrote to her Kentucky home: "Strict! You have no idea what *Yankee* strictness means! There is no shirking the rules!" Professor Whittlesey made it known to the students that they were there for one purpose only—everything was systematized. The practice hours were divided into series of four hours each, alternating with the study of theory, and were spoken of as first, second, third, and fourth series. The entrance to most of the rooms was from outside, so that each was

isolated from others for practice. A stroke of the gong announced the termination of the hour. The German method of instruction was followed; many competent teachers were engaged. The students were always under the immediate supervision of a teacher and were heard every day and requested to play before the school twice a week and, what was considered a most important point in their development of self-control, at the monthly performance before the faculty and guests from surrounding towns.

The following confession from a pupil will find many a responsive chord in the hearts of piano students. She wrote of her first experience in playing before the company:

I felt as if I had been consigned to the tomb of the Capulets as I went to the piano for the first time. By what process I arrived there, whether by locomotion or otherwise, I cannot form the most remote idea. The keyboard looked all white and anon all black. My hands trembled and shook and my heart fluttered like a newly caged lap-wing. A roar like the approach of a mighty tempest seemed to surround me! What was to be done? Retreat was impossible. There was but one course. Impulsively I struck the keys, the sounds soothed my ear. The piano was in excellent tune and suddenly my fingers seemed nerved with firmness and confidence, almost beyond supernatural strength. As the applause greeted my ears and I returned to my place, I had all the feelings a youthful officer might have who, for the first time, had led the van and stormed a battery!

On the programmes of the anniversary exercises appeared, here and there, classical compositions. The Moonlight sonata of Beethoven might be played by the most advanced pupil; there was often a Mozart sonata, or some composition of Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, or Mendelssohn. For technical work, the exercises of Plaidy, Spindler, and Streabog were used and much attention

was given to the practicing of scales. It was the age of the popularity of Gottschalk, composer of *The Dying Poet* and *The Last Hope*; of Thalberg's *Variations of Home Sweet Home*; of *The Last Rose of Summer*, played with left hand only; of William Mason's *Tarantelle*; of Weber's *Polacca Brillante*; and of Rubinstein's *Melody in F*. Later came the *Spinning Song* from Wagner's *Flying Dutchman*, and Liszt's *Hungarian March*.

One of the noted lecturers who came to the school was Doctor Lowell Mason.¹¹ It is said that he and his friend, Doctor George F. Root, whose instruction book was used at the school, spent part of a summer in Salem, probably stopping at the old Dolbeare tavern on the Norwich road. This was the time of Lowell Mason's phenomenal activity when he was teaching and lecturing all about the country. As he was appointed by the state board of education in Massachusetts to teach music in all the normal schools of that state, it was very natural that he should have been interested in the normal school of music at Salem, Connecticut, and should have tarried there a sufficient length of time to give several lectures.

There is no doubt that singleness of purpose was the object of the school; its motto was a saying of the younger William Pitt: "If it be that I have done so much, it is because I have done one thing at a time." This motto prefaced every circular and paper. The school was conducted with a firm and steady hand, but a gentle one. In other words, the government, though firm and exacting,

¹¹The statement has been current that Lowell Mason (1792-1872) was a pupil at the Whittlesey school. This is obviously false for Mason had already developed his own work and established his reputation before the opening of Music Vale. Neither does there appear to be any foundation for the similar statement that George F. Root (1820-1895) was a pupil of Whittlesey. Root was the author of "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching," and of various other songs then popular.

was at the same time kind and parental. The pupils' letters tell of Mrs. Whittlesey, who was like a warm-hearted and affectionate mother to them all, as well as a wonderful manager who kept the school in good financial condition.

The four accomplished daughters were all proficient in the science of music. The eldest daughter, after the death of her husband, Lieutenant Magennis, who was killed at Piedmont, Virginia, during the Civil War, founded at New London the Magennis Institute of Music,¹² which she conducted for several years. Later she assisted her father as first vice-principal at Music Vale. The second daughter, Mrs. George Pratt of Norwich, after the death of her husband, was a very successful teacher at the school and carried it on toward the end of her father's life. The third daughter had a fine voice and taught singing, and the youngest, Karolyn Bradford Whittlesey, became a noted teacher of piano and harp in Topeka, Kansas, where she taught to a ripe old age. In 1914 she wrote in answer to an inquiry about Music Vale:

My father's School was known all about the country. He supplied schools with teachers. To this day I never go anywhere that I do not meet some of the Music Vale girls. I found two here in Topeka, in Kansas City there are several, in Tacoma three or four. It was a good thorough school in its day and had a big prestige. My father always said that it was the first purely music school established in the United States. There were other active music schools in the country but with French or some other branch of study connected with them.

This statement is fortified by a notice that came from the press of the *New London Star* in the late fifties:

Mr. Whittlesey's School is in a very flourishing condition

¹²The building is now the rectory of St. James Church, the church with which Bishop Seabury was associated and in which he is buried.

and we look upon this as the result of teaching music as a specialty. The day is rapidly passing away when pupils can study a dozen different branches at once and successfully pass the public ordeal. The public requires too high a standard and those who expect to earn its plaudits must essay one thing at a time and there need be no fear of the results. This is the case with Judge Whittlesey's School. His pupils study music alone and the consequence is that he graduates some of the most thorough accomplished artists in the country and his institution stands in the very first rank.

The Saturday afternoon excursions in those gaily-colored wagons gave a delightful holiday aspect to the school. Visits were made to New London to see its fine harbor and John Winthrop's famous old mill; to the historic fort at Saybrook; to Norwich and to the home of Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), consecrated to his *Reveries of a Bachelor*. Edmund Clarence Stedman, just beginning his writings as essayist, lived in Norwich, the town that was called the Rose of New England, which was also the home of Lydia Huntley, who as Mrs. Sigourney, was becoming known all over the country as poet and writer.

V

BESIDES conducting the school and teaching, Oramel Whittlesey found time to compose considerable music. In 1849 came the first songs: Welcome to Music Vale, the chorus that generally headed the programmes; The Dying Soldier of Buena Vista, dedicated to Lieutenant-Governor McCurdy; and his most popular, but now forgotten, song, The Harp of the Wild Wind. There's a Proud and Noble Flag was composed during the Civil War. Music Vale Quick Step, which had its tenth edition, was a popular piano piece at the school. These were compositions, like hundreds of others which mirror the

trend of that time, characterized by sentiment and seeking to entertain. They pleased for the moment, and had a brief popularity. Their total absence of sophistication is the thing that charms and amuses us today. One finds the characteristic chords of the key, tonic, dominant, and the change to the sub-dominant. The great innovation was to enter the minor key. The germ of modern music was hardly developed.

Mr. Whittlesey wrote several choruses for the school, and his fancy found expression in an opera which was performed in the hall of the Seminary in the early days of 1855. The opera was called *Ralvo*, or the Pirate of the Gulf.

You were not here in the evening to view
"Ralvo the brave" with his bold pirate crew.

It contained many pretty, catchy airs, was full of action and melody. The dramatic incidents and the plot were not difficult to grasp. It was a glowing pageant and the young ladies entered into the fun and romance with interest. There were many visitors in the audience and one listener wrote for his magazine:¹³

When we were ushered into the reception hall filled with such a splendid array of beauty, grace and loveliness we could scarcely imagine that it was all real, but our minds reverted to the stories in the Arabian Nights Tales, and we were half inclined to believe the whole a dream. We might as well attempt to describe on paper the beauties of the rainbow as to give a description of the entertainment. There was not a poor singer among them, and what was really surprising was the admirable discipline under which they performed. We left the hall gratified with what we had heard and fascinated with what we had seen.

¹³ *The Northern Farmer*, Utica, October 1855, under the title, What We Saw in Connecticut.

The hall in which the opera, plays, and music were given was for that time quite splendid. Arranged under the direction of a New York artist, there was nothing like it in Norwich or New London. The stage, dressing room, the scenic effects, the curtains—one with the Arch of Titus, a distant view of the Tiber, and the usual turrets and towers; another, a highly colored likeness of Music Vale itself—the frescoes on the walls and ceiling, and the little gallery in the rear, were all quite impressive for the town of Salem in 1855.

VI

PERHAPS the object of most historic importance that the hall contained was what is called the Lady Fenwick harpsichord—the first known musical instrument of quality to come into New England. This was said to have descended to the Whittlesey family through Ruth Dudley, daughter of William Dudley of Guilford, an early settler of Saybrook, who married in 1664 the first John Whittlesey, a member of the early Saybrook colony that came from England. Ignoring this improbable tradition, Oramel Whittlesey's youngest daughter, at the latter end of her life, wrote:

There was one thing which was used by all the visitors at Music Vale, and that was an old harpsichord which Lady Fenwick brought with her to Saybrook and which later was presented as a wedding gift to two of our Whittlesey ancestors. It stood in the hall of Music Vale for several years and has been treasured by the family as having been touched by many famous fingers.

It would be a fine bit of sentiment and history if we could prove the exact date and with whom the harpsichord came into the country, for the two accounts are both traditional and uncertain. With George Fenwick

there came to the Saybrook fort, in 1639, his wife, Lady Alice (who had the courtesy title of Lady from her first husband, Sir John Boteler) and his sister, Elizabeth Fenwick, who married for her first husband Captain John Cullick and for her second, Richard Ely. They brought many unusual pieces of furniture with them from their manor house in Sussex, but this furniture was probably destroyed in the first fire of the fort in 1647.

Lady Alice died in 1648, after nine years of life at the fort, and Fenwick immediately returned to England to assume his place in parliament to which he had been elected. When he died in 1657 he left a will that gave to his sister Elizabeth, together with his Saybrook lands, all his lands in Lyme, from Griswold's Point as far as Salem and East Haddam. There was a great deal of trouble over the settlement of Colonel Fenwick's land so that Elizabeth and her children by her first husband, John Cullick, did not get title until she had paid Connecticut five hundred pounds. She must have returned to England to get title under the English law of probate. It may be assumed that on her return in 1680 she brought the harpsichord with her, for the mahogany case shows it could not have been made in London or Holland before 1660. She came over on the same ship with Richard Ely, to whom she was married shortly after her arrival. At the time of this marriage she turned over to him all her Lyme lands, of which a large section is still in the hands of the Ely family, descendants of Richard Ely's first wife. The title of Lady was accorded her, by courtesy, as sister of Colonel George Fenwick and Lady Alice, but she had no real title of that kind.

It is difficult to find the exact key that unlocks the situation, but it is certain that this historic and quaint harpsichord was part of the equipment at Music Vale

Seminary for many years. When the building and its contents were sold it was, fortunately, purchased by a member of the Griswold family of Lyme.¹⁴ It is now in excellent condition, an instrument of rare beauty and charm, which, if it could only speak, could tell many facts that we are eager to know about early Connecticut history and the days of long ago.

VII

THE breaking out of the Civil War made a great difference with the attendance at the school, especially since many pupils came from the South. However, across the country road in front of Music Vale, the flag continued to float in the Salem breezes. News was brought each day from New London and Norwich, and the Salem hills echoed every Northern victory. Reverses came to the family and the school. Mrs. Whittlesey died in 1865 and three years afterwards, in 1868, the buildings were destroyed by fire.

A new Music Vale was soon erected in place of the old. It was a long, white building with a two-story, projecting porch and a tower in the center with the harp weather-vane.¹⁵ It was a model of its kind and a monument to the industry and perseverance of its owners. With all its modern equipment, however, the school was never as prosperous as the first Music Vale. The war had taken the Southern clientage, the professor was growing old, and conservatories of music were beginning to flourish in the different cities. Mrs. Pratt, the second daughter, carried on the school for a couple of years, but after the death of her father, September 9, 1876, she closed the school and

¹⁴In the possession of Mr. William E. S. Griswold, of Blackhall, Old Lyme.

¹⁵A picture of this second building appeared in the *Hartford Daily Times* of May 26, 1928 with an extended article on the school by Vera Lear Grann.

returned to her home in Norwich. The property was sold and some years afterwards the building was destroyed by fire which swept through the silent halls once so gay with young people, music, and song. As a Salem resident said, "The once famous school departed gloriously in the flames, March 16, 1897."

The farm land is now owned by Mrs. Pratt, widow of Bela Lyon Pratt, the sculptor, whose mother was the daughter named above. The residents of Salem have a pride in the memory of Music Vale, and Oramel Whittlesey will always be remembered as establishing the first normal academy of music in Connecticut, if not in the whole country. One resident of Salem, now living, feels that Professor Whittlesey has never had proper recognition as a musician and that his genius should have had wider acclaim, but comforts himself with the thought that wheels of this sort grind slowly and that eventually due credit will be given to the founder of Music Vale.

VIII

THERE was edited by the young ladies a school paper called *The Gleaner of the Vale*. There were poems, fairy tales, and fantastic accounts of the school's activities, glowing with youthful enthusiasm and ardor. In a magazine¹⁶ of the day occurs:

These young ladies are not only proficient in music but they are noted also for their literary accomplishments. They edit a little gem of a paper called *The Gleaner* which is issued about eight times a year and sent to friends and others. Here appear sparkling effusions that would honor the pages of the most refined literary periodicals of the day.

It took long searching to find copies of this *Gleaner*. Reward came at last: the first one, dated 1857, very much

¹⁶ *The Northern Farmer*, Utica, October, 1855.

mutilated, was found in an attic in Salem; the second, 1859, came from the Far West; and the third, a small sheet dated 1855, the first issue, came, after wide correspondence, from a private collection of newspapers in Hartford; all very interesting and characteristic.

A copy of the *Gleaner* found its way into the den of John Sullivan Dwight of Boston, whose *Journal of Music* for many years, not only set the musical standard of Boston, but of the whole country. "He had a large sweep with his critical, musical and literary broom" as one of his friends said. Dwight was a member of the Brook Farm Colony at Concord, he started the Harvard Musical Association, and was one of the founders of the Saturday Club of Boston, at whose meetings dined all the wits and literary men of the day. This copy of the *Gleaner of the Vale* gathered from his pen the following classic sheaf with its playful and ironic humor:

Boston, Sept. 8, 1855

CONNECTICUT FAIRY-LAND

One who has read Tennyson's "Princess" can conceive of a mystical community of romantic, beautiful young ladies, segregated from the coarse and selfish world, and leading the happiest life imaginable, a life all music, in a secluded valley, unapproachable to vulgar feet, in the midst of the very land of "blue laws" and of "wooden nutmegs." Of such we have information in a most cheerful little paper called the *Gleaner of the Vale*, of which a stray number or two have reached us. It is full of the happiest little articles, emanating from the happy members of a female seminary in a happy valley, which rejoices in the name of Music Vale. Music Vale Seminary is the title of the institution; and the life there would seem to be in imitation of the birds, one life-long practising of pianos and singing of songs, and studying of counterpoint, and rehearsing of original operas, and warbling praises of such paradisaical existence. . . . The whole business of the life is learning music;

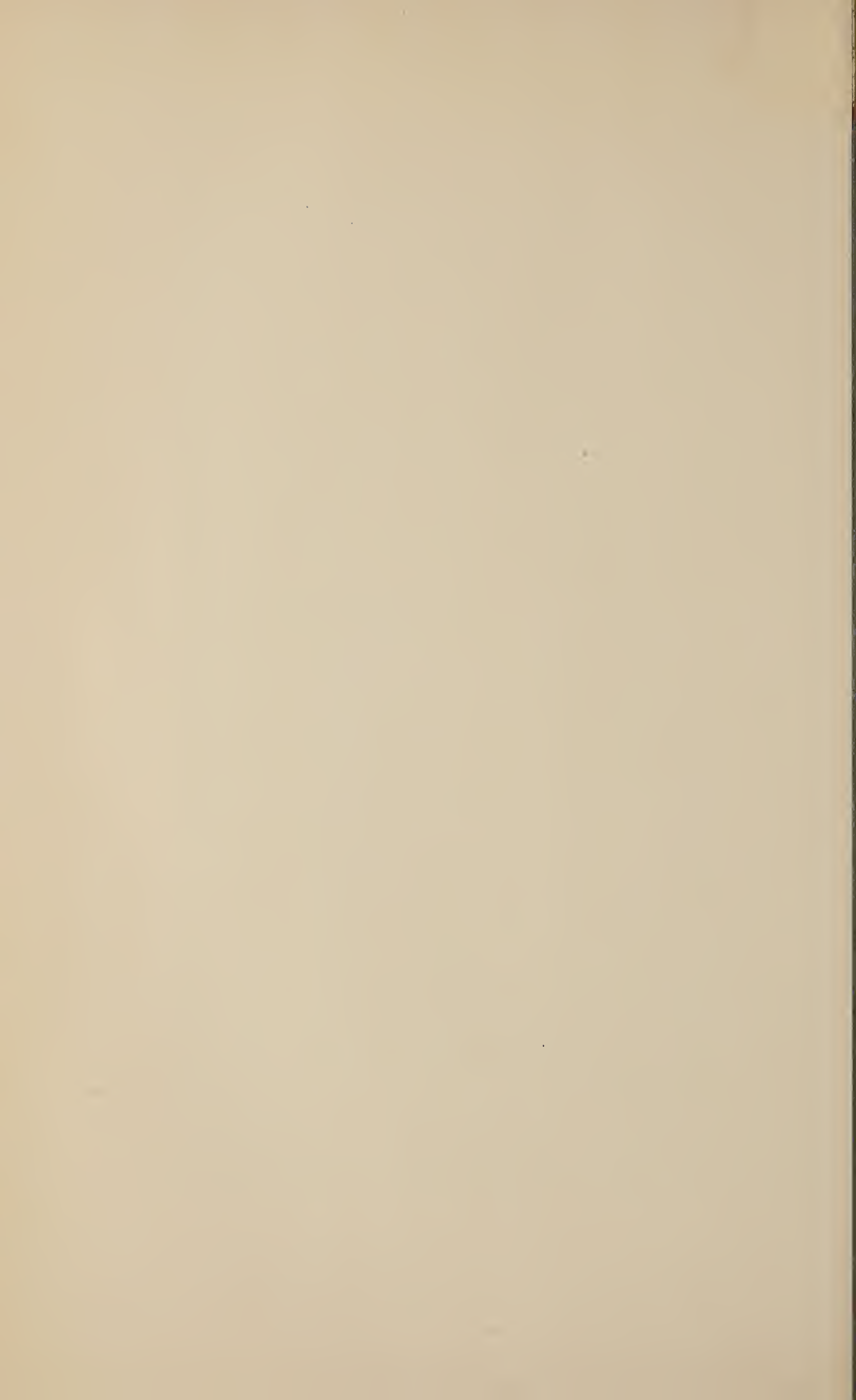
and to this end these heroines make laws and establish order, and Amazon-like, shrink not from athletic (finger) exercises, trying to strength and courage. They had an examination, when "Music Vale put on its best looks and smiles to greet its visitors" . . . The examination is rigid, and then comes some anxious heart-beating "lest we should not be the happy recipients of a 'Sheepskin' "—for diplomas are awarded. . . . For the evening exercises they enact the melo-dramatic Opera of "Ralvo," which was composed and performed simply as a recreation from study, and not one moment was lost from regular practise in its rehearsal. . . . "And, while it has been a source of pleasure to us who have taken a part in its representation, it has also been of practical use, on account of the discipline we have received in composition, elocution, and particularly in regard to expression." The article closes with thanks to the (brass ?) band from Colchester, which we presume officiated as orchestra. Lest the spell should be broken by such enemies to boarding-school young misses' peace, as love-sickness and home-sickness, the diagnosis of these troubles and the sovereign remedy are duly set forth in the *Gleaner*; the remedy is an inspiration of the happy temper of the place, to wit:

"Three parts of contentment;
Three parts of good humor;
Three parts of sociability;
Mix well together, add any quantity of smiles and
cheerfulness, and above all keep yourself busy, and
our word for it, you will soon cease feeling any un-
pleasant sensation."

Such, care-worn readers, such, O weary mariners upon life's troubled sea, is the philosophy and melodious flow of life in Music Vale, which is no fairy land, save as "the mind is its own place," but has an actual habitation and a name in Salem, Connecticut.



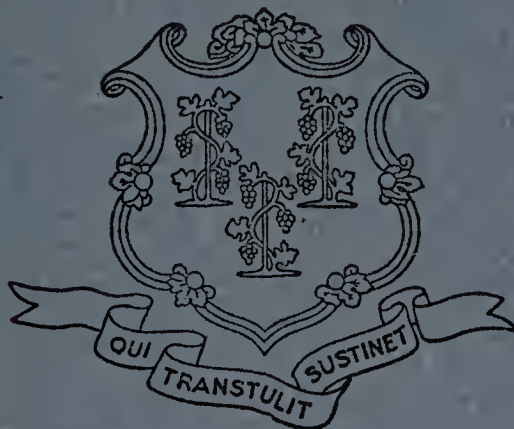
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*Migrations from Connecticut
Prior to 1800*

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Migrations from Connecticut
Prior to 1800

LOIS KIMBALL MATHEWS ROSENBERRY

I

THE motives which sent families and individuals from Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, Essex, and Devonshire across the Atlantic ocean to the New England coast, were the same as those which urged some of these pioneers on to the Connecticut river only a few years after their arrival in Massachusetts Bay colony. Thomas Hooker, in his recital of reasons why he and his congregation should leave Massachusetts for the Connecticut river bottomlands, put his finger on the crux of the matter when at the end of his argument he said that "the minds of his people were strongly inclined to plant themselves there," where land was obtainable in larger portions and where English friends might join the recent comers to America.

No sooner were these pioneers settled than some among them moved on and out again, scattering farms along

Long Island Sound, up the rivers, and in intervening spaces not already occupied. Temporarily driven back by the Pequot War and later by King Philip's War, the coming of peace released pent-up energies and outward again flowed the tide of emigration. The process was repeated for the same reasons, actuated by the same motives, with a persistent conservatism which transplanted home, church, school, and a loose sort of local government in the new environment. As soon as life began to crystallize anew and conform too closely to the old pattern, the pressure became irksome, and the trek began again, penetrating farther and farther into the wilderness.

The first settlers in Connecticut established themselves in 1633-1638, yet almost immediately they began to spread out into new tracts along the coast, even as far west as Rye, and into the interior. Especially after 1640 smaller villages were formed with great rapidity. Settlers crossed over Long Island Sound, going with Massachusetts pioneers to form, by 1660, eleven distinct villages, scattered from one end of Long Island to the other, either along the coast or on smaller bits of land, like Shelter Island. Each of these towns was at first independent, all questions being determined by majority vote in town meeting. The people of Southampton, as did those of various other towns, entered into a social contract which they signed previous to their settlement, agreeing to be bound by the will of the majority and to support the magistrates in the administration of the laws so made. The people of Southold and Easthampton did the same, the latter and those of Southampton having sent to Connecticut for a copy of the laws in force there, which they either used unchanged or in an amended form. Since by 1662 all the Long Island towns had united with

either New Haven or Connecticut, they may be considered as a part of Connecticut history.¹

But the spreading settlement did not stop so near home, for after the Restoration in England in 1660, large emigrations took place to another district, New Jersey. About the time that the grant to Berkeley and Carteret was made, a few pioneers from Connecticut began the town of Shrewsbury. A typical Connecticut removal was the withdrawal of a portion of the New Haven colony to New Jersey in 1666. Some of the New Haven people opposed strenuously any acknowledgment of the Restoration. In 1661 several of these families opened negotiations with Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland, with a view to removal from New Haven. Nothing came of this attempt, but four years later the problem was solved by the appearance in East Jersey of its new governor, Philip Carteret. Immediately upon his arrival the governor sent agents into New England to publish the terms which the proprietors offered to settlers and to invite them to these lands. The offer was a liberal one, and in the following year a committee from the towns of Guilford, Branford, and Milford was sent ahead to look over the country, learn more exactly the terms of the offer, and ascertain how friendly the Indians were apt to be. The members returned with a favorable report, and were straightway sent back with power to buy a township, select a site, and make all arrangements for immediate settlement.

Thirty families set out by boat from New Haven and established themselves in what is now Newark, in sepa-

¹ If one were to follow emigration from Long Island, especially if one were to keep in mind family names, he would find settlers who might therefore be considered a part of the emigration from Connecticut. For this study, however, only direct emigration from the territory of the present state can be considered.

rate neighborhoods, according to the towns from which they had come. Immediately after their arrival, delegates were appointed to draw up a form of government, by the terms of which no one could become a freeman, or vote, or hold office who was not a member of the Congregational Church. True to their traditions, the church in Newark was a Connecticut church moved in its entirety—pastor, deacons, records, and major part of the congregation. The first school was established in 1676. The College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton University, was begun in Newark over half a century later, and thus the foundations of higher education in New Jersey were laid by the descendants of the Connecticut pioneers who had laid the foundations of the town and had given it the character it was to maintain. Governor Belcher testified to the tenacity with which Newark people insisted upon their rights at the time of the Revolution—an interesting comment upon the transmission of political principles from generation to generation. Connecticut did not, to be sure, furnish all the pioneers to New Jersey; nevertheless, it played a not inconsiderable part in the rather rapid settlement of that colony.

II

THEN fell the blow of King Philip's War. For nearly two years all New England lived in terror. The main interest in the struggle lies in its effect upon expansion of settlement. Although Connecticut suffered but little in comparison with the rest of New England, nevertheless its inhabitants were forced to forego any plans for emigration to the frontier. Furthermore, the echoes of King Philip's War had hardly died away before all the colonies were drawn into the first of that series of conflicts be-

tween England and France for supremacy in the New World which has sometimes been called their second Hundred Years' War. The struggle which began as the War of the Palatinate in Europe was extended to the colonies as King William's War. In America, the French and English contended for the aid of the Indians, and the horrors of savage warfare were added to the other hardships of the conflict. When the peace of Ryswick was signed in 1697 the possessions of the two countries remained as they had been at the opening of hostilities in 1689, but the frontier line had been again thrust back by reason of burned and abandoned towns. The second of these European contests began in 1701 as the War of the Spanish Succession, known in the colonies as Queen Anne's War. Again, the Indians played a large part in the devastation of frontier villages, and plundered and laid waste large areas of thinly populated territory.

The peace of Utrecht in 1713 terminated hostilities, and was of the greatest importance to the development of the colonies, especially in the North. New England was now surrounded by friends, not foes, since England had, with the aid of the colonial army, wrested Nova Scotia from France, and had wrung an acknowledgment of sovereignty from the Iroquois Indians, the fiercest tribes which threatened the pioneers who had explored the lands west of the Hudson river. An unprecedented opportunity was thus opened for expansion to the north and west, and the outpouring of population in those directions followed immediately. A study of the details of settlement would show clearly how expansion was seriously hindered by these successive conflicts from 1675 to 1713.

Yet, even in the midst of these wars emigration took place. For example, in 1697 pioneers from Fairfield, Connecticut, planted Fairfield, New Jersey, and organ-

ized a Presbyterian church the same year. It was, however, the treaty of Utrecht which ushered in a period of comparative peace lasting more than a quarter of a century, and made a larger expansion of settlement possible. To the north, for some distance along the Connecticut river, the land was all occupied, but vacant tracts lay to the east and to the west of that highway. For instance, Wales, in Massachusetts, had settlers from other Massachusetts towns, but also Connecticut founders from Windham, Tolland, Hampton, and Union, who organized a Baptist church of thirty members within six years of their arrival.

To the west, Berkshire county, on the border between Massachusetts and New York, soon attracted pioneers. The proprietors of these western towns were usually Massachusetts men, but most of the settlers came up from Connecticut, following the rich intervale lands of the Housatonic. The seventy-two proprietors of New Marlborough were mainly Marlborough, Massachusetts, men. They represented the speculator element, for very few of them ever lived in New Marlborough; the settlers came from Canterbury and Suffield in Connecticut, from Northampton and Dedham in Massachusetts. Connecticut settlers founded Alford. The proprietors of Sandisfield were Worcester county men; the settlers were from the Connecticut towns of Enfield and Wethersfield, and from Cape Cod towns. To Lenox went pioneers from West Hartford and Wallingford, Connecticut; while Otis settlers represented Enfield, Granby, Suffield, Woodstock, and Hebron, though the proprietors were from Tyringham, Massachusetts. Williamstown was begun by Connecticut families, mingling with others from Northampton and Hatfield; Wethersfield men founded Pittsfield.

Over the border in New York, Putnam county on the Hudson was wild and unpopulated in 1740, when the first settlers came from Cape Cod and from Suffield, Connecticut. In the latter part of the decade 1740-1750, settlers moved from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Long Island to Orange county, giving a strong New England character especially to the southern part.

Far to the south, from Colleton county of South Carolina, where a company of Massachusetts settlers with their pastor had in 1695 established Dorchester colony, a committee was sent in 1752, when Georgia was but a score of years old, to secure a grant of land in Oglethorpe's territory. The required permission was granted by the Georgia authorities, who allotted 22,400 acres to the newcomers. During the year 1752 it has been estimated that over eight hundred men, women, and children, including some Connecticut settlers, went to the new tract, called Medway. Eventually almost all the colony moved to the new home, but in Colleton county of South Carolina there are still families of New England stock.

When in 1759 Quebec fell, the period of European wars was practically over so far as the American colonies were concerned. The pent-up population was ready again to swarm, and as soon as actual warfare ceased, unappropriated lands were taken up. A few Massachusetts towns will serve to illustrate the movement in that direction. Lee drew its pioneers of 1760 from Tolland and New Haven, Connecticut, as well as from several Massachusetts places. Huntington, whose first settlers called their new home Norwich from the Connecticut town which they had left, sent back twenty years after for a minister from the old home. New Ashford had pioneer families from Rhode Island and Connecticut, as had

Hancock, Hinsdale, and Cheshire. Richmond contained settlers from Long Island and Connecticut. Thus the population of the most recently settled towns was made up of diverse elements which were seeking new homes in any New England territory as yet unoccupied.

Besides granting lands in the usual way, upon the request of would-be proprietors, the colonial government of Massachusetts took the initiative on June 2, 1762, by offering for sale at public auction nine townships lying near the western border of the colony. The three proprietors who acquired Adams laid out forty-eight settling lots of one hundred acres each, to which they later added twenty lots of the same size, and admitted settlers to the number of sixty, on condition that they build a meeting-house and settle a minister according to the requirements of the general court. Windsor, another of these auction townships, was settled by Connecticut and Hadley families; Peru drew its first family from New Jersey, later ones from Connecticut and eastern Massachusetts.

Connecticut settlers had, as has just been shown, gone in considerable numbers to western Massachusetts. They also filled up what little unoccupied land was left in their own colony. Barkhamstead, whose settlers came from Enfield, Suffield, Simsbury, Hamden, Hartford, and East Haddam; Hartland, which was a younger Lyme; Colebrook, whose pioneers were Windsor and East Windsor people—these, with Winchester, provided homes for a few. The whole colony was thus, by 1760, laid out in townships, and the history of settlement within the borders of Connecticut was ended, as was that of Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

III

BUT there were still many families in all these colonies

who were restless and unsatisfied. For such uneasy spirits there lay the vacant lands to the north beyond what had been before 1760 the frontier line in northern New England. During the French and Indian War soldiers had passed continually through the territory north of Massachusetts along both sides of the Connecticut river, and when peace was restored, they were eager to possess the fertile tracts which they had coveted on their marches. Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire and his council ordered that a survey be made, and that townships six miles square be laid out. During 1761 sixty townships were granted on the west side, and eighteen on the east side of the river. Altogether one hundred and thirty-eight grants were made, and the proprietors sought settlers in all the colonies. Marlow was granted in 1761 to seventy men, mostly of Lyme, Connecticut, who brought twenty-eight families hither in ten years. Lebanon is a child of Lebanon and Mansfield, Connecticut; Claremont's pioneers were from Hebron, Farmington, and other Connecticut towns; Hebron also contributed families to Gilsum. Plainfield is but Plainfield, Connecticut, transplanted; Lyme but an offshoot of the older Lyme. Families from East Haddam founded Campton, others from Hebron and Lebanon began Orford. From North Killingworth six men went in 1765 to Newport and spent the winter; the next year their wives and children followed, and the permanence of the town was assured. The number of Connecticut settlers who began New Hampshire towns was not small, and examples might be multiplied.

Although land conditions on the frontier made the transplanting of institutions more difficult, nevertheless a stubborn clinging to ideals resulted here and there in enterprises whose beginnings, incredibly small as they were, nevertheless had a vitality which was often amaz-

ing. It was but fitting that in New Hampshire where so great a number of the inhabitants were originally from Connecticut, Yale College should contribute a large share to the founding and the history of a new institution which was bound to be more or less like that at New Haven. The founder of Dartmouth College, Eleazar Wheelock, was a native of Windham, Connecticut, and a Yale graduate. He became minister of the Second Society (now Columbia) in Lebanon in 1735 and soon began to conduct the education of some youths, including the Indian, Samson Occom. By 1755 this undertaking had grown into Moor's Indian Charity School. As early as 1763 Wheelock had besought General Phineas Lyman to include a tract for a college in the Natchez grant. In 1769 Wheelock received a charter for his school as Dartmouth College and in the following year he transferred it to Hanover, New Hampshire, where fifty-five of the sixty-eight shares in the town had been assigned to settlers from Windham, Connecticut. In its early years Dartmouth College graduates were often Connecticut youths; in 1772 both graduates came from that colony; in 1773 five of the six in the class; in 1774, two in eight; in 1775, eight in eleven; in 1779, eleven in seventeen; in 1785, nine in nineteen. "In all, of the 284 graduates up to 1790, 121 came from Connecticut, and 22 from the town of Lebanon alone, where Wheelock had formerly preached."

While Maine was too far to the east for any Connecticut settlers save stragglers here and there, Vermont was temptingly near at hand. In spite of the drawback of the conflicting claims set forth by New Hampshire and New York, seventy-four new towns were planted in Vermont in the fifteen years just preceding 1776. To their origin every colony in New England, save Maine, which had enough vacant land within easy reach, contributed many

families. Weathersfield suggests by its name Connecticut origin; many of its proprietors were New Haven men. Norwich was a town which attracted Preston and Mansfield settlers, while Middletown, Suffield, and Hartford emigrants settled in Marlborough. Arlington was the home which Connecticut Episcopalians chose; eleven families from Newtown arrived in 1764—almost a whole congregation, as was the group of families which joined them from New Milford. Hartford's pioneers were from Lebanon, Connecticut; in two years it had more than twelve families established. Eight families moved from Salisbury to Tinmouth. Vergennes, Thetford, Rupert, Strafford, Pittsford—dozens of towns had Connecticut representatives, side by side with families from various western Massachusetts towns. From the very names of many towns one may often see their origin, as of Pomfret, Wallingford, and Salisbury.

Bennington will serve as a type of the old methods of planting towns, combined with new features. There was an organized migration to Bennington from Hardwick, Massachusetts, in 1761. Captain Samuel Robinson, a Hardwick resident, was returning from the French and Indian War when he lost his way, and in endeavoring to get home through the wilderness, passed through the country about Bennington. He found the land so attractive that he determined to make for himself a new home, and gathering a company of twenty-two people, set off for Vermont. By winter some thirty families from Massachusetts towns, and a few others from Connecticut, had arrived. A church was organized in 1762 with fifty-seven members. For many of the settlers it was a second or a third remove; one man, to cite a single case, came directly from Charlemont, Massachusetts, but had been born in Norwich, Connecticut.

IV

THE course which expansion followed after 1763 was directed somewhat by the terms of the English proclamation of that year. France had at last been driven from the North American continent, and by the peace of Paris England had come into undisputed possession of all the land from Hudson bay to the Gulf of Mexico. The government of these tracts was provided for by a royal proclamation erecting the colonies of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada and other ceded islands. This left the whole interior of the country, bounded by the Great Lakes and Florida, the Appalachian mountains and the Mississippi river, to the Indians and the fur traders, with specific injunctions that settlement should temporarily be kept out. Thus the area open to settlement was very definitely restricted. There was still, however, unoccupied land east of the limit laid down by the Proclamation Line of 1763, and by the treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1768. Toward one of these tracts much of Connecticut's surplus population turned.

The territory of the Delaware and Susquehanna Companies in northeastern Pennsylvania was the great district to which hundreds of families now moved. The Delaware Company was a Connecticut organization which purchased of the Indians lands on the Delaware river, with the sanction of Connecticut, a claimant of the lands under her charter. They invited settlers to that tract, where the proprietors announced in October, 1760, that they had erected three townships, each extending ten miles along the Delaware and eight miles inland. They had also laid out a large town of eighty lots in the middle township, and had built thirty cabins, three log houses,

a grist-mill, and a sawmill. Twenty men were reported as being on their land, and one hundred families were expected in the spring. The lands were parceled out in two-hundred-acre lots, twelve of which were to be cleared and improved and a house built on each within three years, on pain of forfeiture. Two years later there were sixteen families settled on the river, their farms spreading over seven miles. Forty men were in the settlement, living in log houses, and claiming their lands under title from Connecticut.

The Susquehanna Company,² also a Connecticut association, was formed by eight hundred and fifty Connecticut men who, in 1755, in accordance with colonial practice, bought the lands claimed by the Six Nations in northern Pennsylvania. The tract was seventy miles in extent from north to south, and covered two degrees of longitude from a line just east of the Susquehanna river. In 1762 the Company sent two hundred persons into the beautiful Wyoming valley, whose intervale lands and luxuriant woods offered rich prospects for new homes. The Company had made a regulation requiring that the emigrants should support a minister, and one went with the band in 1762. Many of these first settlers went back to Connecticut for the winter, returning in the spring of 1763 to the Wyoming valley with their families. In October the Indians fell upon the settlement; many were massacred, among them their minister, and the rest fell back to Connecticut. For six years the valley lay desolate; then a second company, taking with them a minister, was sent out. When the forty persons from Connecticut arrived, they found that Pennsylvania had determined to make good her claim to the Susquehanna Company's

² It is planned to include in this series in the near future a Pamphlet providing a much fuller account of the Susquehanna Company and its settlements.

lands, and had also sent settlers into the territory. All the settlers stayed, however, and by April, 1769, there were two hundred and seventy or eighty able-bodied men there. In September the Pennsylvanians forced the Connecticut men again to withdraw to their old homes. Not daunted by their expulsion from their lands, they returned in small groups in 1770, only to be again driven out in the fall.

Two families seem to have settled in Plymouth, and were joined by others in 1771-1772. From that time on Connecticut settlers came in increasing numbers. Wilkes-Barre (its name indicative of colonial sympathy with English parliamentary affairs) was a typical New England town. Surveyed in 1770, it had two hundred acres divided into eight squares of twenty-five acres each, these into six lots, each of which contained, after the streets were taken off, nearly four acres. A central square was laid off for the town buildings, mills and ferries were provided, and "with true pilgrim zeal, attention was immediately turned to the subject of a gospel ministry, and the establishment of schools." In 1772 the first town meeting was held. It is evident that such a village was merely a transplanted Connecticut town, in settlers, traditions, and institutions.

At a meeting in Hartford on June 2, 1773, the Susquehanna Company drew up a set of articles. All settlers were required to sign these articles as a warrant of their acceptance of them. This agreement is most significant as an instance of the removal of institutions hand in hand with the removal of the people who were to live under them; and of the fact that the new colony was regarded as but an extension of the older one, later to be incorporated under its general government. This incorporation was accomplished by an act of January, 1774, by which the general assembly of Connecticut erected all the territory

within its charter limits, from the Delaware river to a line fifteen miles west of the Susquehanna, into a town, with all the powers of a corporate town in Connecticut. It was called Westmoreland, and attached to Litchfield county. The Connecticut programme was carried out exactly as it was planned: Westmoreland, which contained 1922 inhabitants in 1774, held its first town meeting, and subdivided the town into eight districts shortly after. In April four deputies were chosen to go to the general assembly at Hartford, regardless of the distance and of the intervening colonies. The incorporation of the new town was a natural and logical extension of the colony's jurisdiction over hitherto unoccupied lands within its limits as granted and defined in the royal charter of 1662.

Another Pennsylvania settlement, Lackaway, deserves a word. Hither came Connecticut settlers in 1774, to settle the townships of Lackaway and Bozrah. A fort was erected at once, with a blockhouse inside it; then a civil, military, and ecclesiastical form of government was organized. After four years the settlement was broken up, and the settlers fled either to Orange county, New York, to Connecticut, or to the Delaware. After the Revolution, however, the original settlers returned and again occupied their old homes.

V

AN enterprise allied with the Susquehanna Company's project was that of the so-called Phineas Lyman colony. Phineas Lyman, a native of Durham but a resident of Suffield, Connecticut, had been a member of the Susquehanna Company in 1755. After serving in the French and Indian War, he went to England, about 1763, to solicit recognition and reward for the services which he with his fellow officers and soldiers had rendered. In the

name of a company called the Military Adventurers, he petitioned for a grant of land on the Yazoo river within the present state of Mississippi. It is not certain that he actually obtained a grant, but he evidently thought the promises made him were sufficiently encouraging to warrant him in returning to America and setting his colonization schemes on foot. Rufus Putnam, surveyor for the new colony and later prominently connected with a great emigration to southern Ohio, in his account³ of the exploration made in 1773 by a committee acting for the Company, says their report as to the character of the soil and climate was so favorable that in the fall of that year several hundred families from Connecticut and Massachusetts departed for the Mississippi valley.

During 1773-1774 more than four hundred families made the journey, some going by sea, others by flatboats down the Ohio, and still others through Tennessee. Nearly every town up and down the Connecticut river furnished families for the enterprise, and the passenger lists given by Phelps in his memoir⁴ are in the nature of a directory of well-known Connecticut names; for instance, Comstock, Sheldon, Wolcott, Weed, Crane, Bowen, Knapp, Phelps, Bradley, Hotchkiss, and Ellsworth. Suffield, Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, and other Connecticut towns were represented. The colony moved in the traditional manner, with a minister at its head. Between the time of departure from

³ Both the longer and shorter journals kept by Rufus Putnam have been reprinted by the Connecticut Historical Society in *The two Putnams, Israel and Rufus in the Havana expedition 1762 and in the Mississippi river exploration 1772-73 with some account of The Company of Military Adventurers*. (Hartford, 1931).

⁴ *Memoirs and adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps; formerly of Harwington in Connecticut, now resident in Newhaven in Vermont, particularly in two voyages, from Connecticut to the River Mississippi, from December 1773 to October 1780*, by Anthony Haswell (Bennington, 1802).

New England and arrival in the Gulf of Mexico, an order from the king in council was received by the governor of West Florida, within whose jurisdiction they intended to live, forbidding the grant of more land until further orders. As a consequence, the emigrants were dismayed to find upon their arrival that they could occupy land only as squatters, with every chance of being dispossessed later. They finally determined to carry out their project, and seventeen miles up the Big Black river, above the old French town of Natchez, the site for a town was selected. Illness overtook many, among them General Lyman himself, and the outbreak of the Revolution put an end to further additions to the colony. There are, however, many families of New England origin in and about Natchez today.

VI

THUS, when the Revolutionary War began, there were settlers from Connecticut on the frontier of western Massachusetts, of New Hampshire, of Vermont, of New York, of Pennsylvania, and far to the south in Georgia and in Mississippi. The contest which began in earnest in 1775 called forth many an able-bodied young man who in the time of peace would have set off for the wilderness to make a clearing and build a log cabin. Ethan Allen of Vermont, who was a native of Litchfield, Connecticut, and his Green Mountain Boys formed but one of the many bands of backwoodsmen who enlisted on the side of the colonies in what was essentially a frontier struggle. As in the French and Indian wars of the preceding century, so again in the Revolution, it was the outlying districts which felt the hard fortunes of war. In Vermont the people of the village of Panton were either made prisoners, or had to return to their homes in Cornwall or

in the neighboring Nine Partners tract in Dutchess county. Other towns—Whiting, Middlebury, Monkton, Brandon, and their neighbors were abandoned, or so threatened with misfortunes that no new settlers came in.

On the other hand, settlement did not wholly cease even amid the uncertainties of war. Four new towns in Vermont were actually begun in 1776; five in 1777-1778; and six in 1779. A company was formed in 1778 at Hanover, New Hampshire, a town whose population was mostly derived from Connecticut, to purchase the township of Randolph, and secured settlers from Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut towns. Another company, also from Hanover, in the same year petitioned for and received a grant of Bethel. Evidently there were able-bodied men who had managed to escape the horrors of warfare and who kept on in their ordinary walks of life, bettering their condition rather than suffering from the hard times.

Every colony suffered, of course, but upon the Wyoming valley settlements in Pennsylvania fell the most terrible blow of all, the Indian massacre of 1778. Those who escaped fled in every direction—to New York, to Connecticut, to southern Pennsylvania—leaving only a few families in the whole Westmoreland tract. Slowly, in 1779-1780, the survivors crept back to rebuild their houses and to retill the soil. Sullivan's campaign, which was undertaken as a punishment for the Indians, made his soldiers acquainted with the region, and after 1780 many began homes here under the Connecticut title. The roads which were opened up hastened the tide of incoming migration from New England, as well as from Bedford, Luzerne, and other Pennsylvania counties.

Even so far south as Georgia, in the Medway settlement, there were interesting echoes of the part Connecti-

cut bore in the struggle. At the time of the Revolution the sympathy of these transplanted New Englanders with their Massachusetts kinsfolk was so strong that they collected two hundred barrels of rice and £50 to send to the victims of the Boston Port Act, renamed their district Liberty county, and made themselves obnoxious in other ways to Sir James Wright, their royal governor, who deplored "their strong tincture of . . . Oliverian principles." Led by Dr. Lyman Hall, a native of Wallingford, Connecticut, who was numbered among the first emigrants to Medway, the Puritan colony in Liberty county did good service by inducing Georgia to ally itself with the patriot cause. It was this same Dr. Hall who signed the Declaration of Independence for Georgia, and who became governor of the new state in 1783.

One illustration will suffice to show the character of this migration from Connecticut. Abraham Baldwin, born in Guilford, Connecticut, in 1754, and graduated at Yale in 1772, had three years later become a licensed minister, and until 1779 was a tutor at Yale College. He then became a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, was afterward admitted to the bar in Fairfield, Connecticut, and in 1784 moved to Georgia. He there played a most prominent part in the life of the new state and in the national government. Father of the school system of Georgia and of its university, member of its legislature, he was the ablest person in the Georgia delegation to the Federal Convention in 1787, where he played an important part, especially in the struggle over equality of the states in the senate. He was Georgia's representative in the house and later in the senate after the federal government was organized. Both Baldwin and Hall thus carried on, in no uncertain fashion, the traditions of Connecticut in the most remote of the thirteen states.

By 1780 the tide, which had only ebbed during the preceding five years, flowed out again in all directions. It was evident by 1782 that the war between England and her American colonies was, to all practical intents, a victory for the latter, and that the time intervening between the defeat of Cornwallis and the making of a treaty of peace would be employed only in arranging details as to the final settlement of territorial claims. That the new nation just forming as the United States of America would extend to the Mississippi river was not a foregone conclusion, yet there seemed to be no reason why emigrants should be restrained any longer from settling on the lands just ceded to the general government as the price for the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, which would bind together the new states just forming.

Expansion had not ceased during the struggle between the armies of the mother country and the colonies; new towns had been planted farther north each year, though settlements on the very edge of civilization had been temporarily depopulated; but the movement away from the more densely peopled states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island was greatly accelerated by the cessation of hostilities and the enforced peace which drove the Indians back beyond the borders of cultivated land. A new era of prosperity seemed just dawning, and with the removal of such restraints as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the British acts of 1774 had imposed, to say nothing of the overlapping titles of the inaccurate colonial charters, there came a veritable rush of pioneering to the north and—a still more important phase—to the west. Beyond the Alleghanies adventurers like Daniel Boone had led the march before the Revolution; now the more conservative New Englanders followed in their wake.

Before passing to the phase of pioneering which began with the formation of the federal government in 1789, a single instance will show the "revolution within a revolution" which is a part of the story of the years 1775 to 1789. The frontier demanded recognition; and it had its way. Beginning with insignificant quarrels between settlers and non-resident proprietors, the divergence of views widened. In the matter of roads and bridges, to the advantages of which they had been accustomed in the older towns and were now too poor to provide for themselves, it seemed to the pioneer that every property owner should help in paying for public works, and that the whole expense should not be borne by the resident farmer. He complained first to the proprietors, then to the legislature; and he frequently won his case.

Going beyond the confines of a single town, the whole frontier sometimes rose in what it considered righteous indignation against the conservative and arrogant coast population. Thus, Berkshire county, which had been settled mostly from Connecticut towns, was in almost open rebellion against the state of Massachusetts, on the matter of admitting the authority of the general court and of the judicial courts as well. The question of the adoption of a state constitution was also at issue. From 1774 to 1780 the civil authority was really helpless as far as Berkshire county was concerned, and the real power was exercised by each town without regard to its neighbors. Only in 1780, when a constitution had been formed by a convention elected for that express purpose, and therefore drawn up by the people themselves, were the demands of the Berkshire radicals on the one hand and the Essex conservatives on the other harmonized, and the new constitution adopted.

VII

AFTER 1781, over the Wolfborough road, the old Brookfield road, the Coos road, and by blazed trees Connecticut settlers began once more to find their way into central and northern Vermont. The Wolfborough post road, which had been of use during the Revolution, doubtless provided the route for emigrants who heard from returning soldiers of the country it opened up before the troops. One would expect Wethersfield people as "chronic pioneers" to follow up the Connecticut river to begin a new town; and to Middlesex some of them moved in 1783. The ten families who had gone to Addison and Panton from Connecticut in 1770 had been driven away during the war and their homes burned; in 1783 most of them returned and were followed speedily by others. From Suffield, Litchfield, Glastonbury, Wethersfield, and Hartford, settlers went to Benson. To Essex, North Hero, Shelburne, Sheldon, Fairfax, Ferrisburgh, Northfield; to Waterbury, from older Waterbury, to Fairfield, and a dozen other villages swarmed families from most of the Connecticut towns. A family which had started from Cape Ann and had halted for a few years in New Hampshire at Hooksett, now joined with Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York people to settle Grand Isle. Between 1784 and 1787 fifty-three families moved to Hinesburgh, and two years later joined in organizing a Congregational church. Among these fifty-three families were two from Canaan, Connecticut, who had built cabins at Hinesburgh in 1775 and had been driven away during the war. After their return they were reinforced shortly by ten families from New Milford and Stonington, Connecticut, as well as by others from Berkshire county.

The settlement in northern New England after 1781 is

illustrative of several points: first, the heterogeneous elements which went to make up a town in which five states were represented; second, how the lines of emigration crossed and recrossed, as when Newark and New York settlers came to Vermont, while Vermont settlers moved, as we shall see later, to New York; and third, how for many families the Vermont home was the third or fourth which had been planted in a wilderness. Again and again there are found such data as these: a man from Lebanon, Connecticut, removed to Hartland, then to Roxbury, Vermont; still another from Preston, Connecticut, to Plainfield, New Hampshire, thence to Morristown, Vermont. The writer of the history of Bloomfield said frankly, "But few of the early settlers remained in town for any great length of time." When Timothy Dwight traveled through Vermont in 1805, he noted the radical and unconventional ideas of the inhabitants, as evidenced in their conversation, their constitution, and their educational and religious views. He was continually contrasting the condition of affairs in the towns through which he passed with the more settled order of things in Connecticut, to the disadvantage of Vermont. The tendency to go into politics and law seemed to him remarkable, but it also foreshadowed the later prominence of the Vermonter in Wisconsin and Michigan politics, and upon the bench in the West as well. The figures of increasing population in northern New England seem significant; thus, Vermont, which had a population of 85,425 by the first census in 1790, counted 154,465 inhabitants in 1800.

VIII

THE greatest emigrations between 1781 and 1800, however, went outside the New England states, to Penn-

sylvania, New York, and Ohio, where the history of the old states on the Atlantic was to be continued in the newer states their children founded. Emigration to Pennsylvania, begun before the Revolution, was continued on a far greater scale after 1781. The terrible massacre of 1778 had laid the Wyoming country waste; but as soon as the war was over, the settlers returned to begin life anew. At the request of Pennsylvania a board of arbitrators was created to determine the dispute between that state and Connecticut over the title to this region. The decision, rendered in 1782, was in favor of Pennsylvania. The Susquehanna Company, however, not disposed to surrender the Westmoreland country without a struggle, appointed at a meeting in Hartford in December, 1786, twenty-one commissioners as a provisional government to be set up over the new state they hoped to form by dismembering Pennsylvania. A constitution was drawn up and officers chosen, but the scheme crumbled when Pennsylvania erected Luzerne county in 1787-1789, established courts, and introduced laws. Thereafter settlers moved in under a clear title and made permanent homes.

Into all the northeastern counties and into the newer counties of Susquehanna, Bradford, Tioga, McKean, Warren, Crawford, Erie, Schuylkill, Elk, Venango, and Allegheny, poured a stream of New Englanders and New Yorkers, with a sprinkling of New Jersey men, Scotch-Irish, and Germans. The town of Honesdale, in Wayne county, laid out around the court house square, with its shade trees, white houses with green blinds, set gable-end to the street "after the fashion of New England," and the front yards filled with flowers and shrubbery, attested the traditions of the eastern states. Luzerne county was furthermore a veritable hotbed of Federalism, true in its

political adherence to its Connecticut tradition. New England people filled up Tioga county—"the pleasant front yards, gardens, and green blinds, indicating the origin of the population." With the opening of a rough wagon road to the source of the Tioga river, the migration pushed over the Alleghany mountains, hitherto a barrier to settlement.

IX

THE greatest emigration of all those directly following the Revolution took its way into New York, the more conservative element staying nearer the eastern boundary, the venturesome ones advancing into the wilderness. A strong current set outward in 1783-1784 from the New England states, and speedily the western shore of Lake Champlain and the older towns on the Hudson felt the influence of the newcomers.

But the principal opportunities for expansion lay beyond the Hudson, in the central and western portions of the state. Pioneers poured into these regions from three directions; those from Pennsylvania, including some New Englanders, pushed up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, whence they diverged east and west; those who came directly from New England crossed the Hudson river, proceeded to Unadilla, thence down the Susquehanna into Chemung or beyond to the Genesee country; while a third stream from either New England, the eastern New York counties, or New Jersey went out through the Mohawk valley to the northern part of the Genesee country, emerging at Buffalo about 1800.

The first settlers had often become acquainted with the lands personally through the campaigns of the Revolution, or through stories of returning soldiers. During the early years of the war seven pairs of brothers, from seven

families in Plymouth, Connecticut, enlisted in the army, were marched westward, and stationed at various times at Forts Herkimer, Schuyler, and Stanwix, where the surrounding country seemed to them especially attractive. At the close of the war they went immediately to make homes in the vicinity of Kirkland. Doubtless others were led in the same direction by the reports of returning soldiers. Judge Hugh White of Middletown, Connecticut, a proprietor of lands in Oneida county, New York, moved with four grown sons, but one of whom was married, to his new possessions in 1784. To induce his neighbors in Connecticut to follow him, he was accustomed to send back, when he found opportunity, the largest stalks of corn, oats, and wheat, with samples of his best potatoes and onions, that his old friends might judge for themselves how productive was Oneida county soil. "These so far excelled anything they had been accustomed to see, that very soon many came to see the country, and in general, were so well pleased that they located in the vicinity,"—and Whitestown, now Whitesboro, became distinctly a Connecticut settlement.

The history of Binghamton was a little different. In 1787 a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, who had survived the massacre of Wyoming valley in 1778 and a later flood of the Susquehanna, was told by a fur trader of the fertile land about the site of the future Binghamton, and moved thither. Only a few weeks elapsed before he was joined by two men, natives of Connecticut, who had tried pioneering in Vermont and in the Wyoming valley. Others who came in from Massachusetts and Connecticut found no roads after crossing the Hudson, and made their way through the woods. By 1815 settlers had arrived from seven Connecticut towns and other localities in New England.

Because of the superiority of the soil and the exceptional excellence of title, pioneers were readily lured to the Genesee country. Out to the wilderness by way of the Mohawk from Albany, up the valleys from the Susquehanna, settlers poured into every western county by single families, by twos and threes, and by whole colonies. In reading the local histories, one feels that Connecticut must have been beggared of inhabitants, so fast did hundreds of her families make their way into New York; many who came from western Massachusetts, eastern New York, and from Vermont, had been in those states but for a short time, and were Connecticut men by birth.

When in 1796 the British evacuated Fort Oswego, settlement immediately began upon that site; the next year or two saw families building homes in Lewis and Jefferson counties; by 1800 the hamlets which stretched from Utica to the Genesee river were mostly connected with one another by extensions of the main thoroughfare, and from that time dates the influence of the western counties in the councils of New York. To learn the nature of this remarkable movement, one has but to study the history of a few representative towns. In the semi-centennial celebration in 1826, in Lowville, Lewis county, fifty-five old settlers took part. Of these, twenty-two Connecticut settlers represented fourteen towns in every part of the state. Augusta in Oneida county, was a Litchfield county, Connecticut, town; Avon in Livingston county was an offspring of Farmington, Connecticut. Farmington in Ontario county was settled by emigrants from Adams; and indeed all Berkshire county which, as has been shown, was settled mainly by Connecticut families, was a veritable hive from which workers swarmed into the Phelps-Gorham Purchase.

Kirkland, in Oneida county, was a typical New Eng-

land settlement. The preliminary surveys having been made in 1786-1787, five families from Plymouth, Connecticut, came the following spring from German Flats, then the outpost of the region, where they had lived for several years. By April the little clearing had thirteen families living there, by winter twenty more were established within its boundaries. On April 8, 1787, in the unfinished house of Captain Moses Foot, leader of the colony, the first church services were held. The settlers, feeling their isolation and their lack of organization, determined to draw up a sort of compact for the regulation of affairs in their little settlement. They all signed an agreement that they would abide by its terms. The draft preserved is a rough one; but it bears an interesting resemblance to agreements among settlers in early Connecticut days as to the distribution of land, and the necessity in all town business of conforming to the will of the majority.

A single instance will show the trend of many personal histories. A young Irishman and his wife left the north of Ireland in 1740, and made a new home in Plainfield, Connecticut, where they became very well-to-do. In 1765 they found it necessary to provide new farms and homes for their nine sons and only daughter, and as Vermont was then the "new country," where cheap lands beckoned the pioneer on, the family moved to Windsor, Vermont. From this town eight of the nine sons entered the Revolutionary army. After the war was over, thinking Vermont offered too few opportunities to the enterprising farmer, four of the sons moved to Marcy, Oneida county, New York, in 1793-1794, and became early settlers in that town. The story might be reproduced in many a case.

The phase of character which most writers on the local history of New York towns emphasize is the strongly

marked tendency of the New Englanders to establish public worship as soon as they arrived. Jay Gould, in speaking of the company of twenty heads of families, and two single men who went in 1799 to Stamford, Delaware county, from Fairfield county, Connecticut, notes especially that these pioneers kept Sunday by meeting at some house in the neighborhood which was centrally located, and listening to some old sermon read by the deacon of the settlement. At Bergen, the Guilford, Connecticut, emigrants "set up public worship at once"; Deacon Patchin, from Connecticut, used from the time of his arrival in Newfield to open his house every Sunday for worship, and maintained it almost alone for ten years. The settlers of Marcellus were gathered from Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut; they were noted for the anxiety they showed in providing for the religious and intellectual education of their children, and for their establishment of a school two years after their arrival. A Congregational church was formed in Lafayette by members from Berkshire and Hampshire counties in Massachusetts in 1804, services having been held previously in the house of a Congregationalist from Norwich, Connecticut. Public worship was instituted by a pioneer of Genoa immediately after his arrival; six years later the church of sixteen members was organized. Several colonies in Essex county brought their ministers with them.

One significant change was wrought in church organization by the process of transplanting from New England. Congregationalism had been the prevailing form of church government in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the emigrants from those states had taken their individualistic administration with them to their new homes in the wilderness. Although they wanted the benefits of churches and public worship for themselves and for their children,

they were often too poor and too few in numbers to support a minister for themselves. Presbyteries were established early in western New York, and under these organizations many weak Congregational churches placed themselves, through an "accommodation system," by which each retained most of its own peculiar administrative forms and its own creed, yet had the advantage of united support from the neighboring churches.

The need for preachers in the new settlements reacted upon the older states by fostering anew the missionary spirit, which had led the Puritans in their early history to an endeavor to rescue the souls of the Indians from "a heathen doom." The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of New England sent, before 1800, at least thirty-seven ministers either to report the spiritual necessities of the frontiersmen, or to labor in the wilderness. The Hampshire Missionary Society of Northampton, Massachusetts, organized in 1779, began operations in 1800 in the Genesee country. This society directed its attention for twenty years to the settlers of western New York, as did the society of Hopkinton, New Hampshire. The Connecticut Society worked on a different basis, for its missionaries were usually on leave of absence from their own congregations for three or four months, during which time they ministered to the needs of the New York settlers.

X

FARTHER afield, the story of the settlement of Ohio had many points of resemblance to the history of the beginnings in New England; yet in one feature there was an essential difference. The colonies had each had its own lands, granted with more or less definite boundaries by some English king. These lands were at the disposal of the colonial legislature, which made preëmptive grants to

settlers or to a group of proprietors, by whom the Indian title was extinguished, generally by purchase. If the transaction had been made by proprietors, they often sold the lands to actual settlers, and pocketed the gains. After the Declaration of Independence had transformed the colonies into states, the situation as to unappropriated lands lying within the boundaries of those states continued quite unchanged, and the process of settling unoccupied tracts was not essentially different from what it had been before 1776.

With the cession, however, of western lands to the general government in 1781 and ensuing years, an entirely new situation developed. Under these new conditions the seller of lands beyond the western boundaries of New York, of Pennsylvania, and of the coast states to the southward, was the United States, not a single state. From that time until almost the present day, the federal government has had at its disposal large areas of land—prairie, timber, salt, and mining tracts—all which it has been ready to sell at the lowest terms to actual settlers. So far as the United States government has been concerned, there has not been any speculative scheme in mind, no desire to make money out of the prospective immigrant. When speculation has taken place, it has been possible only after the tracts have passed out of the hands of the general government.

To the federal authorities, moreover, there passed, with the cession of the land, the responsibility for quieting the Indians, and the treaties with them which followed the close of the Revolution formed the basis for settlement west of Pennsylvania and New York. The new nation had no money in its treasury, but it had plenty of land. Consequently the payments of the officers and soldiers who had won the struggle which ended in the

formation of a new nation were, in large part, made in the only commodity available for the purpose, tracts of unoccupied soil. In order to make these bounty lands and military tracts habitable, a series of Indian treaties was entered into, beginning with that of Fort Stanwix in 1784, followed by the Fort McIntosh peace of 1785, and made definite and effectual by the treaty of Greenville of 1795, after settlement had been progressing for seven years under the Ordinance of 1787. By the peace of Greenville the Indian tribes concerned gave up absolutely all title to the greater part of what is now the state of Ohio. Within a decade settlement had pressed up to the very edge of the land ceded in 1795; thereupon a succession of new treaties opened up the rest of Ohio and lands still farther west for the outgoing flood of migration. The new element in the process, then, was the part played by the federal government.

The only place where old methods still obtained was in that district extending westward half way across Ohio, and occupying approximately an eighth of its whole area, the district known as the Western Reserve, which Connecticut had specifically retained at the time of the general cessions. Here the process of peopling the new country was exactly like the old method whereby Connecticut itself, and later its extension, Westmoreland, had been covered with towns and farms. It is significant and interesting, moreover, to note that the proceeds of land sales in the Western Reserve were set aside by the mother state to form a school fund.

Beginning in 1787, the tide of emigration poured out beyond the borders of the thirteen original states, into a practically unknown and unbroken wilderness. By wagons, by rafts, hundreds of families from New England, along with their neighbors in the Middle states, followed the

Mohawk valley or the old Braddock Road, or floated down the Ohio, to plant a new state which should be but a younger New England on the shores of Lake Erie and on the banks of the Muskingum.⁵ The process of emigration was for their descendants what it had been for the Puritans themselves. From those early days when the Reverend Thomas Hooker and his congregation had made their way from Newtown to the Connecticut river, until the time, two centuries later, when the Reverend John Shipherd took his colony to plant a new town and to found a college at Oberlin, thousands of New Englanders had carried their ideals and their traditions into the wilderness. There, time after time, had they organized church and school side by side, in a community where each settler had a voice in the control of local affairs, and might impress his individuality upon a new commonwealth in such measure as was possible from his training and ability. Whether the descendant of the Puritan emigrated to the banks of the Connecticut river, or to Ohio, he emigrated in the same way, with the same ideals steadfastly set before his eyes.

The first New England settlement in the Northwest territory was made on the Ohio river, at Marietta by officers and men of the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut line. These former soldiers had, on March 1, 1786, met at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, in response to a call which General Rufus Putnam and General Benjamin Tupper had issued to every county in Massachusetts, asking that one or two delegates be sent to the appointed place on that day. Only eleven persons responded, but the Ohio Land Company was formed then

⁵ The most recent account of this transfer of culture to Ohio is Beverly W. Bond, *The civilization of the Old Northwest, 1788-1812* (New York, Macmillan, 1934).

and there. Through one of the directors, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler of Salem, Massachusetts, a native of Killingly, Connecticut, purchase was made of a large tract in southeastern Ohio; shares were distributed to the proprietors according to the amount each paid in, with a reservation of one section (640 acres) for schools, one section for religious institutions, and two townships for a college. In 1788 the town of Marietta was laid out and the first settlers arrived. A Congregational church was formed at once with thirty-one members, fourteen from Massachusetts, sixteen from Connecticut, and one from Linlithgow, Scotland. In 1797, Muskingum Academy, the mother of Marietta College, was founded, eleven years after the first settler had arrived in Marietta.

The pioneers of Marietta represented very accurately the New England movement to the West. The first company left Danvers, Massachusetts, on the first day of December, 1787; the second left Hartford, Connecticut, one month later. Putnam himself was, after his removal in 1790, identified with every important activity in Ohio. The movement was not, however, wholly a Massachusetts venture, though the initiative had come from that state; there were men from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, whose names are inseparably connected with the story of Marietta. From Middletown, Connecticut, the pioneers took Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs as surveyor for their company, and General Samuel Holden Parsons, who was appointed first judge for the Northwest territory. Of such Puritan stuff were the early inhabitants of southeastern Ohio.

While these settlers were planting New England traditions on the Ohio river, their friends and neighbors were beginning homes in the wilderness on the shores of Lake Erie. From Conneaut, the wave of settlement flowed over

northeastern Ohio. In 1800 settlements had been begun in thirty-five of the one hundred and three townships of the Western Reserve east of the Cuyahoga, and one thousand people had settled there. One of the principal leaders in this movement was General Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury, Connecticut, whose work included laying out the city which was named Cleveland in his honor. By 1812 nearly half the state was dotted with towns and farms. Some families went from Buffalo by water, whereas others struck out through the wilderness. Although the pioneer settlers arrived only in 1798 and 1799, the first church in the Western Reserve was formed in 1801.

The first settlers in Ashtabula county towns, in Conneaut and Austinsburg, were from Connecticut, as were those in Burton, Geauga county. To Plymouth, Ohio, they came from Plymouth, Connecticut; to the new Norwalk from the old; to Greenwich from Greenwich on Long Island Sound—the very names of the towns indicate the origin of their founders. The founders of Palmyra, Deerfield, and Ravenna, in Portage county, were from Connecticut and Massachusetts, as were the pioneers of Lake county. General Edward Paine, who began the village of Painesville, was born in Bolton, Connecticut, had served in the Revolutionary War, and at the age of fifty-four removed with a company of sixty-six people from his New York home. Ellsworth, in Mahoning county, was settled by Connecticut people, with a few families from Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Beyond the Mississippi, in Missouri, there was the family of Moses Austin, a native of Durham, Connecticut, who had come by way of Philadelphia and Virginia to lands not yet belonging to the United States, drawn by the lure of mines and furs. But his story was a later Odyssey.

By 1800, then, Connecticut settlers were to be found north, south, west—wherever the trek led to the frontier, thither the emigrant from Connecticut, sometimes alone, but more often with his wife and children, plodded to a new home. If the “wanderlust” was in his fibre, on he went again, and perhaps again. But if the fire of youth had died down, he chinked his cabin permanently, and became an “early settler.” Thus was Connecticut tradition woven into the fabric of the nation.

Bibliographical Note

THE material from which this Pamphlet was prepared is taken entirely from the author's book *The expansion of New England* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909). At the end of each chapter in that study there are ample bibliographical references so that the source material from which both that book and this present Pamphlet are drawn will be readily identified. It may well be that all Connecticut migration has not been covered because it has been impossible to trace beyond one generation those persons with Connecticut background who became residents of other colonies and states, but all that one could hope to do is to indicate the lines of migration and to some extent the influence of Connecticut in the new settlements.

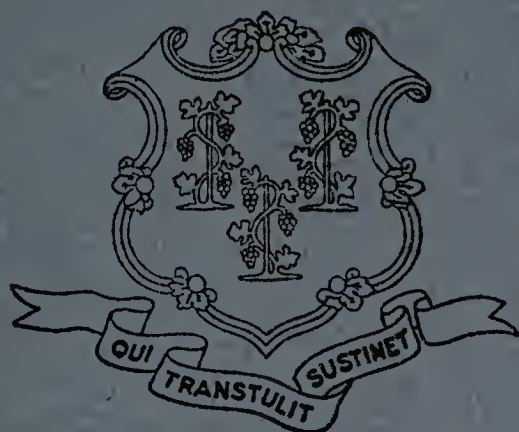
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Connecticut's Tercentenary
A Retrospect of Three Centuries of
Self-Government and
Steady Habits.

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I

CONNECTICUT is busily planning to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary¹ of its birth, but there has arisen the question of when the birthday was. Inasmuch as some reason might be adduced for choosing any year from 1633 to 1639 inclusive, the selection of any one year for tercentenary commemoration may seem somewhat arbitrary. A brief survey of the pertinent events of the seven years, however, makes it apparent that there are somewhat better reasons in favor of 1635 than of any other year.

The first Europeans to locate within the bounds of Connecticut were the Dutch who established a post on the site of Hartford in 1633. A few weeks later, William Holmes and others from Plymouth set up the first English post within the

¹ The Tercentenary Commission has created a Committee on Historical Publications which is issuing a series of Pamphlets containing monographs on the history of Connecticut. A list of the twenty-nine numbers thus far issued appears at the end of this Pamphlet.

state in the present town of Windsor. For the purpose of state commemoration neither of these events counts, for they had no integral connection with the origin of the state of Connecticut.

The history of the state unquestionably traces back to the migration of the congregations of Dorchester and Newtown and of part of the congregation of Watertown from the Massachusetts Bay Colony to new homes on the western bank of the Connecticut river. The earliest of these settlers² came from Watertown in 1634 and located at Pyquag, where they were joined by other members of their congregation in 1635. As George Phillips, the minister, and a considerable number of his flock at Watertown did not migrate, these settlers had ultimately to organize a new church and call a pastor of their own. In the summer of 1635 a portion of the Dorchester congregation settled at Mattaneaug, not far from Holmes and his Plymouth companions, in spite of their protests. John Warham and the remaining members of his congregation joined the new settlement in the following summer, thus completing the removal of that congregation. Similarly, in the autumn of 1635, some pioneers from the Newtown congregation established themselves at Suckiaug near the Dutch fort. In the following spring they were joined by the pastor, Thomas Hooker, and the remainder of the Newtown congregation. In February, 1637, the Watertown settlement at Pyquag was named Wethersfield; the Newtown settlement at Suckiaug, Hartford; and the Dorchester settlement at Mattaneaug, Windsor.³

Thus, the year 1635 has a definite significance for the history of the foundation of each of the three original Connecticut River Towns, and by the end of that year the beginning of settlement had been made at all three places. The formal be-

² An insertion in the Code of 1650, following the words, "the most Auncient Towne," reads, "which for the Riuer is determined by the Courte to bee Wethersfield." See J. H. Trumbull's *Public records of the Colony of Connecticut*, p. 513.

³ The preceding statements are based on Dr. Benjamin Trumbull's *Complete history of Connecticut*, which account has been substantially followed by practically all later historians of the state. Consequently, these statements are made without any prejudice to the ever-debated question of priority among the River Towns, on the part of either the writer or the Tercentenary Commission.

ginning of civil government for this group of three towns took place early in 1636 and is the only event in that year of more than local significance in Connecticut history. The year 1635, moreover, witnessed the establishment of still another English post within the present state. This was the fort at Saybrook which forestalled by only a few days a projected Dutch occupation of the mouth of the Connecticut river.

Besides the Pequot War, the year 1637 witnessed the arrival of the first small group of pioneers at Quinnipiac. In the spring of 1638 these were followed by the main body of colonists led by the Reverend John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, who named their settlement New Haven. The adoption in 1639 of the Fundamental Orders by the three Connecticut River Towns was the final important event in the beginnings of Connecticut history.

Consideration of this series of events, then, has revealed the reasonableness of the selection of 1635 as the year to be commemorated by Connecticut's tercentenary. The next best choice would appear to be 1636 but that would involve unfortunate competition with our neighbor, Rhode Island, whose celebration obviously must commemorate that year. As Windsor celebrated in September, 1933, the arrival of William Holmes, and Wethersfield, in June, 1934, the coming of its pioneers, so local and special ceremonies will undoubtedly commemorate other individual events. The state-wide tercentenary celebration, however, is wisely planned to take place in 1935 with the principal events scheduled for the summer and early autumn.

II

CONNECTICUT with an area of only 4,965 square miles is but a little state. Only two of the nation's forty-eight are smaller. Though its population of 1,606,903 ranks it twenty-ninth among the states, it amounts to only twenty-three per cent of the population of the city of New York. In density of population, however, Connecticut, having 323 persons to a square mile, is surpassed only by Rhode Island, New Jersey, and

Massachusetts. Why, then, should little Connecticut venture to plume itself on its three hundredth birthday?

In the first place, Connecticut was not always so limited in extent. Under the Charter of 1662 its bounds extended "to the South Sea on the West parte." Consequently, at one time or another, lands, including the towns of Rye and Bedford, now lying beyond the interstate boundary in New York, the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, and the Western Reserve in Ohio were actually under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Eastern Long Island was for its first quarter century of settlement administered as a part of Connecticut. The more westerly portions of that island were also settled mainly by colonists from Connecticut, and for a brief time the whole island was claimed under the Charter from Charles II, and Connecticut jurisdiction was accordingly extended over it. Each of these regions still reveals significant traces of its early relationship to Connecticut.

In the second place, land hunger, the pursuit of trade, and missionary zeal led Connecticut men to be among the pioneer settlers in nearly all the later states of the Union. Cleveland, Ohio, and Scranton, Pennsylvania, are conspicuous among the places named from Connecticut founders. Place names have been transported by settlers from Connecticut to many other states. Vermont, the fourteenth state, was indebted to Connecticut for the large majority of its first settlers and for most of the prominent personages in its early history. Moses Austin of Durham, to cite only one other illustration, was among the earliest settlers of Missouri and the pioneer of American colonization in Texas. To the great caravans of settlers who followed the pioneers into the western Land of Promise, Connecticut added large quotas. As a consequence people of Connecticut descent have become an important element in the life of every western state.

Thirdly, Connecticut is one of the oldest political units among the nation's states, being antedated in its governmental establishment by only five⁴ of the original thirteen. Connecti-

⁴ New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Virginia.

cut has been a participant in all the events and movements through which the American nation has grown to its present estate. Without impeaching the achievement of any other state Connecticut may justly claim that it has never failed to bear its full share in the responsibilities, burdens, and efforts incident to the nation's development. In a long list of undertakings for the promotion of American interests and progress, Connecticut has been not only a faithful co-worker but has often displayed its capacity for leadership. Without Connecticut, in any of the thirty decades, American life would have been the poorer.

From the settlement of Connecticut to the Declaration of Independence, Rhode Island alone among the colonies could compare with it in its full measure of self-government. In its Fundamental Orders, Connecticut offered to its neighbors a new model in political thought and action, and presaged the development of constitutional government in the Revolutionary period. Connecticut, throughout the colonial era from the formation of the New England Confederation to the assembling of the Second Continental Congress, was an active participant in every movement for intercolonial coöperation. In drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the federal Constitution, Connecticut representatives⁵ bore a leading part, and, acting on January 9, 1788, the state was the fifth to ratify the national Constitution.

In the national period of our history Connecticut, in the administration of its state and local government, has, it is true, rarely indulged in radical experiments and has not been, according to certain arbitrary tests, so democratic as some other states. None the less, it has adhered unwaveringly to the principles of self-government and yields place to but few of its sister states in the pragmatic and experiential, rather than experimental, character of its legislation and in the consistent soundness of its administration. In public finance this

⁵ Roger Sherman of New Haven was the only citizen of the thirteen original states to sign these three fundamental documents and also the Articles of Association of 1774.

has been notably exemplified in recent years by the state's "pay as you go" policy as contrasted with the rapid growth of public indebtedness in other commonwealths. On June 30, 1933, Connecticut ended the fiscal year, for the ninth consecutive time, with a surplus. On that date its state debt account showed a per capita *surplus* of \$1.28, whereas the average for all forty-eight states had grown to a per capita *indebtedness* of \$16.04 in 1931, since which date it has continued to increase. Another especially creditable feature in both the state and local government is the degree to which Connecticut enlists the coöperation of its leading citizens in public service, chiefly through membership in unsalaried and non-partisan commissions.

III

IN the nation's political life Connecticut's most notable contribution has been to the judiciary. The original judiciary act of the United States passed in 1789 was mainly drafted by Oliver Ellsworth, a senator from Connecticut, who later served as the third chief justice of the supreme court of the United States. The seventh chief justice, Morrison R. Waite, was born in Lyme and graduated at Yale. Ex-president William H. Taft, a graduate of Yale, was a citizen of Connecticut when appointed tenth chief justice. Stephen J. Field, who was born in Haddam, served as a justice of the supreme court for thirty-four years—a term only twice equalled but never exceeded, and Henry Baldwin, a native of New Haven, served for fourteen years. Connecticut has also furnished a goodly number of judges to the federal circuit and district courts.⁶

As Justice Field had acquired his reputation by his work in

⁶ In this Pamphlet personal mention has rarely been accorded to individuals now living. It is therefore interesting to note the number of individuals from the state listed in *Who's Who in America*. In the first volume, for 1899-1900, out of a total of 8,602 persons, 276 (3.20%) were born in Connecticut and 193 (2.24%) were residents of the state. In volume IX, for 1916-1917, in a total of 21,922 names 607 (2.76%) were of natives of the state and 640 (2.92%) were of residents. In volume XVII, for 1932-1933, in a total of 30,545 persons listed, 662 (2.16%) were born in the state and 884 (2.89%) were residents. In 1930 the population of Connecticut was 1.30% of the total for all the states.

formulating the laws of the new state of California and interpreting them as a judge, so his brother, David Dudley Field, won international renown for his legal acumen as displayed in his labors on the codification and improvement of the laws of New York. Men of Connecticut birth rendered similar services in other states and rose to eminence at the bar and on the bench of other commonwealths. The first published volume of Connecticut court reports, Ephraim Kirby's *Reports of the decisions of the superior court and court of errors* (Litchfield, 1789) is believed to have been the first work of the kind issued in the United States.

To the president's cabinet Connecticut has supplied two secretaries of the treasury, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Walter Forward; three attorneys-general, Isaac Toucey, Edwards Pierrepont, and Homer S. Cummings; two secretaries of the navy, Isaac Toucey and Gideon Welles; and six postmasters-general, Gideon Granger, his son Francis Granger, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., John M. Niles, Samuel D. Hubbard, and Marshall Jewell. The services of these twelve individuals have extended over more than forty-eight years under fifteen presidents. On two occasions two Connecticut men were holding cabinet office at the same time.

The senators and congressmen who have represented Connecticut in the nation's legislature have rated well for character, ability, and efficient activity in the discharge of their functions. To mention only those who had an extended period of service, the list includes such men as Oliver Ellsworth, Uriah Tracy, James Hillhouse, Samuel W. Dana, Samuel A. Foote, John M. Niles, LaFayette S. Foster, James Dixon, Orville H. Platt, Joseph R. Hawley, Frank B. Brandegee, and George P. McLean in the senate; and in the house of representatives, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., who was the speaker in the second congress, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Chauncey Goodrich, Roger Griswold, John Cotton Smith, Benjamin Tallmadge, Timothy Pitkin, Ralph I. Ingersoll, Joseph Trumbull, Nehemiah D. Sperry, and Ebenezer J. Hill.

The first diplomatic representative sent abroad by the

government of the United States was Silas Deane to France. On two other occasions the American minister to France has come from Connecticut, Oliver Ellsworth and Joel Barlow. Edwards Pierrepont, a native of North Haven, was minister to Great Britain. Three Connecticut citizens have represented the United States as ministers to Russia: Ralph I. Ingersoll, Thomas H. Seymour, and Marshall Jewell. David Humphreys was, in turn, minister to Portugal and to Spain, and Henry S. Sanford to Belgium, while other Connecticut men have held appointments to less important posts in the diplomatic service.

Native sons of Connecticut rose to prominence in the political life of other commonwealths, where they often bore an important part in framing constitutions for their adopted states, and served as governors, state officials, judges of the higher courts, and mayors of important cities. Several of the early governors, senators, and congressmen from Vermont were men of Connecticut birth. Among the foremost citizens of Georgia in the early life of the nation were Lyman Hall, who was born in Wallingford, and Abraham Baldwin, a native of Guilford. In the states of the Old Northwest and of the farther West there were often prominent in public life Connecticut men such as Nelson Dewey of Lebanon who became the first governor of the state of Wisconsin, and Lyman Trumbull, a native of Colchester, who was senator from Illinois and a close friend of Lincoln.

During the century from 1789 to 1889, nine men of Connecticut birth served as United States senators from Vermont, four from Ohio, three each from New Hampshire and New York, two each from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Delaware, Georgia, and Illinois, and one each from Maine, Michigan, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, a total of thirty-four from fourteen states. In the house of representatives in the same period, ninety-two men born in Connecticut served from New York, twenty-two from Ohio, sixteen from Vermont, fourteen from Pennsylvania, eight from Massachusetts, five each from Michigan and Illinois, four from Iowa, two each from Maine,

New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, Indiana, Missouri, and Louisiana, one each from Rhode Island, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Texas, and Idaho, a total of 187 from twenty-two states. Only twelve of the states in the Union in 1889 had not been indebted to Connecticut for either a senator or a congressman. Meanwhile, with few exceptions, Connecticut's senators and representatives were native born.

The first settlers had scarcely located in Connecticut when they found themselves compelled to prosecute war with the Pequot Indians. In the ensuing half century the troops of the colony were several times called into service against the Indians and against their Dutch neighbors in New Netherland. Each of the four intercolonial wars with the French found Connecticut an active participant. In each war in which the United States has been engaged, Connecticut has been conspicuous for its contribution of arms, ammunition, and other supplies, and for the application of its inventive genius, as well as for its full quotas of troops and the ability of its officers. Israel Putnam, David Wooster, Return Jonathan Meigs, Thomas Knowlton, and Nathan Hale in the War for Independence; the three naval heroes, Isaac Hull, Isaac Chauncey, and Thomas Macdonough, in the War of 1812; and Nathaniel Lyon, Joseph K. F. Mansfield, John Sedgwick, Alfred H. Terry, Horatio G. Wright, Theodore Winthrop, and Andrew H. Foote in the Civil War, recall the memory of a host of others who rendered distinguished service. The first American ancestor of General Grant was a member of the first group to settle at Windsor in 1635, and the first American ancestor of General Sherman was one of the early residents of Wethersfield.

During the World War Connecticut, under the skilful leadership of Governor Marcus H. Holcomb, established an enviable record for the promptness and efficiency with which the state effected the organization and conduct of every form of coöperation with the national government. In many cases the superior nature of Connecticut's measures was recognized not only by the commendation of the federal authorities but

also by their adoption in other states. The devoted and enthusiastic loyalty of the citizens of the state was revealed in the admirably coördinated plans and organization for complying with every appeal for public support, and in the complete success of the people of the state in meeting every request for funds or services. Connecticut led the states of the Union in subscription for liberty bonds and was awarded the trophy for that accomplishment, and maintained a substantially similar record in Red Cross and related enterprises. Never did the state make a more amazing demonstration of its industrial skill and productivity than in its remarkable output of almost every type of military supplies.

If Connecticut has a proud roll of military heroes, it has also produced its apostles of peace, foremost among whom were Elihu Burritt of New Britain and Amasa Walker, a native of Woodstock. The latter, like many other citizens of the state in his generation, was also a vigorous advocate of total abstinence and of abolition. John Brown, the famous militant abolitionist, was a native of Torrington, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was born in Litchfield.

IV

THE earliest settlers of Connecticut were lured hither by more fertile lands than those of eastern Massachusetts. To this day the lands in the river valleys and near the Sound have continued to rank among the most productive in the country. Because of their adaptability to many specialized types of agriculture and their accessibility to markets, Connecticut farm lands rank among the highest in the United States in average value per acre. Though the number of farms decreased from 26,815 in 1910 to 17,195 in 1930, and the acres therein from 2,185,788 to 1,502,279, their valuation increased from \$138,319,221 to \$227,412,905. The value of the crops in 1930 was \$37,281,000, and of the live stock and live stock products \$37,167,000. In that year 32,459,000 pounds of tobacco were grown on 23,400 acres. Thus, the steady abandonment of submarginal lands has been accompanied by the

more efficient and productive utilization of the sections continued under cultivation, which still amount to fifty per cent of the state's area. Although in 1930 the farm population of the state was only 86,770, and but 36,687 persons were engaged in agriculture, it must be remembered that, for more than two centuries, the majority of Connecticut's population was rural and dependent on farming for livelihood.

Though there are no federal forest lands in the state, there were in 1932, 89,038 acres of public-owned forests, of which 60,898 were in state forests. The nursery and florist industries have, in recent years, enjoyed rapid expansion, with the most important center at Cromwell. Next to agricultural lands, the most important natural resource of the state is the water power afforded by its streams. From the earliest days of the colony, mills have been utilizing this power. In 1932 these sources of hydro-electric energy were exploited by 139 plants developing 172,480 horsepower, ranking in the latter respect twenty-third among the states.

Within a generation of the beginning of settlement John Winthrop, Jr., who later became governor of the colony, engaged actively in efforts to discover and exploit the mineral resources of Connecticut. For many years some iron and lead, and lesser amounts of a few other metals were produced. The Salisbury iron mines, in particular, yielded an excellent ore and had an interesting history. The variety of minerals to be found within the state is surprisingly large but those now worthy of commercial exploitation are almost entirely limited to quarry products, the best known of which has been the Portland brownstone.⁷ The value of the mineral products in 1929 was \$7,053,468, ranking Connecticut as the fortieth state.

V

IN the earliest records of the general court appeared acts to encourage artisans and manufacturing. By the Revolutionary period, Connecticut had already acquired repute for

⁷ Formerly called freestone, hence the name Freestone State, sometimes applied to Connecticut.

several lines of manufactures, and other items were rapidly added to the list in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when more valuable products as well as Yankee notions found ready markets throughout the Union. The leadership in such articles as clocks, brass ware, arms and ammunition, hats, and textiles acquired in those early days has been maintained to the present. In 1927 the brass manufactures of Connecticut were valued at \$152,389,739, and assured Connecticut first place among the states. While Waterbury is known as the Brass City, the industrial activity of the state is also indicated by the repute of Meriden as the Silver City, of New Britain as the Hardware City, of Willimantic as the Thread City, and of Danbury as the Hat City. Many smaller towns are, likewise, widely known as the homes of special industries, as South Manchester for silks, East Hampton for bells, Ivoryton for piano keys, Oakville for pins, and Middlefield for gun-sights, while Collinsville is known in many other countries for its machetes. Connecticut is the leading state in the development and promotion of aviation. Four of the principal companies manufacturing aeroplanes in the country are located in the state, besides two smaller companies and over one hundred companies which produce parts or accessories used in aircraft construction. Other important manufactures in the state include machinery, typewriters, locks and keys. In nearly every case the cities and towns just mentioned have various industries besides those indicated. The larger cities, such as Bridgeport, and some of the smaller ones, notably Middletown, are remarkable for the wide diversification of their industrial enterprises. The United States census in 1929 reported in Connecticut 3,129 manufacturing establishments, employing 251,861 workers, with a payroll of \$328,865,412, producing goods valued at \$1,471,875,604, from materials costing \$665,661,316. In value of output, Connecticut ranked as the twelfth state.

In the colonial days the Connecticut craftsman, compelled to labor with a few simple tools and limited resources, developed surprising ingenuity, versatility, and skill. These

qualities have ever since characterized the Connecticut craftsman, who has also come to be rated highly for his productivity. These significant characteristics of the skilled worker account in large measure for the continued success of manufacturing industries within the state, despite the necessity for depending upon securing nearly all the raw materials from distant sources, and despite other serious handicaps. No small credit is also due to the managerial ability of the Connecticut manufacturer. For a long time Connecticut industries were almost entirely locally owned and locally managed, but in more recent years the control of a considerable number of them has passed to larger corporations. The industrial interests have been efficiently coördinated through the Manufacturers Association of Connecticut and the state Chamber of Commerce, as well as by means of local organizations. There are abundant evidences of the public spirit and of active participation in civic affairs of the industrial leaders of the state. In general, the Connecticut manufacturer has been keenly alive to the community of interests between himself and his employees, and has been not merely open-minded and conciliatory but often generous in considering their claims and their welfare. While so-called labor troubles and strikes have occurred with about average frequency, serious or prolonged conflicts have been rare.

For this fortunate condition the credit must also be given to the character and attitude of the workers. An unusual proportion of Connecticut's factory workers has always been made up of skilled craftsmen. The wide diversification of industries in the state and the considerable extent to which workers are distributed in small localities have also tended to prevent sharp demarcation of the factory workers as a class and their differentiation from other elements in the population. The early development of the public school system and its consistently maintained standards have been an efficient aid in preventing the growth of class consciousness. In colonial times such legislation as was enacted to deal with industrial and labor matters was doubtless framed primarily from the point

of view of the employers. There are some who argue that that attitude has tended unduly to persist. There are, however, evidences to the contrary. As early as 1842 Connecticut was the first state to enact restrictions upon the employment of child labor in textile mills. One of the earliest effective workmen's compensation acts was adopted by Connecticut in 1913 and still remains one of the best. The commissioner of labor and factory inspection has long been entrusted with large responsibilities and extensive powers. In the 1933 session of the general assembly twenty-two bills favorable to labor were introduced, of which fourteen were passed. The interests of organized labor are represented by the state Federation of Labor and by central labor unions in the various localities.

For mechanical inventions Connecticut has always rated high. In many years Connecticut has been the leading state in the ratio to population of the number of United States patents granted. In 1809, Mrs. Mary Kies of South Killingly was the first woman to be awarded a patent by the United States. No record of American inventions and manufactures can fail to give marked attention to the notable achievements of Eli Whitney, who spent most of his life in New Haven, and of Charles Goodyear, who was a native of that city.

VI

NOT only fertile lands, but also better opportunities for trade and keen rivalry with the Dutch for their control, lured the first settlers to Connecticut. From the very first decade settlers engaged in ship-building, and sea captains began to ply their trade in many seas. Connecticut merchants founded one of the earliest and most important companies that participated in the China trade. In 1845, when the whaling industry was at its height, New London was second only to New Bedford in that adventurous enterprise. Though the great shipping days of the early nineteenth century have passed, ship-building is still a Connecticut industry and the maritime interests of the state continue important, as for instance, the shell-fisheries.

The earliest legislation of the colony included many meas-

ures to provide for roads, bridges, and ferries. At no time since those early days has Connecticut failed to maintain its highways at a standard of excellence worthy of comparison with any of its neighbors. Travelers' accounts of earlier days reciting the demerits of Connecticut roads must always be checked against similar accounts relating to other states. The highway department of the state has, in recent years, displayed such initiative and operated with such efficiency that Connecticut has today a highway system which will easily bear comparison, point by point, with the best achievements of other states. There are now 2,391 miles of trunk line and state aid highways reaching into every town in the state. The cost of all this construction, as well as of maintenance, has been defrayed from current funds and, in recent years, entirely from the receipts from motor vehicle fees and the gasoline tax, the latter being at the low rate of two cents a gallon. There were 343,007 automobiles registered in the state in 1932, which rated Connecticut as the twenty-first state, but in gasoline consumption the state ranked seventeenth. In the same year it was twenty-first in state highway expenditures with a figure of \$14,156,076. Commendable features of the work of the highway department are roadside improvement and beautification and the establishment of numerous attractive roadside parks.

Canals, railroads, trolley lines, and lastly airways have each had their significant place in the history of the state's transportation, as have the telegraph, the telephone, and more recently the radio in its methods of communication. The first commercial telephone exchange in the world was opened in New Haven in 1878 with forty-seven subscribers, of whom one is still on the list. In 1932 Connecticut ranked as the sixteenth state in the number of telephones in service, having 339,200. Thus the state had the high ratio of one telephone and one automobile for every five inhabitants.

Several men of Connecticut birth were responsible for important developments in transportation outside the state. John Fitch, who was born in South Windsor, conceived in 1785 the idea of propelling boats by steam and two years later

effected a successful demonstration on the Delaware river. The *Savannah*, the first steamship to cross the Atlantic, was commanded by Captain Moses Rogers of New London. Junius Smith, a native of Plymouth, Connecticut,⁸ organized the steamship company which, with the *Sirius* in 1838, demonstrated the practicability of regular steam navigation service between England and the United States. Collis P. Huntington, from the neighboring town of Harwinton, had a large share in the construction of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads and became one of the leading railway magnates of this country. The New York Central, Lehigh Valley, and Lackawanna railroads were respectively the creations of their first presidents, Erastus Corning of Norwich, Asa Packer of Groton, and George W. Scranton of Madison.

Satisfactory business intercourse depends not only on efficient means of communication and transportation but also on suitable facilities for the transfer and security of funds. When there were only four banks existing in the United States in 1792, the general assembly chartered the first to be incorporated in this state, one at New London and another at Hartford. These were soon followed by others at New Haven, Middletown, and Norwich. The Society for Savings in Hartford, incorporated in 1819, was the first savings bank in the state and one of the earliest in the country. Others were soon established in New Haven, Norwich, Middletown, and New London. The *State register and manual* for 1933 lists 59 national banks, one state bank, 75 savings banks, 73 trust companies, 7 Morris Plan banks, 9 industrial banks, and 42 building and loan associations. This total of 266 banking institutions reveals how amply the state is supplied with the means for carrying on business transactions and promoting thrift.⁹

In another type of institution of the greatest financial and economic importance, Connecticut, especially the city of Hartford, has long enjoyed preëminence. This is insurance, of

⁸ Not Massachusetts, as given in biographical dictionaries.

⁹ In 1929 Connecticut ranked as the ninth state in estimated per capita wealth and was surpassed by no state east of the Mississippi.

which the beginnings in the state may be traced back to 1794 in Hartford. Two of the Hartford fire insurance companies have had an honorable history of more than a century. The life insurance business was inaugurated in the state in 1846, and casualty insurance in 1863. The original company in each case is still in existence and highly prosperous. According to the 1933 issue of the *State register and manual* there are incorporated in Connecticut 12 fire insurance companies, 13 mutual fire insurance companies, 6 life insurance companies, and 8 companies engaged in casualty and other specialized forms of insurance. Rightly, it would seem, Hartford, as the headquarters of most of them, has come to be known as the capital city of insurance in the United States.

VII

AMONG the reasons which motivated the early colonists of Connecticut in coming to New England was their desire to enjoy fuller freedom in religion. From the very beginning, the church was the central institution of the social life of the colony and in each community the minister was the most respected and influential person. The devoutness and religious zeal of the people of Connecticut soon became proverbial. For a century Congregationalism had a monopoly in the colony, and for still another century its only considerable rival was Episcopalianism. When the missionary movement stirred the American churches early in the nineteenth century, Connecticut men and women were among the earliest and most numerous to consecrate themselves to the work of both home and foreign missions. Perhaps their most notable field of activity was Hawaii. The Connecticut churches, at about the same period, were among the pioneers in the introduction of Sunday schools. Baptists and Methodists began to appear in Connecticut before the close of the eighteenth century, and by 1850 had become well established throughout the state.

There were few Roman Catholics in Connecticut until 1845 when the great influx of Irish immigrants began. The rapid expansion of this church was accentuated by the later arrival

of many Italians and Poles. The last quarter century, under the administration of the diocese by the late Bishop John J. Nilan, witnessed remarkable growth in the number of parishes, of clergy, and of members. Today more than one third of the inhabitants of the state are reckoned as adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. Immigrants from Germany and the Scandinavian countries came in the latter half of the nineteenth century and established Lutheran churches. To meet the needs of still later groups to settle in the state, there have come into existence a few Greek Orthodox churches and a considerable number of Jewish synagogues. There are a small number of congregations of colored people, mostly of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. The principal other denominations represented in the state are Adventist, Christian Scientist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Universalist. Within the last half century the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association have become well established in nearly all the urban centers of the state.

Though the spiritual life manifests itself in very different ways from the practices prevalent in the earlier days, the people of Connecticut have by no means lost their essentially religious character. The religious impress placed upon Connecticut by its founders continues evident in many aspects of the current life of the state. It is still a well-honored tradition that the governor shall bestow unusual care on writing his annual proclamation of a fast day each spring and of a thanksgiving day each autumn. In the observance of these two occasions the descendants of the early settlers are often rivalled in their devoutness by the residents in whose veins flows no English blood and whose ancestral faith differs widely from Congregationalism. The profound influence exercised by the Congregational clergy in colonial days has been well sustained in later times by such able ministers of that denomination as Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Lyman Beecher, Horace Bushnell, Joseph H. Twitchell, Theodore T. Munger, Newman Smyth, and Benjamin W. Bacon. Of like caliber were Samuel Sea-

bury, the first bishop of Connecticut, and the first American to be consecrated a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church, and such of his successors as Thomas C. Brownell and John Williams. Alexander V. Griswold, a native of Simsbury, was the first Episcopal bishop of a diocese which included all New England outside Connecticut, and the third presiding bishop of that church. Of other denominations it may suffice to mention that the eccentric Methodist preacher, Lorenzo Dow, who was said to have preached to more different people than any contemporary clergyman, was a native of Coventry.

VIII

THE founders of Connecticut considered education an important bulwark of both the church and the commonwealth. The records bear witness to the establishment of schools in New Haven and Hartford, promptly after their settlement. As early as 1644 the general court made provision for the annual collection of money for the maintenance of students at Harvard College. The Code of 1650 contained explicit provisions for the instruction of children, for the maintenance of a schoolmaster in each town containing at least fifty householders, and for the establishment of a grammar school suitable for the preparation of students for the university in each town containing one hundred householders. Even though these provisions may have indicated a pious desire rather than an actual achievement, there is reason to believe that Connecticut children in the colonial days usually obtained an elementary education. A goodly number of Connecticut youth sought the advantages of higher learning at Harvard College until, in 1701, the colony established its own college, later named in honor of Elihu Yale. When Edward Hopkins, one of the early governors, died in 1657 his will provided a fund for the establishment of grammar schools and in due season the Hopkins Grammar Schools in New Haven and Hartford resulted from this bequest.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Connecticut was among the leaders not only in the improvement of elementary

education but also in the establishment of public high schools, while two new colleges, Trinity and Wesleyan, were founded to share with Yale the work of higher education. It was in Connecticut that Henry Barnard of Hartford, the first United States commissioner of education, began his life work for the improvement of the public school system. Under his auspices in 1849, the State Normal Training School in New Britain was opened. Among the pioneers of female education in the United States none rendered more important service than Emma Hart Willard, a native of Berlin, Connecticut. For many years Catherine Beecher labored indefatigably to improve the public schools, especially in the new settlements throughout the West. In the same period the state became famous for the number and excellence of its private schools, especially those intended for the preparation of boys for college. In the latter part of the century, Barnard's services to American education were paralleled by those of William T. Harris, of North Killingly, who was United States commissioner of education from 1889 to 1906.

During the War for Independence the foundations of systematic training for the legal profession were laid by Judge Reeve in his famous law school at Litchfield. In the same town, a few years later, Sarah Pierce founded the Female Academy, which was the pioneer school of its type. In like manner, the first school in the United States for normal instruction in music was opened by Oramel Whittlesey in 1835 at Salem under the name of Music Vale Seminary. Dr. Horace H. Hayden of Windsor became the founder and first president of the American Society of Dental Surgeons and of the College of Dental Surgery at Baltimore in 1840, said to have been the first dental college in the world. In provision for those less fortunate, Connecticut has also been a pioneer. Thomas H. Gallaudet, in opening the school for the deaf at Hartford in 1817, laid the foundations on which all instruction of this type has since been conducted in this country. His son, Edward M. Gallaudet, became the founder and first president of the college for deaf mutes in Washington, D. C. The Connecticut

State Board of Education for the Blind, established in 1893, is the oldest of its sort in the country. Probably the most important measure for the advancement of scientific agriculture in the United States has been the establishment of agricultural experiment stations under the patronage of the national government. This movement owes its initiation to the establishment of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station under the direction of Professor Wilbur Olin Atwater of Wesleyan in 1875. This important event was soon followed by the opening of the Storrs Agricultural College which has just become Connecticut State College. Higher education for women has also been admirably provided by Connecticut College for Women at New London chartered in 1911, and more recently by Albertus Magnus College at New Haven. The Medical School and the Law School of Yale University, with their long and honorable records and their present admirable facilities, rival the best in the country. The divinity schools, both in New Haven and Hartford, continue to be powerful factors in the religious life not only of the state but of the nation at large, and have made significant contributions to the progress of missionary enterprises in many lands.

The remarkable achievements of recent years in the improvement of public education in the state and the extraordinary growth of its universities, colleges, private preparatory schools, and of parochial and other schools under Roman Catholic auspices provide for the youth of the state educational facilities far more ample than the colonial fathers could have dreamed.

Not the least of Connecticut's contributions to American education has been made by her sons and daughters outside the state. They helped to mold the public school system and to found colleges in other states, and hosts of them have served as teachers, school officials, college professors, and college presidents from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Eleazar Wheelock, who had founded a school at North Lebanon (now Columbia), secured a charter for it as Dartmouth College and removed it to Hanover, New Hampshire, where he was

succeeded in the presidency by his son John. Abraham Baldwin, Caleb Pitkin, Samuel Kirkland, and Asa Packer were respectively the founders of the University of Georgia, Western Reserve University, Hamilton College, and Lehigh University. Connecticut furnished the first president of Williams College, Ebenezer Fitch; of Smith College, Laurens Clarke Seelye; of King's College (later Columbia), Samuel Johnson, and of Columbia College, his son William Samuel Johnson; of Beloit College, Aaron Chapin; of the University of California, Daniel Coit Gilman, who was also first president of the Johns Hopkins University, and later of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Among the other distinguished sons of Connecticut to serve as college presidents were Aaron Burr, Sr., and the eminent Jonathan Edwards at Princeton; the latter's son, Jonathan, at Union College; Eliphalet Nott and Laurens P. Hickok, also at Union; Jared Sparks at Harvard College; Julius H. Seelye at Amherst College; Edward D. Griffin and Franklin Carter at Williams College; George E. Pierce at Western Reserve University; Julian Sturtevant at Illinois College; Charles G. Finney at Oberlin College; Israel Ward Andrews at Marietta College; Horace Holley at Transylvania University; and Cyrus Northrop at the University of Minnesota; besides several presidents of Yale, Trinity, and Wesleyan.

The cultural life of Connecticut has been immensely enriched by its older colleges just mentioned. Furthermore, each of these has been the parent of other colleges, and has contributed from its alumni a host of professors and presidents, in many cases the first president, to colleges throughout the nation and abroad. Connecticut, therefore, has good right to be proud of its share in passing on the torch of learning.

It is remarkable that, following the early examples of Governor Hopkins and Elihu Yale, the philanthropic gifts of Connecticut people have been made most largely for the advancement of learning. In addition to the numerous gifts (notably those of John W. Sterling of Stratford to Yale, of William F. Armstrong of New Haven to Wesleyan, and of Morton F. Plant of New London to Connecticut College for

Women) for the construction and endowment of educational institutions and libraries within the state, special mention may be made of the two funds of a million dollars each given by Daniel Hand of Madison and John Fox Slater of Norwich for the education of the negroes of the South, of the munificent gifts of Walter L. Newberry, who was born in East Windsor, to found and endow the Newberry Library in Chicago, and of the varied benefactions of the elder J. Pierpont Morgan, a native of Hartford.

In 1840, it was found that among the residents of the state over twenty years of age there were only 526 who could neither read nor write—the least number in any state of the Union at that date. It has frequently been alleged, in recent years, that Connecticut has a high percentage of illiteracy. Investigation, however, reveals that ever since 1840, at least, the amount of illiteracy in the native white population has been negligible, and that illiteracy has been confined almost entirely to the large foreign-born section of the population. Even in this case, various factors, not least of which have been the direct educational efforts to meet the problem, have been contributing to the rapid decrease in the number of such illiterates.

IX

IN view of the character and intelligence of the seventeenth-century settlers in Connecticut, it is almost amazing to discover that printing was not introduced into the colony until 1709 when Thomas Short established a press at New London under the patronage of Governor Saltonstall. Previous to this Connecticut had depended mainly upon Massachusetts printers. Newspapers were early established in the state. New Haven had the first in 1755, called *The Connecticut Gazette*. *The New London Summary* soon followed and, in 1764, *The Connecticut Courant* began its long career. The last named journal, now *The Hartford Courant*, is believed to be the oldest in the United States with the continuous use of the same name in the same town and the unbroken continuity of its publishing corporation. Within a generation the newspapers of Connecti-

cut had developed an unusually large circulation for that day and enjoyed a reading public unsurpassed by the contemporary press of other states. The editorial standards of the daily newspapers of Hartford and New Haven have long been recognized far beyond the confines of the state. In addition to the various daily newspapers, there exists in the state a surprising number of weekly papers, many of which are ably edited and enjoy considerable circulation. In the magazine field Connecticut may point with especial pride to the periodical which, after changes of name, is now issued as *The Yale Review*. Through two centuries many Connecticut printers have engaged in the publication of books, and a bibliography of Connecticut imprints would reveal a remarkably varied and valuable output. All earlier achievements in this field within the state have been splendidly surpassed in the present generation by the Yale University Press.

From small beginnings in the eighteenth century, public libraries have steadily developed until at the present day nearly every town in the state has such an institution relatively adequate to the local needs, and many of them are, for towns of their size, of unusual excellence in the matter of building, administration, and collections, as witness those of Branford, Southport, Litchfield, Newtown, Norfolk, Pomfret, and Salisbury, not to mention those of the larger communities. Only one state has a higher ratio of volumes in public libraries to the population. The excellent libraries of the various schools and colleges are also usually available to the general public. Foremost among these is the Yale University Library, which ranks among the world's largest and best.

Almost all the literature produced by Connecticut writers during its first century and a half emanated from the clergy and dealt with religious subjects. The outbreak of the struggle for independence not merely brought out political polemics but led to enterprising activity in many other literary forms. The history of American literature in the colonial and Revolutionary periods has been recorded with thorough scholarship and in felicitous style by Moses Coit Tyler, a native of Gris-

wold and an alumnus of Yale. In the group usually called the Hartford Wits, Connecticut produced at the close of the eighteenth century the first school of writers in American literature. In the early nineteenth century Noah Webster, Samuel Griswold Goodrich (Peter Parley), Jedediah Morse, Emma Hart Willard, and Nathan Daboll and his sons issued numerous textbooks that were used in the schools not only in New England but throughout the country, as well as books for the entertainment and instruction of the young and such famous and widely used publications as Daboll's *Almanac* and Webster's *Dictionary*. Conspicuous among the natives of Connecticut who attained literary fame later in the nineteenth century were James Gates Percival, Amos Bronson Alcott, George D. Prentice, Theodore Winthrop, Lydia H. Sigourney, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Rose Terry Cooke, Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), Edmund C. Stedman, and Edward Rowland Sill, while for many years Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) and Charles Dudley Warner were residents of Hartford. To literature, scholarship, and science the remarkable array of teachers who have been associated with the colleges of the state has never failed from year to year to make contributions of the highest value.

At the same time that one John Trumbull was associated with the Hartford Wits in the promotion of literature, another John Trumbull and Ralph Earle established the reputation of Connecticut in the art of painting. Even before their day there had been several portrait painters in the colony, and in the generation following Connecticut artists were also known chiefly for their work in portraiture. In the century following Trumbull, among the best known Connecticut artists and sculptors were John F. Kensett of Cheshire, Frederick E. Church and Charles Noël Flagg of Hartford, and Paul Bartlett of New Haven. Ithiel Town, a native of Thompson, was an eminent architect in the first half of the nineteenth century and one of the original members of the National Academy of Design. Frederick Law Olmsted, who was born in Hartford, became the most eminent American landscape gardener and

did extensive work in developing the municipal and national park systems of the country. It is more than a generation ago that a few artists began to spend part of their time at Lyme. Now the Lyme colony of artists enjoys world-wide repute. Smaller similar groups are to be found in several other scenic localities in the state, while the Yale School of Fine Arts, with its excellent collections, is rendering important service. In the last eleven years seventeen graduates of this school have won the Prix de Rome, of whom four were of Connecticut birth.

Music in Connecticut has an interesting history in which the outstanding name is that of Dudley Buck of Hartford, aside from the able group that has been associated with the Yale School of Music. The symphony orchestra in New Haven and the choral societies in Hartford, Bridgeport, and Norfolk illustrate the wider and more popular interest in music, while many churches throughout the state have been distinguished for the excellence of their organ and choir music.

X

THE services of the legal profession in the state date back to Roger Ludlow, one of the first settlers of Windsor, the reputed author of the Fundamental Orders, and the actual compiler of the Code of 1650. The foundation of Judge Reeve's Litchfield Law School and the able work of such men as Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth and Judge Zephaniah Swift at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth established the reputation of the Connecticut bench and bar. In later years the legal and judicial history of the state has been illustrated with such eminent names as those of David Daggett, Charles J. McCurdy, Roger S. Baldwin and his son, Simeon E. Baldwin, and Theodore S. Woolsey, while many natives of Connecticut like Jeremiah Mason in New Hampshire and Reuben H. Walworth and Amasa Parker in New York, have won distinction at the bar and on the bench in other states. The supreme and the superior courts of the state have always enjoyed a high reputation for the character

of their judges and for the probity, wisdom, and acumen with which their work has been done.

Ever since the days of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., who had a well-established reputation for medical knowledge and ability, many members of the medical profession in Connecticut have made notable contributions to science. Outstanding among them were Horace Wells, the discoverer of anæsthesia; William Beaumont of Lebanon whose researches in the physiology of digestion constituted one of the most important contributions to medical science ever made by a single individual; and George McClellan, a native of Woodstock and father of the general, who gave his life largely to the promotion of medical education, especially in Philadelphia. As founder of the Hartford Retreat, Eli Todd was a pioneer in the care and treatment of the insane in the United States, and a half century later equally distinguished work was done by Abram M. Shew, the first superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane in Middletown. Both these institutions have continued to maintain a high reputation for their excellent administration and progressive methods. The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene, formed in 1908, was the pioneer in its field, and the tireless energy of its founder has extended throughout this country and abroad beneficent efforts to improve psychiatric studies and practice. The growth of general hospitals has been in large measure a phenomenon of the last generation. At the present time there are thirty-one such hospitals in the state and these are scattered among the principal municipalities so that all residents of the state are within easy access to their facilities. Among the Connecticut men who have contributed to the remarkable advances in medical science in the last generation the foremost was William H. Welch of Norfolk whose half-century career on the medical faculty of the Johns Hopkins University was distinguished by important researches and discoveries in pathology and bacteriology.

XI

It is hoped that these few pages have revealed, in brief

summary, that through the three centuries Connecticut has had a history not unworthy of its place as a state in the American Union, and also that its natives and residents have throughout the three hundred years loyally borne their share in the efforts of human society to achieve better standards of living and to exemplify more nobly the art of living.

The people of Connecticut today differ in many respects from those in any of the nine or ten generations which have gone before. They are, none the less, keenly sensitive to the splendid traditions which they have inherited and will count it a rich privilege, in the tercentenary celebration, to do honor to the life and work of those into whose labors they have entered. Scattered throughout the American Union—indeed throughout the world—are sons and daughters of Connecticut and descendants of Connecticut ancestors who likewise will take a keen interest in the tercentenary commemoration. As many of them as may be able to visit the state in the tercentenary year and participate in its exercises will find a warm welcome to the old home. It will be a pleasure to share with them and, it is hoped, with numerous others from all parts of the Union, the visitation to the many historic places of interest within the state, to the numerous attractive villages with their beautiful old churches and interesting colonial houses, and to the delightful scenery of shore and valley, of hill and lakeside which is not the least appreciated of Nature's many blessings to Connecticut. In June the loveliness of the landscape is so enhanced by the profuse blossoms of the state's flower, the mountain laurel, that the admiring observer is led to think of Connecticut as the Laurel State—a name, perhaps, not unmerited by its people's achievements.

After all, just what shall we commemorate? Obviously no single sentence can embody it all. None the less there may be something distinctive which can be embodied in a felicitous phrase that will impress itself upon the minds of all. Perhaps this distinctive thing is to be found in the political life of Connecticut through its three centuries, tracing from the Fundamental Orders of the earliest days, through the Charter

of 1662 and the Constitution of 1818, to the progressive legislation of the latest sessions of the general assembly, and also in Connecticut's share in the political life of the federal Union. To a degree and with a continuity unsurpassed in America, Connecticut has exemplified the practice of popular self-government upon a constitutional basis. Consequently, the phrase of Professor Charles M. Andrews, "Three centuries of independent self-government," may well serve as the keynote.

There was, however, something else distinctive about the life of colonial days in Connecticut that led people, at least eight score years ago, to speak of Connecticut as the Land of Steady Habits. Through the intervening years this appellation has continued to survive, and it may be assumed that its survival has been not merely a matter of tradition but that it is still fitting. The phrase suggests conservatism, and undoubtedly Connecticut life has been characterized by something of that quality but it has never been reactionary. Neither has Connecticut been radical, but it has been progressive. Perhaps Connecticut is the Land of Steady Habits because its people have ever had a wholesome respect for the value of experience in their efforts to achieve progress. Among the steadiest of Connecticut's habits, at least in their persistence, have been vigorous individualism, an intense pride in personal financial independence, a confident reliance on the reasoning capacity of the individual mind, and ingenuity and fertility of expedients. With these has gone another trait, a strong insistence upon the importance of education. Still stronger have been the profound religious spirit and moral earnestness. While these characteristics have had a far wider range of social significance, they have each been essential factors in the successful development and practice of self-government in this Sturdy and Steady State. In the centuries to come it is doubtful whether Connecticut can serve the nation and the world better than by continuing to exemplify these traits and the practice of popular self-government upon the constitutional basis, and by continuing to merit its designation as the Land of Steady Habits.

*Let us now praise famous men,
And our fathers that begat us.
The Lord manifested in them great glory,
Even his mighty power from the beginning.
Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms,
And were men renowned for their power,
Giving counsel by their understanding,
Such as have brought tidings in prophecies:
Leaders of the people by their counsels,
And by their understanding men of learning for the people;
Wise were their words in their instruction:*

* * * * *

*All these were honored in their generations,
And were a glory in their days.
There be of them, that have left a name behind them,
To declare their praises.
And some there be, which have no memorial;
Who are perished as though they had not been,*

* * * * *

*But these were men of mercy,
Whose righteous deeds have not been forgotten.*

* * * * *

*Their seed shall remain for ever,
And their glory shall not be blotted out.
Their bodies were buried in peace,
And their name liveth to all generations.
Peoples will declare their wisdom,
And the congregation telleth out their praise.*

Ecclesiasticus 44: 1-4, 7-10, 13-15.

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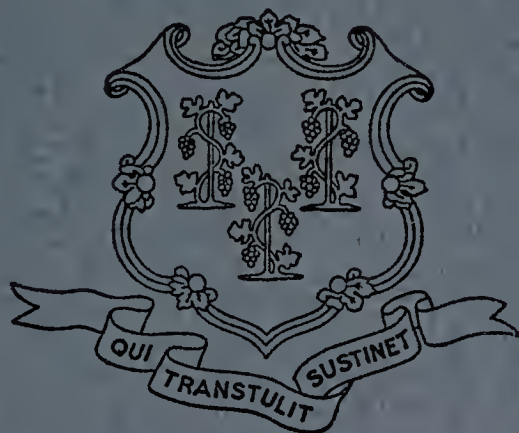
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*The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church
in Connecticut*

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

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*The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church
in Connecticut*

ORIGEN STORRS SEYMOUR

I

IN order to get a right perspective of the history of religious life in Connecticut, it is important to remember that in seeking a place in which to worship God in their own way, our Puritan ancestors sought to escape the way of worshipping God according to the ritual and discipline of the Church of England. That the Church of England, by reason of the Toleration Act passed in 1689, had ceased to harry the Presbyterians, counted for little in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The wounds of the persecution they had fled from were still too fresh in their minds to incline them to exercise tolerance here, where the arm of English civil government was palsied. The Charter of 1662 was the broadest charter granted to any plantation, and the general court in Connecticut conveniently forgot to send home the laws they enacted for their own governance.

It was in this infertile soil that the worship of the Church of England was introduced into the colony in 1702. The year previous, the Society for the Propagation of the Gos-

pel in Foreign Parts had been founded by members of that Church. The Reverend George Keith landed in New London in 1702. He passed the ensuing Sunday with the minister of the Congregational Church, the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall, some years later the governor of the colony, who civilly entertained him and "expressed his good affection for the Church of England." Mr. Keith preached in the Congregational Church, "to a respectable congregation, and the service was conducted in accordance with the Anglican ritual." Mr. Keith reported to the Society that there were thirty thousand souls in Connecticut "all Dissenters, supplied with ministers and schools of their own persuasion."

Shortly before this time the colony had received a considerable incursion of English traders, mechanics, and artisans, and "some gentlemen of quality," attracted by reports that a good living could be made in the coast towns. Some of these people settled at Stratford, then one of the largest towns in the colony. A few of them were members of the Church of England, so that when the Reverend George Muirson, missionary at Rye of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made an excursion through the coast towns from Greenwich to Stratford in 1706, he found a number of people who were anxious to attend a service conducted according to the ritual of their own Church and, also, a number of people who, though not members of the Church, were by no means hostile to it. Among the latter was the Reverend John Reed, minister of the Congregational Church at Stratford. When Muirson came to Stratford a year later, accompanied by his friend and patron, Colonel Caleb Heathcote, a man of great repute in New York and an ardent supporter of the Church of England, one of the local magistrates of the Standing Order, with some of the other officers, came to

his lodgings and warned him that his activities were illegal. Nevertheless Muirson preached to "a very great congregation," though "the people were likewise threatened with prison and a forfeiture of five pounds for coming to hear me."

In a letter to the Propagation Society, Muirson summed up the situation in Connecticut:

"And though every Churchman in that Colony pays his rate for the building and repairing their meeting-houses, yet they are so maliciously set against us, that they deny us the use of them, though on week days. They tell our people that they will not suffer the house of God to be defiled with idolatrous worship and superstitious ceremonies. They are so bold that they spare not openly to speak reproachfully, and with great contempt, of our Church. They say the sign of the cross is the mark of the beast and the sign of the devil, and that those who receive it are given to the devil. And when our people complain to their magistrates of the persons who thus speak, they will not so much as sign a warrant to apprehend them, nor reprove them for their offense. This is quite a different character to what, perhaps, you have heard of that people. That they are ignorant, I can easily grant; for if they had either much knowledge or goodness they would not act and say as they do; but that they are hot-heads, I have too just reason to believe; and as to their meaning, I leave that to be interpreted by their unchristian proceedings with us."

By way of contrast, Muirson revealed his own character in his description to the Society of the type of missionary to be settled in Stratford: He being the first "needs to be a man very prudent in conduct and exemplary in life and conversation. . . . Gentleness and sweetness of temper is the readiest way to engage the affections of the people; . . . whereas passionate and rash methods of proceedings will fill their minds with prejudices against both our persons and our principles, and utterly indispose them against all the means we can make use of to reclaim them from their

errors." These passages from the correspondence of Muirson are stressed because otherwise one might be led to believe that some of the cruel and unjust treatment later accorded to the clergy of the Church of England who came to Connecticut was brought upon them by their own indiscretion. As one studies the character of these missionaries throughout the eighteenth century, he is compelled to believe that, with few exceptions, the attitude displayed by Muirson, and his prescription for dealing with the hostile attitude of the Congregational Church, were the guiding principles of his successors. Slowly this came to be recognized by the better element of society and resulted in a gradual increase of the supporters of the Church.

A most unexpected result of the visits of Muirson to Stratford was that Mr. Reed "declared for Episcopacy." The effect of this apostasy was very pronounced in the community, but drew upon him and his family bitter persecution. His action, however, was as nothing compared with the shock that befell twenty years later, when his successor at Stratford, the Reverend Timothy Cutler, who had become rector of Yale College, and Daniel Browne, then the only other instructor at Yale, with nine companions, including the Reverend Samuel Johnson of West Haven, publicly announced to the College alumni and trustees assembled in the library at Commencement that they did not believe that their Presbyterian ordination was valid, and declared for Episcopacy. As President Woolsey later said: "Greater alarm would scarcely be awakened now, if the Theological Faculty of the College were to declare for the Church of Rome, and avow their belief in Transubstantiation, and pray to the Virgin Mary."

This Reverend Samuel Johnson, who was one of the most beloved clergymen in Connecticut, and who, because

of his erudition later became the first president of King's College in New York, went to England with four of his associates, including Cutler, and was ordained and returned to the colony. It is he who justly bears the title of "the father of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut." Upon his return he found the adherents of the Church at Stratford had been engaged in erecting a building for their own use. This was the first edifice of the Church of England in the colony and was opened for divine service by him on Christmas Day, 1724. Johnson also took upon himself the duties of caring for the scattered families of the Church in Fairfield, Norwalk, Newtown, Woodbury, Litchfield, Ripton, and West Haven. He was then the only clergyman of the Church of England resident in the colony. His associate, Daniel Browne, died of smallpox just as they were about to return to America, and James Wetmore, one of the nine, was not consecrated until a year thereafter.

In writing to the Society, Johnson stressed, as did his successors for seventy years, the great need that there was for a resident bishop, mentioning that "a considerable number of very promising young gentlemen, five or six of the best educated here," disowned the ministry and went into secular business because they were unwilling to expose themselves to the dangers of the seas, so that "the fountain of all our misery is the want of a Bishop, for whom there are many thousand of souls in this country that do impatiently long and pray and for want of whom do extremely suffer." He cited the instance of the death of Tutor Browne, and at a later date stated that of fifty-two clergymen who sought ordination in England, one-fifth perished on the journey.

In spite of serious opposition, the little group of Anglicans in Fairfield erected a church edifice in 1725. Two

years later the senior warden, Moses Ward, appeared with his attorney before the general assembly in May, 1727, to present a petition which pointed out that the adherents of the Church were obliged to support the rector of their own Church and at the same time to pay taxes for the support of the "dissenting" minister and for the building of the "dissenting" meeting house, and that ten of their number had been "lately imprisoned for our taxes, and had considerable sums of money taken from us by distraint" which money they asked might be restored to them, and "if these grievances may be redressed, we shall aim at nothing but to live peaceably and as becometh Christians among our dissenting brethren." The petition was granted in part, and a law enacted that all persons of the Church of England living in the bounds of any parish allowed by the assembly, should be taxed by the same rule and in the same proportion for the support of their minister, if a society of the Church of England with a clergyman settled and abiding among them, and performing divine service, be so near to any who had declared themselves of this Church that they could conveniently and did attend its public worship, and that the said parishioners were excused from paying any tax for building meeting houses for the Established Church.

This relief, however, was much more in the seeming than in fact. What was to be understood by the words "settled and abiding amongst them, and performing divine service, so near to any person . . . that he can conveniently and doth attend the publick worship there," was left to the interpretation of the magistrates, who were, of course, of the Standing Order. Actually, supporters of the Church of England continued to be taxed for the support of ministers of the Established Church for the next fifty years. When it is considered that the Reverend John

Beach, who was settled at Redding and also attended the parishes at Newtown and Derby, and that the Reverend Solomon Palmer, who was located at Sharon and likewise officiated at Roxbury, Cornwall, and Litchfield, were not "settled" in more than one of these parishes, it is apparent that in the other parishes the supporters of the Church of England did not have "a person in orders . . . settled and abiding amongst them," and were, therefore, compelled to pay taxes for the support of the "dissenting" ministers and for the erection of the Congregational meeting houses.

In the midst of the excitement over the events at Yale College, fourteen supporters of the Church in Newtown, and a large number of "subscribers" in Ripton requested the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send to each of these places a lawfully ordained minister. Among the subscribers in Ripton (now Shelton) was Daniel Shelton, a large landholder, who had participated in the welcome of the Reverend Mr. Muirson and Colonel Heathcote on their visits to Stratford, and who had been "seized at his residence and barbarously hurried away in mid-winter and lodged in the county jail until he should pay over the amount levied by distress of his estate for the support of the Congregational minister." Mention of Newtown is made because, until after the Revolution, the missionary of the Church of England who was stationed there was a native of the colony and the former minister of its Congregational Church. This was the Reverend John Beach, whose labors were so successful that, despite the persecutions he suffered at the beginning of his ministry and later during the Revolution, his church became larger than any other in the community.

A man of the same ilk was the Reverend Ebenezer Punderson, who, having declared for Episcopacy and having gone to England to be ordained, was sent out as a

missionary to North Groton. The Established Church in Groton had had the misfortune to have the sentiments of its pastors changed, now, for the second time. Ebenezer Punderson had succeeded the Reverend Samuel Seabury¹ in the Congregational ministry at North Groton. When a student at Yale, young Seabury was so upset by the great confusion resulting from the espousal of Episcopacy by Rector Cutler, and others, that he withdrew from the college and finished his education at Harvard. He returned to North Groton as the pastor of the Established Church but, becoming convinced of his affection for the Church of England, he went to England in 1730 and was ordained the same year. On his return, he helped to establish St. James's Church, New London, the third Episcopal parish in Connecticut, with a house of worship and a resident minister.

II

In the spring of 1741 came the "Great Awakening" or "refreshing," as it was called.² For some years, there had been a serious decline in religion in the colony, which had been the subject of many anxious conferences among the pastors of the Established Church. The government naturally concerned itself with this situation and various laws were passed to make men good. In 1740 Jonathan Edwards brought from Massachusetts to the house of his father in East Windsor, George Whitefield, a young English preacher. Whitefield's sermons in Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, Wallingford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk were heard by thousands of people, and resulted in the rapid spread of the revival

¹The father of Samuel Seabury, the first bishop of Connecticut.

²Mrs. Mary Hewitt Mitchell, in *The Great Awakening and other revivals in the religious life of Connecticut* (no. XXVI in this series), shows that the beginning of this movement dated from 1735.

movement. In many places large additions to church membership resulted, but, due to its excesses, "steady Christians and the most Judicial among ministers and people were alienated." The Church of England received many adherents in consequence of the disgust of the "most judicial." A group of people in Northbury declared, in 1744, that they fled to that Church from the confusions resulting from New Light "insufferable enthusiastic whims and extemporaneous jargon." These disorders and controversies, which were afflicting the Congregational churches, caused the general assembly of Connecticut to enact stringent measures to enforce orthodoxy and ecclesiastical conformity within their fold.

Concerning these controversies among the Congregationalists, as late as 1759, Dr. Alison, vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia, wrote to Ezra Stiles, later president of Yale, "They will be swallowed up by the Episcopal Church, who envy them their prosperity and will avail themselves of these divisions." In one respect Dr. Alison spoke truly. The supporters of the Church of England did envy the prosperity of the Established Church. They were so poor that it was by the greatest self-sacrifice they built their small thirty by forty foot churches. But Dr. Alison was wrong upon the other count. Dr. Johnson later wrote: "So far were we from . . . taking advantage of any quarrels that happened among themselves, that in many instances we obliged them to accommodate matters with their former brethren, or at least do all they could towards an accommodation, before we would receive them to our communion." Henry Caner, the rector at Fairfield, had already written to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in May, 1743: "Though the constitution of this Colony, both civil and ecclesiastical, has received sundry violent blows from the effects of en-

thusiasm, but, as I don't enter into affairs not immediately under my inspection, I have endeavored to apply myself with diligence to cultivate a spirit of piety and sound religion among the members of my own Church." He concluded: "Where the late spirit of enthusiasm has most abounded, the Church has received the largest accession."

While the coast towns west from New Haven to New York had, during all these years, been the stronghold of the Church of England, there had quietly grown up in Litchfield county a stronger and stronger attachment to its services and ritual. This was due, undoubtedly, to the influence of the Reverend John Beach at Newtown, and of the Reverend Solomon Palmer, who was the missionary at Sharon, and also at Roxbury, Cornwall, and Judea (now Washington). Palmer, in communicating to the Society in 1760 the state of his mission, represented his labors as "successful beyond expectation, having now four good timber Churches, subscriptions for another, and two in private houses." He was ably assisted in the latter years of his ministry by the Reverend Thomas Davies, resident in New Milford, grandson of John Davies, who gave so generously of his money to the Anglican Church in Litchfield. It was the wife of John Davies, Jr., who wrote in her first "home letters" to come from Litchfield that she was "entirely alone, having no society and having nothing to associate with but Presbyterians and wolves." John Davies, when he came to Litchfield in 1745, found a number of people, owing to the disturbances arising from the Great Awakening, discontented with their religious surroundings. Thirteen heads of families met together in the house of Jacob Griswold, a mile west of the village, to consult about establishing a church, which was built in 1748. During the intervening years services were held in private houses.

The struggle of the Church of England to maintain itself in Connecticut still continued to be a story of bitter harassments. One or two instances will suffice. On July 4, 1749, the Reverend William Gibbs, the missionary at Simsbury, wrote to the secretary of the Propagation Society that, at New Cambridge (now Bristol), "The dissenters do oblige them [the supporters of the Church of England] to pay to the dissenting minister, and which they have refused, and for their refusal were, four of them, committed to Hartford gaol, and in a place where they keep malefactors; upon which they then paid their money to the collector Thomas Hart of New-Cambridge. I accordingly demanded the money of said Collector, but he refused, by reason, as he said, of my mission not extending thither. Six more are now threatened, and whom I fear they will imprison." Six months later Gibbs wrote again, dating his letter this time from the Hartford gaol, and said: "In my last, which was but lately, I acquainted the Society of the Dissenters' ill usage toward the Churchmen of New Cambridge, in obliging them to pay to them, and when, having demanded the money of the collector, was refused the same, and which put me upon sueing him before John Humphreys Esquire, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, in Simsbury town, for my Churchwarden's rate of Caleb Matthews, but was cast, and for my refusing to pay the cost, an execution has been out against me for some time, and is now brought and served by Jonathan Humphreys' constable, of that place [Simsbury], and I am taken by him and brought to Hartford, and so put into the gaol where I now am; thus presumptuous and bold are these men in these parts."

The complement to this narration exists in the records of the Congregational Church in New Cambridge. It there appears that nine men in 1747, two each in 1748 and 1749,

and three in 1750 formally declared themselves to be "of the Church of England and under the Bishop of London." In 1749 the Ecclesiastical Society voted that the collector should collect the rates of "them that call themselves of the Church of England among us, and we will defend them." The following year the collector presented his bill of costs for collecting these rates and it was allowed, but meanwhile an amicable compromise seems to have been effected. In Cornwall, which was then also under the occasional charge of the Reverend Mr. Gibbs, Stephen Lee "being firmly attached to the Church, refused paying the collector for the support of the dissenting minister of the place, and for this, was committed to the gaol of Hartford, at the news of which," Gibbs wrote, "I being but twelve miles distant, went and visited him; the man being poor, I took pity on him and released him, by paying his rate, which was seven pounds, and the charges likewise, which, with the rate, amounted to twenty-one pounds; and this is the usage of Dissenters toward Churchmen here, which very much grieves me. . . . The Dissenters . . . seem to be resolutely bent to hurt, [and if it were possible] to ruin the Church in these parts; and as to my mission, they look upon it to extend no further than Simsbury."

In spite of such harassments, amercements, and castings into prison until the distresses had been paid, the missionaries went on their unquiet way, never, so far as it appears from the records, inciting their followers to rebel against the treatment accorded to them. That their conduct had its influence upon the life and fortunes of the colony, it is not difficult to understand. The growth of the Church proved this. It was not from immigration, but from the residents in the colony that the members of the Church were recruited, and this increase, although slow, was steady, at least until 1765.

III

The attitude of the Standing Order toward the adherents of the Church of England seems to have mellowed gradually. In 1765, Connecticut chose, as one of its three representatives to the Stamp Act Congress, William Samuel Johnson of Stratford, son of that Dr. Samuel Johnson who had labored so earnestly and successfully for the establishment of Anglicanism in Connecticut. Johnson had recently been chosen a representative of his town in the colonial assembly, and in the next year he was elected an assistant, or member of the upper house, being the first Anglican, it is said, to be accorded that honor. Later in 1766 he was selected to go to England as a special agent of the colony, and was absent on this mission for five years. While in England, he was also employed, as a peculiarly suitable person, to ascertain what were the intentions of the authorities there relative to sending a bishop to America. In due season, he was able to assure the governor that there was no immediate intention on the part of the British government to do any such thing. Anglican though he was, he too would oppose such a measure at that time, especially because of the tension in the colony over the Townshend Acts. Though Johnson, after his return, remained in retirement until the close of the Revolution, he was, immediately thereafter, chosen to represent Connecticut in the congress of the Confederation, and in 1787 as a member of the convention which framed the federal constitution, and then, two years later, as one of the first United States senators from his state. Such was the high repute that this able statesman and loyal Churchman enjoyed in the colony and in the state.

The Stamp Act, the Boston Tea Party, and the Revolution found the clergy of the Church of England in a

most difficult situation. They had been taught to pray for the king, and for the confounding of all his enemies. Their oath of ordination bound them to this duty as they read the services of the prayer-book at both morning and evening prayer. The members of their parishes were loyal to the Church and the more substantial of them were loyal to their king. They were, perforce, non-partisan as, prior to the Revolution, they had little share in the government of the colony. To them the propaganda of Samuel Adams of Massachusetts represented everything that stood for the disquiet and disruption of their lives. It is only within the last few years that history has placed in true perspective the burden of despair and distress that fell upon the loyalists in Connecticut. Taking them by and large, as elsewhere in the colonies, they were people of substance and refinement, to whom orderly government was essential if their prosperity was to continue. As they prayed for the king, they toasted the king, in all sincerity.

To add to the existing difficulties of the Church of England, as it was still called in Connecticut, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel declined to send any more missionaries to the colony, since they were in open revolt against the king. In July, 1776, at a convocation of the clergy held in New Haven, it was resolved to suspend for the time being, all public exercise of their ministry. Alone, the resolute voice of John Beach of Newtown was heard in vigorous dissent from this resolution. He declared that he would "do his duty, preach and pray for the King, till the rebels cut out his tongue." For adhering to such a courageous, but by this time, unpatriotic determination, he was destined to suffer. Still others did not desist from carrying on the services of the Church, and they also did not escape retribution for so doing.

James Nichols, the missionary at Waterbury, was tried

for treason, but acquitted in 1777. Others of the clergy, notably Jeremiah Leaming of Fairfield, later of Norwalk, and Roger Viets of Simsbury suffered imprisonment. With only three exceptions, including the notorious Samuel Peters of Hebron who fled to England in 1774, the missionaries stayed heroically at their posts and performed such of their clerical duties as the troubled times permitted. By an ironical fate, Jeremiah Leaming at Norwalk and John Sayre, his successor at Fairfield, had to witness the destruction not only of their churches but also of their homes and personal belongings during Tryon's raid in 1779, and then had no alternative but to withdraw with the British forces to New York. The war was, however, even more disturbing to the laymen of the Church, most of whom persisted in their loyalty to the king, and consequently incurred suspicion and ill-treatment from their patriot neighbors. Many of them went deliberately over to the British side and enlisted in loyalist regiments. At the end of the war, most of these and many others, including a few of the clergy, forsook Connecticut and found new homes under the British flag, chiefly in New Brunswick.³

IV

The Reverend Samuel Seabury, a native of Groton, son of that Samuel Seabury referred to above as having gone to Harvard because of his distress over the recantation of Rector Timothy Cutler and Tutor Browne, who had served as rector of parishes on Long Island and in Westchester, became the chaplain of the King's American Regiment, composed of loyalists, largely from Connecticut. This, however, did not militate against his choice, as the candi-

³An extended account will be found in *The Loyalists of Connecticut* (no. XXXI in this series), by Judge Epaphroditus Peck.

date of the Connecticut clergy, to proceed to England and seek consecration as a bishop immediately following the announcement of peace in 1783.

In March, 1783, at the Glebe House at Woodbury, ten of the fourteen Episcopal clergymen then resident in Connecticut, met to choose some person to go to England to obtain the priceless gift that they had so often sought in vain, of the episcopacy for the American branch of the Church of England. The choice fell on Jeremiah Leaming, who had been the rector of the church at Norwalk, but due to the persecutions visited upon him by the patriots before and during the Revolution, he was so broken in health and strength that he was unable to undertake the voyage, and therefore declined the honor and the sacrifice. The second choice of the clergy was Samuel Seabury, who promptly proceeded to England. After waiting over a year and a half for the English bishops to overcome their scruples about consecrating a bishop for Connecticut, who could not, of necessity, swear to the oath of supremacy of the British sovereign, Seabury went to Scotland and was consecrated by the non-juring bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. He returned to Connecticut in the spring of 1785 and came to the parish which his father had established at New London, where he preached for the first time as the first Episcopal bishop in the United States of America. "No noise attended this first and undisguised entrance of a Protestant Bishop upon the soil of New England. He came as a simple Christian citizen, and not in any outward pomp and dignity such as the adversaries of the Church had apprehended." As a graduate of Yale, he attended the annual commencement in 1785, and when someone mentioned the fact to President Stiles and suggested that he should be invited to sit among the distinguished personages on the platform, President

Stiles replied that there were "already several Bishops upon the stage, but if there was room for another he might occupy it."⁴

Bishop Seabury was a man of good education, deeply versed in the history of the primitive church and jealous of the prerogatives of the episcopal office. He also knew the temper and prejudices of his compatriots. At the time of his consecration, the members of the Church in America were in great confusion and of divers minds as to the proper method and approach to the establishment of an Episcopal Church in America, separate and apart from the Church of England. In accordance with precedent, it was proper that a branch of the Anglican Communion might be formed in any "foreign parts" but, prior to Bishop Seabury's consecration, there was grave doubt as to whether anyone consecrated in the historic apostolic succession could be obtained for the Church in the jurisdiction of the newly established United States or how he would be received here. Inasmuch as the English bishops felt that they could not legally consecrate a bishop to officiate in the United States, it was only by the expedient of turning to the Church of Scotland that this difficulty was overcome. Indeed, so far had the members of the Church of England in the Southern states gone, that they had proposed ordination of bishops by presbyters. Such an idea was unthinkable to the clergy of the Church in Connecticut, and for five years they, together with the Reverend Samuel Parker of Massachusetts and the clergy of Rhode Island, resisted any efforts to form a national Church. Eventually, upon the consecration of Bishops White and Provoost of Pennsylvania and New York respectively, by

⁴At New Haven, on November 14, 1934, there will be celebrated, at Trinity Church, at Sprague Auditorium, and in the Sterling Library of Yale University, the 150th anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Seabury.

the English bishops,⁵ this difficulty was overcome and Bishop Seabury joined with them in the establishing of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America at a convention held in Philadelphia in October, 1789, the same year that the federal government under the constitution was inaugurated.

The episcopate of Bishop Seabury lasted but eleven years. He died in the prime of his later manhood, beloved by those of his own denomination, and greatly respected by the ministers and members of the Established Church in Connecticut. By his judicious care in advancing to the priesthood only such persons as were fit and godly, he continued to disarm prejudice of the secular power against the Church and to weaken the intolerance of sectarianism.

In 1789, Seabury had been elected also bishop of Rhode Island, and, upon his death, his services in this capacity were acknowledged by that diocese "with a grateful sense of the blessings enjoyed by the Prot. Episc. Church in the State of Rhode Island, in common with those in the State of Connecticut during the Episcopal regency of our departed Rt. Rev. Diocesan."

His successor was promptly elected at a convention held at New Haven in the latter part of the same year, 1796. The choice fell on the Reverend Abraham Jarvis of Middletown, but he declined the office because of a lack of unanimity in the choice, particularly on the part of the laymen, and the Reverend John Bowden, principal of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, was elected. He also declined the election, whereupon Jarvis was again elected, this time unanimously, and having accepted, was duly consecrated by Bishops White, Provoost, and Bass, the latter the then recently elected bishop of Massachusetts.

⁵In 1787. By this date parliament had amended the law so as to permit such consecration.

Bishop Jarvis continued in office until his death in 1813. He was of the old school type of clergy, and he is said to have had the manner of an English squire. He had a good mind and a great sensibility of heart. He, like his predecessor, watched with "jealous care the dignity and prerogatives of the Episcopal office, and at times was rather arbitrary and unyielding in the pursuit of what he conceived to be the true line of his duty." He followed Bishop Seabury in his veneration of the primitive usages of the Church, a very wise attitude for a bishop of the Episcopal Church in a state where the Congregational Church was still "by law established." The following pleasant story is told of Bishop Jarvis. At his residence in New Haven a young clergyman of the South spent a Sunday and was engaged to officiate at the morning service. On the way to the church he whispered in the ear of the bishop that he had rather a long sermon, and that, with his permission, he would like to omit the ante-communion service. The bishop waited a moment and then said, "My dear Sir, if you have anything better than the Ten Commandments and the Epistle and Gospel for the day, by all means omit the service, but if not, hold fast the form of sound words." We judge the "sound words" were uttered.

Mention has been made of John Bowden, principal of Cheshire Academy. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the need for a school where sons of Episcopalians might receive a thorough classical education "without endangering their religious predelictions" was strongly felt. It was founded in 1794 and Bowden was elected the first principal in 1796. The real hope was that some day the school might become an Episcopal college. The way of a dissenter, that is, a dissenter from the Established Church, was made hard at Yale College. In the first place, since the defection of Rector Cutler and Tutor Browne in

1723, a test oath had been exacted from all instructors in the college, to be sure that they were sound in the Congregational faith. This was a grievance to the clergymen and supporters of the Church of England, who remembered that Elihu Yale was a Churchman, and that the beneficence of Bishop Berkeley gave Yale its first considerable acquisition of books which made it what it was—a center of learning. But this was not all, because the rules of the college required that all students should attend the College Church and were fined if they did not: this, with the single exception that sons of adherents of the Church of England might, on Communion Sundays, then designated as the first Sunday of the month, attend the services of their own Church. The son of the Reverend Ebenezer Punderson was fined for attending the Anglican service in New Haven when his father preached there on other than a Communion Sunday.

It is curious to note that the funds for the maintenance of the Episcopal Academy having come in slowly, a diocesan convention, in 1798, voted that “the money formerly collected for the purpose of sending Missionaries to the frontiers of the States, be applied to the benefit of the Episcopal Academy.” On May 4, 1803, there appeared in the *Litchfield Monitor* the following advertisement: “Eight Thousand Dollars. Highest Prize. The drawing of the Episcopal Academy Lottery (first class,) will positively commence, in New-Haven, on the 6th of June next, and unsold Tickets called in by the Managers on the 20th of May. John Barker, Rufus Hitchcock, Burrage Beach, Napthali Dagget, Stephen Twining. Managers. New Haven, March 25, 1803.” The school was incorporated in 1801, under the title of The Trustees of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut. With the exception of a very few years, it has been receiving

students under this or subsequent changes in its name, up to the present time. It grew rapidly under Dr. Bowden, and in 1819, it had an enrolment of over sixty students, and twenty-eight of its graduates had become clergymen of the Episcopal Church. The petition to the assembly for a charter as a college, made in 1812, was denied, and eventually when Washington (now Trinity) College was incorporated, that aim of the organizers of the Academy was dropped.

V

BISHOP Jarvis's successor was the Reverend Thomas Church Brownell, previously assistant minister at Trinity Church, New York. His election did not occur until 1819, six years after the death of Bishop Jarvis. During this period the Church in Connecticut was under the episcopal supervision of Bishop Hobart of New York. This was due primarily to the inability of the Church to raise a fund sufficient for the support of the episcopacy, which was requisite and necessary if there was to be freedom of choice in the election of a bishop. The subject had been mooted in the episcopates of Bishop Seabury and Bishop Jarvis. Since the latter was a man of some means, the problem was more or less neglected, but it became acute after his death and it was felt that it was essential, before a successor was elected, that an adequate fund should be established.

In 1814 a petition was presented to the assembly, backed by the supporters of the Church, asking for a charter for the Phoenix Bank in Hartford, wherein it was agreed, if the petition was granted, to pay a certain percentage on the capital stock as a bonus, part of which bonus should be given to Yale College for the Academic Department or the foundation of a Medical School, and

part to the corporation of the trustees of the Bishop's Fund. The charter was granted, and the bank incorporated with a capital of \$1,000,000, five per cent of which, or \$50,000, went to the treasurer of the state to be applied to the objects specified. Immediately, \$20,000 of this bonus was paid to three trustees to expend the same for the use and benefit of the Medical Institution of Yale College. The senate promptly voted to appropriate \$10,000 to the trustees of the Bishop's Fund. The house rejected the measure, and, at the next session of the legislature both houses defeated it. This was so clearly a breach of faith that it aroused a very natural resentment, especially among Episcopalians, and had much to do with the defeat of the Standing Order the following year. It was also said to have been the direct cause of the election of Jonathan Ingersoll, a warden of Trinity Church, New Haven, as the lieutenant-governor of the state. The Episcopalians persisted in their claim against the state, and eventually, as a sop, they were allowed to hold a lottery, the right to hold which they sold, and over seven thousand dollars was obtained for the Bishop's Fund.

In 1816, another religious revival conducted by ministers of the Standing Order had taken place in different parts of the state, with the usual excitements and extraordinary "awakenings." The nature of conversion and regeneration was taught in a way which seemed to reflect on the Episcopal Church. The result was very much as heretofore. That Church received many accessions. Again the pamphleteers appeared, notably the Reverend Menzies Rayner of Huntington (now Shelton), who later became involved in other controversies and, in 1828, was suspended from the office of clergyman of the Episcopal Church by Bishop Brownell. He did little to advance the cause of Christian unity, but to the credit of the remain-

ing Episcopal clergymen of Connecticut be it said that they took no part in the controversy, and, not by proselyting, but by the appeal that the services of the Church made to the public and by the conduct of its clergy, further acquisitions to its membership resulted.

The Republicans, or Democrats, as they were invidiously termed in Connecticut, now took active steps to oust the Standing Order. The first move in this direction had been the calling of a meeting at New Haven in 1806. Two years later a "meeting, political in its tone," had been held by the same party in Litchfield. The War of 1812 coming on, though unpopular in Connecticut, state politics were temporarily submerged, but in 1817 the Toleration party, as it was called, backed to a man by the Episcopalians, elected Oliver Wolcott of Litchfield, son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Jonathan Ingersoll, an Episcopalian, governor and lieutenant-governor of the state, respectively. Charles Denison, who was chosen speaker of the assembly, and Samuel W. Johnson, who was a prominent member of the senate, were both Episcopalians. The natural partiality hitherto exhibited by the general assembly for the Standing Order, particularly the unwillingness to recognize the just claims of other religious denominations, was the basis of a demand for a more liberal policy.

Oliver Wolcott was "unenrolled in the ranks of democracy on the one hand, and uninfected with the intrigues and plottings of the dominant party on the other." His choice was the beginning of a new era in the civil and political life of Connecticut. At this election, though the Federalists retained control of the council or upper house, the Tolerationists secured a substantial majority of the members of the lower house, and they were some of the most influential and capable men in the state. In his in-

augural address, Governor Wolcott recommended, among other things, a revision of the ancient system of taxation, the right of convention, and the freedom of suffrage. With due caution, educated as he was as a Congregationalist, and yet conscious that he had been elected by the party of toleration, he said, "So highly do the public prize their privileges, that they have sometimes ascribed to unfriendly motives towards particular sects or denominations, such regulations as were sincerely intended to secure an equality of rights to every portion of the community. Whenever the public mind appears to be considerably agitated on these subjects, prudence requires that the Legislature should review its measures, and by reasonable explanations or modifications of the law, restore public confidence and tranquillity."

In action Wolcott went even further than these cautious words, for at his inauguration he requested the Reverend Harry Croswell, rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, a well-known Episcopal clergyman, to attend the forthcoming election prepared to deliver the customary election sermon. The anniversary of the general election was always a great event to the ministers of the Congregational order. "They attended in large numbers the levee of the appointed preacher, and joined in a grand procession under a military escort, with a band of music, to the meeting-house where the sermon was to be delivered. They were also welcome guests at the dinner provided for them at the public expense." To all this ceremony Croswell was obliged to conform, but he did it clothed in his priestly robes, and in his sermon he stressed the fact that if he appeared "to entertain doubts of the propriety of blending too closely the civil and religious concerns of the community; . . . or if it shall be found that I am more ambitious to fulfill my obligations as a minis-

ter of Christ, than to offer the incense of flattery to any sect or denomination of men; I trust you will do me the justice to believe, that I act under the influence of a solemn sense of duty. . . . Let us not give any reasonable cause for suspicion that our influence is exerted in those political questions, by which the community is unhappily divided." Bold language such as this, when uttered from the heart and conscience, at a right and proper time, may have, and, in this instance, certainly did have, a great influence on those to whom it was addressed.

Bishop Brownell had been educated with the thought that he would become a Presbyterian minister, but early having found difficulties in the Calvinistic system of theology, he resolved to make himself better acquainted with it before coming to a decision. He spent two years at Brown University and then followed President Maxcy of that institution to Union College and graduated there at the head of his class. He was appointed a tutor at Union College, and later professor of belles-lettres and moral philosophy. Succeeding this, he became professor in charge of a new department of chemistry and mineralogy, and spent a year abroad fitting himself for this new duty. Having, as he said, "become convinced of the historical and Scriptural grounds of Episcopacy," he was baptized and confirmed in the Episcopal Church, and in April, 1816, admitted deacon in Trinity Church, New York, and then to the priesthood. He later became assistant minister of Trinity and from there, as has been noted, received his call to Connecticut, and was consecrated bishop at Trinity Church, New Haven, October 27, 1819.

Brownell's episcopate began at a trying time. The Standing Order had not accepted their defeat at the polls in 1817 with equanimity, and they selected their Episcopal brethren as the particular targets of their wrath.

Pamphlet succeeded pamphlet, tending to cast obloquy upon them for their part in the political revolution which resulted in the adoption of the new state constitution in 1818. An Association of Gentlemen was formed to "write down the Episcopal Church." The first tract published was entitled *Plain reasons for relying on Presbyterian ordination*.⁶ This called forth a reply by the Reverend Bethel Judd of New London.⁷ This was followed by an ironical and undignified pamphlet entitled *A serious call to those who are without the pale of the Episcopal Church, by a Consistent Churchman*, which was published with the consent and at the request of the Associated Gentlemen. The author⁸ was not a Churchman, but a Congregationalist, and the proof of his article was revised by the minister of the First Ecclesiastical Society in New Haven. It was both misleading and flippant, and when skilfully answered, as it was, by Dr. Croswell,⁹ did more harm than good in its attempt to bolster up the concerted attack. On the other hand, it increased the interest of the public to examine the truth of the assertions of the Congregational ministers that lay ordination was in accord with scriptural practice. Eventually, the controversy resulted in a further increase in the membership of the Episcopal churches.

VI

Two years previous to the ordination of Bishop Brownell, the general convention of the Episcopal Church in the

⁶By Luther Hart, Congregational minister at Plymouth, but published anonymously without place or date (New Haven, 1818).

⁷Entitled, *Presbyterian ordination doubtful*, also published anonymously (1819).

⁸Bennet Tyler, Congregational minister in South Britain, who soon after became president of Dartmouth College. The reviser of the proof was Nathaniel W. Taylor, who was prominent in the theological controversies of the time. The pamphlet appeared in New Haven in 1819.

⁹Entitled, *A sober appeal to the Christian public* (1819).

United States had voted to establish a General Theological Seminary in New York City. The Seminary did not flourish in New York, and in 1820 it was moved to New Haven. Bishop Brownell, in order to assist as an instructor there, moved from Hartford to New Haven. It was considered at the time that this would be of great advantage to the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, but within two years, for pecuniary reasons, the school was retransferred to New York, and has continued there ever since, with increasing value and prosperity. The loss of the Seminary to Connecticut revived the attempt, made ten years before, to establish a college under Episcopalian auspices. The petition to the general assembly, signed by Bishop Brownell and a committee of the clergy and laity, recited that, "We are members of the Protestant Episcopal Church,—a denomination of Christians considerable for their numbers and resources in our country. . . . We do not ask for any exclusive privileges, but we desire to be placed on the same footing with other denominations of Christians." The memorialists discreetly chose the name of Washington for their proposed college. The charter was granted in May, 1823, and the event was welcomed at Hartford with demonstrations of great rejoicing: cannon were fired and bonfires lighted.

The project had been opposed and denounced by members of the Standing Order and efforts were made to prevent the obtaining of subscriptions to the capital fund. These efforts failed and almost twice the amount required by the charter was raised during the year. Another deluge of pamphlets followed, attempting to disparage the usefulness of the proposed college and stating that it was a scheme "fraught with the seeds of discord." Fear was expressed that the granting of the charter would weaken the influence and financial standing of Yale

College. It is hard to realize today that so much intolerance could still remain upon the score of religion, but one positive good result was immediately apparent. The corporation of Yale College repealed the obnoxious test law, at a special meeting of the corporation held at Hartford the day the aforementioned memorial was presented to the legislature.

Bishop Brownell pursued the even tenor of his way, and though trials and discouragements beset his path at times, the remainder of his episcopate passed in ever increasing peace as his Church extended its influence and its interest in education. Bishop Brownell's vital contribution to his diocese and to the people of Connecticut lay in his educational services. He became the first president of Washington College. As his health declined he asked for an assistant in the bishopric. The Reverend John Williams, who had already succeeded to the presidency of Trinity College, the name of which had been changed from Washington College in 1843, was elected on October 29, 1851, just thirty-two years after the consecration of Bishop Brownell, who survived until 1865.

When Trinity College opened in the fall of 1851, a full course of theological studies was inaugurated. Two years later it was decided to separate this department from the college, and a Divinity School, with a liberal endowment, was established at Middletown. Bishop Williams removed his residence from Hartford to Middletown, and under his practical instruction and episcopal supervision the school grew to a position of marked influence. It had been incorporated by the legislature in 1854, under the name of The Berkeley Divinity School. In 1928, the two hundredth anniversary of the coming of Bishop Berkeley to New England, it was moved to New Haven and became affiliated with Yale University.

With the election of Bishop Williams and the establishment of Berkeley Divinity School, this article properly concludes. The date of the birth of Bishop Williams, August 30, 1817, coincided with the official dissolution of the church-state in Connecticut. The constitution of 1818 "cut the churches loose from dependence on state support. It threw them wholly on their own resources, and on God." Thus spoke the famous Congregational divine, Lyman Beecher. When he made this statement he believed that he was pronouncing the obituary of the essential and fundamental religious life of the colony and state. He lived, as we know, to say of this consummation that it was "*the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut.*"

Today, after 230 years of growth, the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut has 220 clergy ministering in more than 200 parishes and missions to nearly 60,000 communicants. This is not the place to extol what this Church has meant through the years and means today to its communicants. It is proper, however, to remark on its leadership in the organization of the Episcopal Church in the United States, on its consistent inculcation of loyal and intelligent citizenship, on its persistent and successful efforts to secure and maintain complete religious freedom and separation of church and state, on its insistence on the importance of an educated clergy, on its diligent services to the social welfare of the people of the state, and on the extraordinary extent to which its sons have upbuilt their Church beyond the limits of this state. Such have been its efforts to serve the state, the nation, and humanity.

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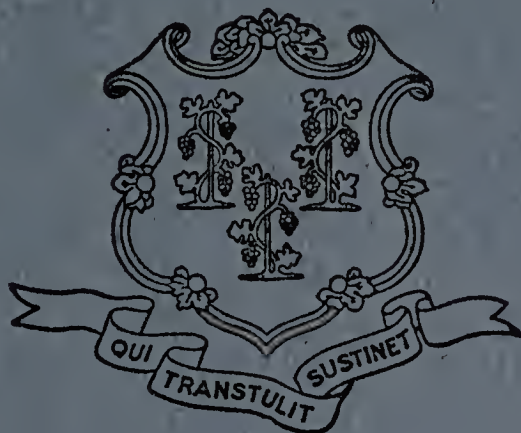
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The Loyalists of Connecticut

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Loyalists of Connecticut

EPAPHRODITUS PECK

I

A LARGE proportion of Americans have been imbued with the idea that the American Revolution was a spontaneous and practically unanimous uprising of the colonists against tyranny and oppression, and that the tories were a small group of obstinate and evil-minded persons who amply deserved whatever harsh treatment they received. Recent studies by impartial historians have shown, however, that this conception of our Revolutionary history is very far from true.

In New York the supporters of the king were in a clear majority, if not in numbers, at least in wealth, public distinction, and influence. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia contained large and influential loyalist minorities. North Carolina was about equally divided. South Carolina probably and Georgia certainly had loyalist majorities.

Philadelphia, though the home of the Declaration of Independence, was occupied by British troops during a considerable part of the war, and the British officers were then conspicuous in the social life of the city. Of course,

the Quakers were very influential in Pennsylvania, and that pacific people had a strong disposition to avoid an armed conflict on any terms. John Fiske, in his *American Revolution*,¹ quotes the resolutions of a convention of Pennsylvania Quakers, that "the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself, and that it is not our business to have any hand or contrivance therein; nor to be busybodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the king and safety of our nation and good of all men; that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life in all goodness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us. May we, therefore, firmly unite in the abhorrence of all such writings and measures as evidence a desire and design to break off a happy connection we have hitherto enjoyed with the kingdom of Great Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him."

In Massachusetts, "the cradle of the Revolution," public sentiment was by no means unanimous. Stark, in his *Loyalists of Massachusetts*, after declaring that the officers of that colony appointed by the crown and their friends were naturally opposed to the Revolution, adds: "Hardly to be distinguished from the official class were the clergy of the Established Church, who were partially dependent for their livings upon the British government. . . . The aristocracy of culture, of dignified professions and callings, of official rank and hereditary wealth, was, in a large measure, found in the Loyalist party. . . . The men who had abilities which could not be recognized under the existing regime, and those that form the lower strata of

¹Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 2 vols., 1891.

every society and are ever ready to overthrow the existing order of things, these were the ones who were striving to bring about a change—a revolution.”

II

IN Connecticut the line of separation between the patriots who supported the Revolution and the loyalists who supported the king was more clearly marked than anywhere else, and coincided generally with the line of denominational cleavage. The great body of Congregational ministers and their parishioners were firm in their resistance to the royal power and, when the time seemed right, for independence; while the Churchmen or Anglicans, led by their clergymen, were equally united in loyalty to the king and in opposition to what they considered rebellion and treason.

There were exceptions, perhaps more frequent in the Congregational majority than in the Anglican minority. John Smalley, minister of the First Church in New Britain, declared to some of his clerical brethren that the people of Massachusetts were “guilty of downright rebellion against Majesty itself,” and when the call came for volunteers to go to Boston, said: “What! Will you fight against your King?” Another version has it that he uttered these words when his Sunday sermon was interrupted by messengers who rushed into the meeting house to announce that the British were attacking New London, and that volunteers were called to go to the relief of that town, and when Gad Stanley, captain of the local militia, arose in his pew and called on all patriots who were ready to march to New London to follow him out of the church. Whatever was the occasion for this loyal outburst, it was bitterly resented by many of his parishioners, and Smalley was obliged to keep silence on the political issues of the day as

a condition of retaining his parish; but he succeeded in holding not only his sacred office, but the affection and respect of his parishioners, until his death in 1820.

This identification of loyalty to the king with devotion to the Church of England gave a degree of respectability, and also a quality of emotional fervor, to the loyalist cause in Connecticut that it may have lacked elsewhere. Sabine, in his *American Loyalists*, says: "I feel assured that, in Connecticut, the number of adherents of the crown was greater, in proportion to the population, than in Maine, Massachusetts, or New Hampshire." Professor Siebert, who made a careful study of the loyalist party in Connecticut, cites with apparent approval an estimate that "Connecticut had about 2000 male Loyalists at the beginning of the Revolution." This probably means that that number of men was openly on the side of the king, and does not include those who from lack of courage or for other reasons had concealed their sentiments and refrained from any activity on either side.

The reason why the Anglican clergy of Connecticut and their people were so strenuous in opposition to the Revolution, while in Virginia most of the Revolutionary leaders, including George Washington, were loyal adherents of the Church of England, is to be found in the preceding century and a half of New England history. Massachusetts and Connecticut were originally settled by men and women some of whom had been actually driven out of England by the authorities of the Anglican Church, and others had been in conflict with those authorities, and had come to a bleak and unknown wilderness to escape ecclesiastical tyranny. Naturally, with this background, the first generation of settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut had little affection for the Church of England, but had a constant fear that its prelates would seek to

extend their power to the colonies, and close the independent churches here.

In the half century which followed the establishment of the first settlements a good many people had come to New England for other reasons than for "freedom to worship God." Most of these had less religious zeal than had the early Pilgrims and Puritans, and some had no religious zeal at all. To one who had been accustomed from childhood to the ritual services of the English Church, especially if he had lived in a large town where the services of the church were carried on with dignity and some degree of splendor, the barren and austere services of the New England meeting houses must have seemed a poor substitute; and doubtless many, who would have made no fervid expression of religious feeling, had an innate reverence for the sacraments, especially if administered by a priest in holy orders conferred by a successor of the apostles, which the long sermons and long prayers of the Puritan ministers did not inspire. Some of the ministers, too, in their reading of theology found the writings of the great English divines convincing and persuasive.

When Charles II, after his restoration to the throne, sent commissioners to ascertain the state of things in New England, the commission reported that the Connecticut colony "will not hinder any from enjoying the Sacraments and using the Common Prayer Book provided they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." In 1689, the first year of the reign of William and Mary, an Act of Toleration was passed, which permitted Protestant dissenters to carry on without molestation their own forms of worship. This naturally gave the Anglicans a claim to similar relief in Connecticut, and at the May session of the general court in 1708, a statute was passed, which by its terms was based upon the English Act of Toleration

and permitted "such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministrie established by the antient laws of this government" to appear before the county court and "qualifie themselves" in the same manner as provided in the English act, and thereupon to "enjoy the same libertie and priviledge in any place within this Colonie without any let, hindrance and molestation whatsoever," but with the proviso that they should not be exempt "from paying any such minister or town dues, as are now, or shall hereafter be due from them." Thus the situation in Connecticut was quite clearly defined. The Congregational churches were "owned and acknowledged established by law,"² but toleration was granted to sober dissenters to worship God in their own way, provided they paid the taxes levied for the support of the Congregational ministers.

The first Anglican church in Connecticut was built in 1724 in Stratford, and fifty years later the Anglicans were estimated to be about one third of the population of Fairfield county, and about one thirteenth of the population of the entire colony of Connecticut. In 1727 the Churchmen of Fairfield presented a petition to the general assembly for relief in the matter of taxation and the assembly, again affirming the duty of all persons, both of the Church of England and of the Congregational churches, to pay their lawful taxes for the support of the ministry, granted important concessions in favor of the Anglicans.

The more tolerant treatment of the Churchmen by statute did not prevent much complaint, some of it probably justified, of intolerance even amounting to persecution in many communities. Friction between the two groups was inevitable. Many an Anglican clergyman, who had been ordained by an English bishop and deemed himself therefore in the apostolic succession and an official of

²By the act of 1708 ratifying the Saybrook Platform.

the Established Church, found it hard to accept a position of inferiority, financially, legally, and socially to his Congregational rival; and the lay members of the Anglican churches shared this feeling. Each party called the other dissenters.

Two facts in particular tended to create hostility between the Congregational majority and the Anglican minority. There was no American bishop, and men (many of them originally Congregational ministers) who desired Anglican orders had to go to England for ordination. A journey to England was then by no means the easy and safe procedure which it now is. Dr. Johnson wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that of the fifty-two men who had gone to England for ordination in little more than forty years, ten had lost their lives on the journey.

On the other hand, the rulers of Connecticut were determined in their opposition to the establishment of an American episcopate. It was from the tyranny of episcopacy that their fathers had fled to America. They were well aware that the Congregational churches of New England were looked upon by the English authorities as illegal, schismatic, and altogether pestiferous, and they felt that the arrival of a bishop in America would be the first step toward restoration of the despotism against which the very existence of New England was a protest.

While the question of establishing an American episcopate showed the existence of a fundamental antagonism between the contending parties, the question of taxation created more personal bitterness. Practically every Connecticut community was first organized as an ecclesiastical society, which had the right and duty to call a minister, build a meeting house, and conduct religious services. The cost was defrayed by taxation. In the great majority of cases the revenue that could be obtained by taxation was

meager, and any attempt to evade payment of the minister's rate or the meeting house rate on conscientious grounds was looked upon with great suspicion, and often resulted in legal proceedings to enforce payment of the tax.

On the other hand, those who were sincere adherents of the Church of England, and were carrying a heavy load of expense to build a church and support a minister of that order, naturally thought it a great hardship to be compelled to pay taxes for the support of the Congregational establishment. Sometimes even the Anglican clergyman himself was called upon to pay taxes for the support of his Congregational rival. It can readily be seen that the enforcement of such demands would create a bitter feeling of oppression in the minds of the Anglican clergy and people.

It is evident that, when the contest between the king and parliament of Great Britain and the people of New England broke out into open warfare, the two groups of Connecticut citizens were certain to take opposite positions in the struggle. The dominant majority held firmly to a form of religious worship and organization established here by law, but barely tolerated in England; the minority professed no less devotion to a church established by law in England, but only tolerated in Connecticut. The basic civic virtue to the mind of the majority was zeal for liberty; to that of the minority it was loyalty.

III

IN 1764 news reached New England that the British parliament proposed to levy a tax on the people of the American colonies by the requirement of stamps on all legal documents. The Connecticut general court at its May session of 1764 appointed a committee of three members to assist the governor to draft a protest "against creating and collecting a revenue in America, more particularly in this

Colony, and especially against effecting the same by Stamp Duties." Governor Fitch, with the assistance of this committee, prepared an elaborate statement of the view of the colony, and sent Jared Ingersoll, one of the committee, to England to act with the colonial agent there in presenting it to parliament. However, it did not alter the determination of parliament, and the Stamp Act was passed on March 22, 1765.

The British officers then suggested that Jared Ingersoll himself should accept the office of stamp-master for Connecticut. He probably supposed that the act would be less obnoxious if administered by a Connecticut man who had been active in trying to prevent its passage, and Benjamin Franklin, whom he consulted, concurred in this view. A consignment of stamps was sent to Connecticut, and Governor Fitch was required by the terms of the act to take and record an oath "to cause all and every of the clauses [of the act] to be punctually and *bona fide* observed." Both Governor Fitch and Ingersoll entirely underestimated the indignation of the people of Connecticut at the passage of this act. When Ingersoll reached his home at New Haven, a town meeting was called which demanded that he at once resign his office of stamp-master. He promised the town meeting that he would lay the matter before the general court at Hartford, and set out for that city. The unfortunate coincidence that the initials of Jared Ingersoll were the same as those of Judas Iscariot was pointedly brought out in the oratory of the opposition. As Ingersoll rode toward Hartford, he was met by horsemen, who when they reached Wethersfield were about five hundred in number. At Wethersfield they halted the party and demanded that Ingersoll at once resign his office. As he was totally unable to resist the armed and determined mob, he at last signed a formal paper of resig-

nation, containing the very dubious statement that he did so of his own "free will and accord." The governor kept the consignment of stamps in his own house, but made no attempt to sell them; and at the expiration of his term of office he was defeated and succeeded by one of the active opponents of the Stamp Act.

The Anglican clergy of the colony were very much distressed by this outburst of popular violence; and the more aggressive of them were outspoken in their condemnation of the popular leaders. Seven of the Anglican clergy of Connecticut met in September, 1765, and sent an address to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel declaring that, "although the commotions and disaffections in this country were very great relative to what was called the imposition of the stamp-act," the people of the Church of England in this colony were "of a contrary temper and conduct, deeming it nothing short of rebellion to speak evil of dignities and to avow opposition to this last act of the Crown." Others of the Anglican clergy hastened to send the same assurance to the Society at home.

IV

THE Stamp Act was, as compared with what came after, as the brisk breeze which precedes a thunder-storm is to the storm itself. When blood was shed at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill; when the British ministry had determined to crush the revolt here by sending over an army partly composed of mercenaries; when the colonies had organized resistance and created a Continental army under command of Washington; and especially after the congress had denounced the king as a tyrant "unfit to be the ruler of a free People," and had declared the independence of the United States of America; action consistent with the conflicting views of the patriots and of

the loyalists made violence and hatred inevitable. To the loyalists the patriots were rebels; to the patriots the loyalists were traitors.

Connecticut had taken stern official action before the Declaration of Independence. The general court which met at Hartford in May, 1776, repealed the statute by which any person who should "levy war against Our Lord and King" should "suffer the Pains of Death, and also Loose, and Forfeit as in Cases of High Treason;" provided that all writs should "issue in the name of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, instead of his Majesty's name;" passed acts to raise a body of minute men, a battalion or regiment "for the Defence of the United Colonies," and two regiments for the special defense of this colony, and to reorganize the militia of the colony; authorized the governor to commission privateers and issue letters of marque and reprisal; and provided for the building of powder mills. In June, 1776, the general court passed an act for the confiscation of the estates of active loyalists, which was made more drastic in 1778;³ and after a stately preamble declaring the necessity of a "total separation from the King of Great Britain and renunciation of all connection with that nation," they unanimously resolved: "That the Delegates of this Colony in General Congress be and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies Free and Independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain. . . . And also, that they move and promote, as fast as may be convenient, a regular and permanent Plan of Union and Confederation of the Colonies, for the security and preservation of their just rights and liberties and for mutual defence and security. . . ."

³ See below, p. 22.

These vigorous measures show that the government of Connecticut regarded itself as already at war with Great Britain, and was firmly resolved to press that war to the goal of complete independence, and also that it recognized the existence of an opposition party within the state, and was determined to crush it by severe measures.

V

THE loyalists of Connecticut were not supported, like their fellows in Massachusetts and New York, by the presence of a royal army within the colony, to which they could add their strength, and from which they could seek protection. But, General Howe had established an army on Long Island, chiefly consisting of mercenary and other regular troops sent from England, but including regiments of American loyalists. Scores of ardent young men from the different groups of Churchmen in Connecticut went to Long Island and enlisted in this army.⁴ Some, of course, were too timid to oppose the authority of the colony and the public opinion of the great majority of their neighbors; while others contented themselves with meeting surreptitiously, assisting recruits to get to Long Island, corresponding with the officers of that army, and furnishing information to them.

When the Connecticut authorities established a storehouse for ammunition and arms at Danbury, information of this fact was communicated to the British officers by Connecticut loyalists; and when General Tryon, the royal

⁴ These men, who came mainly from Stamford, Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, New Haven, Waterbury, Reading, and Newtown, mostly enlisted in three regiments: General Browne's Prince of Wales's American Volunteers, the Queen's Rangers, and Colonel Fanning's King's American Regiment. The first of these regiments participated in Tryon's raid of 1777, and the third in that of 1779. The Reverend Samuel Seabury, later first bishop of Connecticut, was, for a time, chaplain of Fanning's regiment.

governor of New York, with a force of about two thousand men, in April, 1777, was sent to destroy or capture these military stores, he was guided from the mouth of the Saugatuck river, at which he landed his force, to the store-house by four loyalist young men whose names became known, and who were afterward the object of the bitter indignation of their neighbors. One of these men, Isaac Wells Shelton, generally known by his neighbors as Tory Shelton, lived for many years after the end of the Revolution in the western part of Bristol, and continued his opposition to the general sentiment of his neighbors by keeping slaves as long as slavery existed in Connecticut. In the later similar raids that were made at New Haven,⁵ Fairfield, Norwalk, and Groton, the raiding parties were guided and assisted by Connecticut loyalists, if they were not largely composed of them.

Most of these raids were carried out in a ruthless manner, and consisted chiefly in the burning of dwelling houses, meeting houses, and other buildings. While the leaders of the raids intended to exempt loyal subjects from these injuries, and while, in some cases, Anglican churches and the houses of the Churchmen were marked as a signal for that exemption, the private soldiers who carried on the raids were not always careful in the observance of these distinctions, particularly if (as at Danbury) they had captured and destroyed, in the manner most natural to them, a large store of rum. Consequently, several of the Anglican churches in the western part of the state were destroyed together with the more obnoxious Congregational buildings. These barbarities, culminating in

⁵Inasmuch as two sons of Joshua Chandler, who were also brothers-in-law of Amos Botsford, guided Tryon on his raid to New Haven in 1779, both these New Haven lawyers found it wise to accompany Tryon on his withdrawal, as did some other loyalists from the shore towns.

the dastardly murder of Colonel Ledyard at Groton, together with the fact that the raid at Groton was commanded by Benedict Arnold, whose name had come to be as odious to Connecticut patriots as it had formerly been glorious, roused the people of the state to intense anger, and the loyalists bore the odium of being instigators and participants in these raids.

On the other hand, the Sons of Liberty devoted themselves zealously to watching and reporting the conduct of those whom they suspected to be friendly to the king's side. Perhaps the Anglican churches suffered as much from the attacks of these turbulent patriots as did the Congregational churches from the British raids which have been mentioned. General Washington himself is said to have rebuked soldiers in his army who were throwing stones at the Litchfield church. Neither party was composed entirely of gentle-minded and reasonable persons; and civil wars are notorious for the savagery which generally appears on both sides.

In July, 1776, the Continental congress had adopted the Declaration of Independence, and at the next session of the general assembly of Connecticut, which met on October 10, 1776, that body ratified the Declaration, and enacted a new statute against treason, which defined that crime to consist in levying war against the state of Connecticut, or aiding any enemies in open war against this state or the United States of America, enlisting in their armies or persuading others to enlist, corresponding with or carrying intelligence to the enemies of the state, with other specifications evidently intended to cover the usual activities of the tories. Treason so defined was made punishable by death.

VI

THE Anglican clergy of the state, who were not likely to be personally guilty of acts of treasonable violence, found themselves in a very painful position. The Church of England was intensely nationalistic in its attitude. When the colonies had openly resisted the Stamp Act, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had refused to create any new missions in New England. To the appeals of the American Churchmen that a bishop should be consecrated for the colonies, the church authorities at home gave repeated refusal. Now, if the Declaration of Independence were maintained, New England had ceased to be a part of the territory over which the Church of England claimed or was even willing to exercise jurisdiction. The Connecticut clergy had braved the wrath of their neighbors to show their devotion to a church which was barely tolerated by the authorities of the state, and was bitterly hated by a great majority of the people, only to find themselves abandoned and repudiated by the rulers of that church.

An especial point of difficulty was the *Book of common prayer*, by which the form of their worship was rigidly prescribed. The Anglican prayer-book of that day was full of extreme expressions of loyalty to the king, who was looked upon as the anointed and inspired representative of God. On every 30th of January prayers declaring the national penitence and humiliation for the "Martyrdom of the blessed King Charles the First" were to be read. On every 29th of May there was "to be read publickly in all Churches at Morning Prayer" a thanksgiving for the restoration to the throne of King Charles II. This prayer went on to beseech God to "Strengthen the hands of our gracious Sovereign King GEORGE . . . with judgment and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn

Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction." The daily orders for morning and evening prayer included "A Prayer for the King's Majesty," desiring "that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies." It may be imagined that if those prayers were read with emphasis by a zealous clergyman in full sympathy with their sentiments, any Sons of Liberty who were in the congregation might feel it their duty to prevent or punish such treasonable utterances.

In these perplexing circumstances, the Anglican clergy of Connecticut met in convention at New Haven on July 23, 1776, and resolved to suspend for the time being the public execution of their ministerial functions, that is, to close their churches. Doubtless most of those present thought that the revolt would soon be suppressed, and perhaps hoped that they would then receive the reward for their loyalty. At least one of the clergy then assembled protested against the prudence of his brethren, and declared that he would "do his duty, preach and pray for the King, till the rebels cut out his tongue." This was the Reverend John Beach of Newtown and Reading (now Redding). He had originally been ordained to the Congregational ministry, but had later repudiated that ordination and obtained holy orders in the Church of England. Though nearly eighty years of age, he was the most stalwart and outspoken of the Anglican clergy. While the other Anglican churches in Connecticut were closed, he regularly carried on his services in the church at Reading, including the prayer for the king. Apparently his courage won him the admiration of the patriots; and though he was often threatened he died peacefully in his bed on March 19, 1782.

In the meantime, he had some exciting experiences. While officiating one day in Reading, a shot was fired into

the church, and the ball struck above him and lodged in the sounding-board. Pausing for a moment, he uttered the words: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." He then proceeded with the service without further interruption. At another time, a party of men entered his church and, as he was about reaching the prayer for the king, pointed a musket at his head. He calmly went on and, whether they did not fire or missed, he escaped injury. One of his descendants relates that at one time a band of ruffians seized him, carried him to a secluded spot, and told him to say his prayers for he was about to die. He knelt and prayed so earnestly, not for himself but for his captors, that they were ashamed to go on with their murderous plan and let him go home.

Some of the clergy removed to more friendly colonies or confined their activities to the private administration of the sacraments or performance of pastoral duties. Others could not refrain from non-clerical activities, and did not escape the hand of the law. At the same term of the superior court at which Moses Dunbar was condemned to death, the Reverend James Nichols, missionary at Waterbury, who also had parishes in Northbury (now Plymouth) and New Cambridge (now Bristol), was tried for treason but acquitted; and the Reverend Roger Viets of Simsbury was convicted of having assisted loyalist prisoners to escape and received a sentence of imprisonment for one year. Four months later the general assembly ordered him to be released from prison and to be confined within the town of Simsbury for the remainder of his term upon his giving a bond of one thousand pounds not to "... do or say anything against the United States of America or detrimental to their interest."

Whether the loyalists suffered more from the irregular

and illegal violence which they often endured at the hands of overzealous patriots, or from the imprisonments and other penalties imposed upon them by authorized process of law, it may be difficult now to tell. Even the clergy were not exempt from personal abuse. The Reverend James Nichols, who seems to have been especially active in the king's cause and especially obnoxious to the patriots, was once (according to tradition) tarred, feathered, and dragged in a brook. One of his parishioners was hanged to a tree and left, presumably to die, but was cut down and resuscitated by passing strangers. The tories of Plymouth, Harwinton, and Bristol, parishioners of Mr. Nichols, had a cave in a rocky ledge at a distance from any highway, which then was and still is known as the Tory Den,⁶ where they hid when they feared attacks of their hostile neighbors. The gravestone of Mathias Leaming in the ancient cemetery in Farmington still records the fact that that sturdy loyalist "hars got Beyound the reach of Parrecushion."

VII

As early as December, 1775, the general court of Connecticut passed "An Act for restraining and punishing Persons who are inimical to the Liberties of this and the Rest of the United Colonies." For various degrees of criminality such inimical persons could be imprisoned for not more than three years, or disarmed and disfranchised, or simply disarmed. On July 18, 1776, the council of safety declared that "many persons inimical to the United States of America do wander from place to place with intent to spy out the state of the Colonies and give intelli-

⁶Located in the town of Harwinton, near the highway (route 117) which runs north from Terryville, a mile or two north of East Church. It was on or near the property of Stephen Graves, a staunch loyalist.

gence to their enemies;" and therefore prohibited any unknown person or persons "whether they appear in the character of gentlemen, expresses, travellers, or common beggars," to pass from town to town without a certificate stating from and to what place the person is traveling and "that he is friendly to the liberties of the American states." This regulation was extended by the general assembly in May, 1777, and suspected persons traveling without such certificates were ordered to be committed to jail.

At the first session of the general assembly after the Declaration of Independence, an act was passed "for apprehending and securing such inimical Persons as shall be deemed and adjudged dangerous to the State." This act empowered the selectmen or committees of inspection of each town to confine such dangerous persons, and the council of safety to determine the place of their confinement. This was evidently regarded as a measure of protective detention, and no term of imprisonment was specified in the act. The attention of this assembly was particularly directed to the western part of the state where, the preamble states, there are a number of persons "inimical to the liberties of this and the other united States of America, who are forming dangerous insurrections and taking every method in their power to communicate intelligence to comfort, aid and assist the enemies of these united States and to distress the inhabitants of said towns and to bring on a general anarchy and confusion among them." A committee of five was directed "to repair to said western towns and to convene before them all such persons as shall be suspected to be inimical and dangerous to the rights and liberties of America in this critical and convulsed state of affairs when the ordinary mode of prosecution will not be adequate to the mischief apprehended." This committee was empowered to confine

those whom they deemed dangerous to the safety of the state in such place or places in this state as shall be thought best, "for such time as the public security may require."

These drastic measures naturally produced a great number of arrests, and quickly filled up the jails of the state.⁷ In December, 1776, the number of guards at the Hartford county jail was increased to fourteen men under the command of one ensign and one sergeant. On July 15, 1776, Newgate prison in East Granby was reported to be in a dangerous situation "especially since a number of tory prisoners are committed there," and the number of guards at the prison was increased. Some loyalist writers have dwelt upon the horrors of this prison, which was an abandoned copper mine, in the apparent belief that it was used only for the confinement of these political prisoners; but in fact it had been used for several years for the confinement of ordinary criminals, and continued to be so used after the close of the Revolution. The barbarity of imprisonment in this underground dungeon was a part of the crude and merciless penal practice of the time, and not evidence of any special malignity against the tories.

The time of the council of safety was much occupied by the consideration of the treatment to be awarded to various suspected or convicted tories. Many were released on declaring their repentance and taking the oath of fidelity to the state. On January 25, 1777, nine convicted tories confined in Lebanon and Coventry were released, "on giving sufficient bonds for their good behavior." On January 27, 1777, thirteen from Stamford and Norwalk were released, "upon their giving bond of £1000 each . . . for

⁷ Because of the greater security possible in Connecticut, especially in 1776 and 1777, large numbers of tory prisoners from Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey were sent into Connecticut for custody, notably Dr. Benjamin Church of Massachusetts, Judge Thomas Jones of New York, and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey.

their good behavior." On January 28, 1777, six from Newtown and Reading were ordered confined in Windham jail, but were released on February 11. On February 24, 1777, "Large number of tories present, being allowed to come this day," six from Stamford and Norwalk were released. In May, 1777, the general assembly appointed a committee to consider the case of seventeen persons from Farmington, who were imprisoned on suspicion of their being inimical to America. The committee reported that "they had been much under the influence of one Nichols,⁸ a designing church clergyman . . . that they were indeed grossly ignorant of the true grounds of the present war with Great Britain; that they appeared to be penitent of their former conduct" and "that since their imprisonment upon serious reflexion they are convinced that the States are right in their claim, and that it is their duty to submit to their authority, and that they will to the utmost of their power defend the country against the British army." Upon this report the keeper of the Hartford jail was directed to liberate those prisoners on their taking the oath of fidelity to the state. Two more Farmington tories named Leaming (probably relatives of Mathias Leaming)⁹ were given a final hearing and, having assured the committee "that in their cool and deliberate moments they feel the highest regard for their country and the liberties of the same," were released.

In May, 1777, moreover, the assembly authorized the governor to issue a general proclamation assuring pardon to absconding loyalists who should, before August 1, return to the state and "take a proper oath of allegiance."

⁸ See above, p. 17.

⁹ See above, p. 18. A brother of Mathias, the Reverend Jeremiah Leaming of Norwalk, who was one of the oldest and most respected of the Anglican clergy, suffered imprisonment as a loyalist, and yet his church, his house, and all his belongings were burned in Tryon's raid.

This conciliatory attitude toward repentant loyalists seems to have obtained during the remainder of the war. Naturally, few of those implicated in the raids into the state or who had actually enlisted in the British army sought or received pardon, but many others did and became peaceable and law-abiding citizens. Even in the case of resolute loyalists who had fled from the state, their wives and children were usually accorded considerate treatment and frequently aided to join the fugitives. In general, the anti-loyalist legislation of Connecticut seems to have been deterrent rather than punitive in intent and, after the early months of the struggle, to have been administered in a liberal spirit.

Perhaps the most severe act of legislation against the loyalists, except that imposing the penalty of death for treason, was passed in May, 1778, by which act "all estates, real and personal, lying and being within this State, which belong to any person or persons whatever who have heretofore voluntarily gone over to, joined with and skreened themselves under the protection of the enemies of the United States of America, or have aided and assisted them in their hostile measures against said States, and have continued so to do, untill the passing of this act, or who shall hereafter voluntarily go over to, join with and skreen themselves under the protection of, or shall aid, abet and assist said enemies in their measures as aforesaid, shall be forfeited, to and for the use of this State."

VIII

NOTWITHSTANDING the bitter feeling against the Connecticut loyalists, and the severe treatment which they received from the authorities of the state, only one was sentenced to death. The history of this man, Moses Dunbar, deserves a somewhat fuller narration. It is possible to

give such an account because, fortunately, during the time between his condemnation and his execution, Dunbar wrote two documents, one of them an account of his life, religious and political opinions, arrest, and condemnation, and the other a brief letter of farewell to his children.

Moses Dunbar was born in Wallingford on June 14, 1746, the second of a family of sixteen children. When he was about fourteen years old his father removed to what is now the town of Plymouth, but was then a part of Waterbury. Plymouth was one of the Anglican missions in Waterbury, and was near two active groups of Churchmen, in Harwinton and in the western part of New Cambridge (now Bristol). In 1764, when not quite eighteen years old, Moses was married to Phebe Jerome of New Cambridge. A part of her family and most of the neighbors among whom they lived were Churchmen, and when the Revolutionary War broke out took the loyalist side. In the year of his marriage Moses Dunbar and his wife left the Congregational Church, in which both of them had been brought up, and declared themselves of the Church of England. They lived in what is now the western part of Bristol, at the corner of Hill Street and Pinehurst Road, and attended the little Anglican church which then stood on Federal Hill in the center of Bristol. There his children were baptized. During the twelve years from his marriage in May, 1764, to his wife's death in May, 1776, they had seven children, of whom four survived their mother. Not long after his wife's death, he was married again to Esther Adams.

The Revolutionary War was then in full operation, the statute defining treason against the state of Connecticut had been or was very soon thereafter passed, committees of inspection were investigating the activities of the loyalists, and Dunbar himself, a courageous and outspoken

young man, was already an object of severe suspicion. He wrote:

From the time the present unhappy misunderstanding between Great Britain and the Colonies began, I freely confess I never could reconcile my opinion to the necessity, or lawfulness of taking up arms against Great Britain, and having spoken something freely on the subject, I was attacked by a mob of about forty men, very much abused—my life threatened and nearly taken away; by which I was obliged to sign a paper containing many falsehoods. . . . I had concluded to live peaceably and give no offence, either by word or deed, and had thoughts of entering into a voluntary confinement within the limits of a farm; and making proposals of that kind, I was carried before the committee, and by them ordered to suffer imprisonment during their pleasure, not exceeding five months. When I had remained there about fourteen days, the Authority of New Haven dismissed me. Finding my life uneasy, and, as I had reason to apprehend, in great danger, thought it my safest method to flee to Long Island, which I accordingly did. But having a desire to see my friends and children, and being under an engagement to marry her who is now my wife, the banns of marriage having been before published, I returned and was married. Having a mind to remove myself and family to Long Island, as a place of safety, I went there the second time to prepare matters accordingly, where, I accepted a Captain's warrant for the King's service in Col. *Fanning's* regiment. I then returned to Connecticut where I was betrayed by *Joseph Smith*. I was then carried before Justice *Strong* and Justice *Whitman* of Farmington, and by them committed to Hartford, where the Superior Court was then sitting, when I was tried on Thursday the 23d of January 1777 for high treason against the state of Connecticut, by an act passed in October last. Being inlisting men for General *Howe* and having a Captain's commission for that purpose, I was adjudged GUILTY and on the Saturday following was brought to the bar of the court and received sentence of DEATH.

The Farmington justices put in writing Dunbar's confession that he had received a captain's warrant for serv-

ice in the king's army, and "that he was now under Wages for two dollar pr. day from Lord Howe;" and also received evidence that he had persuaded one John Adams to enlist, and had paid to him and to other recruits the expenses of their travel to New York.

On March 1, with the aid of a knife brought to him by Elisha Wadsworth, he cleared himself of his irons, knocked down the guard, and escaped from the jail. The *Connecticut Courant* of March 3, 1777, contained an account of the escape of "the atrocious Moses Dunbar" and added: "He is about 40 years of age, about 5 feet 8 inches high, short curl'd hair which with his beard is of a sandy colour, has a down look round face, hollow eye'd and wears a red great coat."

He was soon recaptured, and was executed according to the sentence. The gallows was erected on the hill south of Hartford, where Trinity College now stands. "A prodigious Concourse of People were Spectators on the Occasion," said the *Connecticut Courant* of March 24.

Dunbar's statement concluded as follows:

The time of my suffering was afterwards fixed to be the 19th day of March 1777—Which tremendous and awful day now draws near, when I must appear before the Searcher of Hearts to give an account of all things done in my body, whether they be good or evil. I shall soon be delivered from all the pains and troubles of this wicked mortal state, and shall be answerable to one All seeing God, who is infinitely just and knoweth all things. As I am fully persuaded that I depart in a state of peace with God and my own conscience, I have but little doubt of my future happiness thro' the merits of Jesus Christ. . . .

I die in the profession and communion of the Church of England. Of my political sentiments I leave the reader of these lines to judge. Perhaps it is neither reasonable or proper that I should declare them in my present situation.

I cannot take the last farewell of my countrymen without desiring them to shew kindness to my poor widow and chil-

dren, and not reflect on them concerning the manner of my death.

Now I have given you a narrative of all things material concerning my life with that veracity which you are to expect from one who is going to leave the world and appear before the God of truth. My last advice to you is, that you, above all things, confess your sins, and prepare yourselves, with God's assistance, for your future and eternal state. You will shortly be as near eternity as I now am, and will view both worlds in the light that I now view them. You will then view all worldly things to be but shadows, but vapours, and vanity of vanities, and the things of the spiritual world to be of importance beyond all description. You will all then be sensible that the pleasures of a good conscience and the happiness of a near prospect of heaven, will outweigh all the pleasures and honors of this wicked world. *God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, have mercy on me and receive my spirit.* AMEN AND AMEN.

MOSES DUNBAR.

Hartford March 18, 1777.

This statement was written, as appears by the date, on the night before his execution.

A letter to his children, written a few weeks previous, was as follows:

Feb. 25, 1777.

MY DEAR CHILDREN.

REMEMBER your CREATOR when in youth and learn your Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments and Catechism, and go to church as often as you can, and prepare yourselves, as soon as you are of a proper age, to be worthy partakers of the Lord's Supper. I charge you all never to leave the Church. Your own mother groaned out this good advice for you to me when on her death bed. I am now in Hartford gaol condemned to death for high treason against the state of Connecticut. I was thirty years old last June the fourteenth day. God bless you.

MOSES DUNBAR.

O! Remember your father and mother and be dutiful and kind to your present mother.

After her husband's execution Mrs. Dunbar went with-
in the lines of the British army for protection, but after-
ward returned to Bristol and married Chauncey Jerome,
brother of Dunbar's first wife, with whom she went to
Nova Scotia, the place of refuge of many Connecticut
loyalists. After the treaty of peace, they returned to Con-
necticut and were the parents of several children. One of
their descendants was Chauncey Jerome, one of the lead-
ers of the American clock trade, who manufactured clocks
on a large scale in Bristol, and afterward removed to New
Haven where he founded the New Haven Clock Company.

Two assertions can safely be made in regard to Moses
Dunbar: first, that since he had accepted a commission in
the king's army, and was "inlisting men for General
Howe," he was undoubtedly guilty of treason under the
Connecticut statute and subject to the penalty of death,
the risk of which he had deliberately incurred; second,
that he was a man of high character, inflexible courage,
and sincere devotion to his religious and political convic-
tions. While Nathan Hale, who about the same time was
hanged by the British army as a spy, will always be the
most radiant figure among the Connecticut heroes of the
Revolution, we may take pride in knowing that the de-
feated party also produced a figure of devoted and gallant
heroism in Moses Dunbar.

IX

THE foregoing narrative shows that the loyalists of Con-
necticut suffered many hardships in their resistance to
the law and to the dominant public sentiment of the state;
but perhaps they suffered no more than the defeated party
suffers in any prolonged and desperate civil war. Cer-
tainly the one execution in Connecticut compares favor-
ably with what happened in other states. Stark says:

“The ‘Black List’ of Pennsylvania contained the names of 490 persons attainted of high treason. Only a few actually suffered the extreme penalty. Among these were two citizens of Philadelphia—Mr. Roberts and Mr. Carlisle.” Sabine cites Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York as “adopting measures of inexcusable severity” toward the humbled and unhappy loyalists.

The treaty of peace was followed by a great emigration of loyalists from the United States to the provinces of Canada and elsewhere. Beardsley says: “By the end of the year 1783, so great had been the emigration to the British territory, that not less than thirty thousand persons from New York and the other colonies had arrived in Nova Scotia. . . . Among the thousands thus expatriated were some of the most intelligent and highly educated people on this continent.” This emigration from the United States was an important item in the early history of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and the American loyalists and their descendants became and have been to the present time an important element in the population of those provinces. Professor Siebert has estimated that, of the 2,000 male loyalists in Connecticut at the beginning of the Revolution, “she lost well on to a half of these through flight, and that the great majority of the survivors among these refugees found permanent homes for themselves and their families along the St. John River in New Brunswick.” Thither went, in 1783 and 1784, a considerable group who had been living temporarily at Eaton’s Neck, Long Island, and who founded the village of Kingston; and those who had continued in the three regiments, the Prince of Wales’s American Volunteers, the Queens’ Rangers, and the King’s American Regiment, who settled at Lower Woodstock and other places.

Not only did many of the lay Churchmen of Connecti-

cut emigrate to New Brunswick, but four of the Anglican clergy went with them. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which refused to continue support to its missions in the United States after the Declaration of Independence, now offered to them new missions with increased salaries, besides grants of land, in the British provinces.

Beardsley, who wrote from a standpoint of sympathy with the Anglicans and loyalists, adds: "Connecticut, to her praise be it said, did not share in the spirit of resentment and oppression that appeared elsewhere. She knew very well that the Loyalists within her borders had suffered severely during the war . . .; and if the General Assembly neglected to obey the recommendation of Congress and restore their losses, it by no means followed them with the rod of persecution. But they were not in good repute with the public authorities, and scorn was likely to attend many of them for years to come."

That was undoubtedly true of those who kept up their attitude of hostility to the new republican system of government. But the people of Connecticut were not disposed to ostracize permanently those who had been on the loyalist side in the Revolution, if they accepted the new regime and were willing to become patriotic American citizens. Thus, the Reverend Samuel Seabury, who had served as a chaplain in the royal army on Long Island, was selected by the Anglican clergy of Connecticut, meeting at the Glebe House in Woodbury after the Revolution, as their choice for the first American bishop. He could not legally obtain consecration from any of the English bishops, but was consecrated by the non-juring bishops of Scotland. His honored and peaceful episcopate was charged with the difficult task of forming the new Protestant Episcopal Church in America, following closely the usages of the

Church of England, but free from the political nationalism which then marked that church.

Perhaps a more remarkable case was that of William Samuel Johnson, a son of the Reverend Samuel Johnson who had taken part in the declaration in favor of episcopacy in 1722 at Yale, and a nephew by marriage of the doughty Reverend John Beach. The son chose the law as his vocation instead of the ministry, and was elected representative to the general court from Stratford in 1761 and 1765, and an assistant in 1766. President Ezra Stiles stated that he was "the first Episcopalian ever brought into the Council." In 1774 he was elected delegate to the Continental congress, but declined to serve. After the Revolution he became a member of the congress of the Confederation, was an influential member of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, and was one of the two signers from Connecticut of that momentous document. He was also chosen one of the first two United States senators from Connecticut. In 1787 he was elected the first president of Columbia College, of which his father had been the first president under its original name of King's College.

Though circumstances rendered it almost inevitable that there should have appeared in Connecticut a party of loyalists as well as of patriots, it is significant that the conduct of both was usually governed by noble motives and seldom descended to brutal measures. A spirit of mutual conciliation saved to Connecticut, as good and even distinguished citizens, a larger proportion of the loyalists than in most other states, and the newly organized Protestant Episcopal Church promptly proved the sincerity of its adherents as supporters of the United States which had emerged from the conflict as an independent nation.

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Moses Dunbar's dying statement and letter, in a form differing slightly from that given above, are printed in full in Anderson, *Town and city of Waterbury*, vol. 1, p. 434, from a "true copy made by Sylvanus Cooke." The copy used in this Pamphlet is one made by James Shepard of New Britain from the reprint which he found in the *Calendar of Hartford* for August 22, 1846, the heading of which stated that it was reprinted at the request of Dunbar's daughter, then "an aged woman," from a pamphlet which Dunbar's son had caused to be printed, probably several years after Dunbar's death, as his children were then quite young. Neither the original pamphlet nor a copy of the *Calendar of Hartford* containing the reprint is now in existence, so far as is known to the writer.

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The Beginnings of Connecticut
1632—1662

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

I

NOT until 1632, two years after the great migration of the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay, had any white man, as far as we know, attempted to penetrate that vast area of wilderness which stretched as a dense and forbidding barrier between Massachusetts and the Hudson River. Except for a few trading posts and rudimentary villages established by the Dutch the whole region was almost unknown and entirely unoccupied save by Indian tribes, amongst whom the Pequots, driven eastwardly by invading Mohawks, were a disturbing and menacing factor. The Massachusetts settlers had at the beginning pushed at most but a few miles back from the bay and, as long as

This pamphlet publication is comprised of chapters from the forthcoming second volume of the writer's *The Colonial Period of American History*, to be published by the Yale University Press, and this material is here used by permission of the publishers. For the purpose of this series and because of the importance of the subject for the Tercentenary celebration, this period of beginnings has been treated here at somewhat greater length than will be the case in the larger work. All footnotes, references to authorities, and comments on controversial questions have been omitted.

land was available, had clung to the rivers as convenient lines of communication with the more thickly inhabited section along the coast. No Englishman, except occasionally a trapper, hunter, or explorer, had as yet made his way into this labyrinth of forest, which covered more than nine-tenths of New England, and no group of men had as yet faced the difficult task of clearing the land and laying out a settlement amid such unpropitious surroundings. Implements of husbandry brought from England were not well adapted to fell the huge trees, clear the matted undergrowth, and subdue the stubborn soil that made the region what it was, and for the moment there was no inexorable necessity of widening the area of occupation. The Dutch from Manhattan had sailed easterly along the southern coast in their search for favorable trading sites, and men of the Oldham type had doubtless trodden the Indian paths and visited the Indian clearings and villages in pursuit of bargains in furs, but no permanent results had come of their efforts beyond the gains acquired from barter and exchange.

The Dutch had early brought to the colonists at Plymouth and the Bay a knowledge of the existence of a great river flowing southward from the interior into Long Island Sound, and local Connecticut Indians, seeking protection from the warlike Pequots, had added further information regarding the fertility and wholesomeness of the upper river meadows and had shown how easily they could be reached, either by water or by way of the numerous paths that the Indians were accustomed to use in their journeyings from one part of the country to another. But the first man, of whom we have record, to seek the upper waters of the Connecticut River for the purpose of exploration and discovery was Edward Winslow of Plymouth, who, having returned from an agency

in England in the summer of 1632, set out soon after to investigate the possibilities of trade in the Connecticut valley. Among the Plymouth people he was the most energetic of all in contriving ways and means whereby his fellow "undertakers" might increase the wealth of the colony in order to pay off the debt to the London merchants who had financed the Pilgrim migration to New England. Some years before, after the break with the merchants, he had gone to the Kennebec in the interest of fishing and since that time had been indefatigable in his efforts to enlarge the scope of the colony's activities. He had already familiarized himself with the back country of Plymouth, going into the interior as far as Sowams and Narragansett Bay, and except for Roger Williams and John Eliot probably knew the Indians, though not their language, better than anyone else among the leaders in New England during the first half of the seventeenth century. The remarkably exact boundaries of the Bradford patent of 1630 were undoubtedly due to him. That two years later he should have extended his quest to the Connecticut River is not only reasonable in itself but is proved also by recorded evidence. In his letter to John Winthrop, the elder, in 1644, he speaks of his "experimental knowledge of the first beginnings" there and of his selection "of a place (and the place after possessed) the year before the Dutch began in the River . . . which was not a *vacuum domicilium* but inhabited the year before." The implication of these words is that Winslow was at the site of the present Windsor in 1632 and did something more there than merely view the land. He evidently picked out and occupied temporarily the spot whereon Lieutenant Holmes erected his trading house the next year.

Though officially Massachusetts would have nothing

to do with the proposal made to her in July, 1633, by Winslow and Bradford, who journeyed to the Bay for the purpose of persuading the Puritan leaders to join with Plymouth in a trading expedition to Connecticut, others of the colony were not so backward. They may have been, as Hubbard says, directed by a special providence to make the venture, but their main inducement was to take advantage of an opportunity for trade which the new information furnished. Among those who were ready at once to try out the wilderness was John Oldham, a pioneer of many experiences with both white men and Indians in early New England. He with Samuel (probably not John) Hall and two others, in September, 1633, went overland, and "taking a view of the country discovered many very desirable places upon the same river, fit to receive many hundred inhabitants." Returning with specimens of beaver, hemp, and black lead, Oldham persuaded a number of others from Watertown, where he was living as a freeman of the colony, to join with him in a second expedition the next year. Consequently in the autumn of 1634, with eight or nine companions, all of whom are known by name, he went again to the Connecticut, probably this time by water, and passed the winter in hastily erected houses at Pyquag, the Indian name of Wethersfield, which he made his headquarters for trade among the Indians. He was a man of a roving disposition, moving from place to place in quest of corn and furs, and going back and forth between the colonies as occasion demanded. He was probably frequently away from his Pyquag cabin, leaving others to look after his interests there. Mrs. Winthrop writes of sending a letter by him to her son at Saybrook in 1636, which he could easily have delivered, as he went in his pinnace to the mouth of the river on his way to Long Island or to one of the

lesser islands at the eastern end of the Sound with goods for Indian traffic. We know that he was at Saybrook in April, 1636, and was undoubtedly well known to the residents of the fort there. The fact that he was murdered by the Indians at Block Island shows that he went far afield in pursuit of his bargains and it is not at all unlikely that he delivered Mrs. Winthrop's letter on this very expedition. Roger Williams must have known him also, for Oldham had a claim to an island in Narragansett Bay, and Williams may well have entertained him at his house in Providence.

The Dutch aroused to activity by the appearance of Englishmen on the river, had already sent a small vessel thither in June, 1633, and erected a "slight-forte," upon which they mounted two guns, on the southern side of the little river flowing into the Connecticut, which today bisects the city of Hartford. Three months later Lieutenant William Holmes, who had been commissioned by Winslow, then governor of the Plymouth colony, to occupy the place picked out the preceding year, sailed up the river and past the Dutch fort, bearing the ready-made materials for a trading house. He set up this frame structure about nine miles farther on, within a short distance of, but below, the "rivulet," as the Tunxis or Farmington River was then called, and surrounded it with a palisade. He also purchased of the local Indians additional land on both sides of the great river. Thus before Oldham reached Pyquag there were two trading posts at well-selected points above his place of settlement, one of the Dutch and the other of the Plymouth people, the latter the better located because lying nearer the main source of the fur supply up the stream. Oldham in his traffic did not compete with the others because his field of action was down the river and out into the Sound.

The restlessness at the Bay reached a climax in 1635, when a desire to migrate seized upon many of the people of Dorchester, Newtown, and Watertown, and later spread to Roxbury. Reports of the attractiveness of the Connecticut region were partly responsible for this desire, stimulating the urge for more and better land, always an incitement in frontier movements everywhere. The fear of the Indians, which had been a deterrent in the past, was lessened by the news that a plague of smallpox had greatly reduced their numbers, so that in the summer, probably toward the end of June, a pioneer group from Dorchester, with perhaps a few from Newtown and Watertown, ventured to make the journey, either through the woods or by pinnace around Cape Cod, under the lead, it is supposed, of Roger Ludlow. This company was followed later by others, who as reported by Jonathan Brewster—son of Elder Brewster and agent in charge of the trading house at Windsor—were arriving almost daily. They came from one quarter or another, by land and by water, “hankering”, as Brewster puts it, for the lands of the valley. Brewster was not a little embarrassed by the unexpected invasion, but he received the newcomers kindly, fed and housed some of them, provided others with guides and canoes, and became their intermediary in an unsuccessful negotiation which was undertaken with the Dutch for a part of the latter’s territory.

For these friendly offices he was ill-requited. The Dorchester people ignored the Plymouth title to the meadows north of the rivulet and proceeded to lay out their homelots and build their houses along the high ground above and west of the great river. They even seized upon part of the territory which the Plymouth people had purchased of the Indians, just as Holmes had occupied, under Winslow’s prior claim, lands which the Dutch had

acquired, not of the local Indians but of the Pequots. They called it "the Lord's Waste" and therefore open to all, under the conviction then prevailing among many of the Puritans that they had "a common right to [all new land] with the rest of the sons of Noah." Only after two years of wrangling, during which their "unkindness" was not soon forgotten, were they persuaded to pay for what they had appropriated. Plymouth finally sold, May 15, 1637, for £37 10s., about fifteen-sixteenths of the whole, reserving only the trading house with forty-three and three-quarters acres of meadow and forty acres more of upland near the Hartford bounds, together with a proportion of all lands within the area afterward to be divided. Eventually all, people and lands, were absorbed in the town of Windsor.

Other settlers soon appeared, coming in such numbers during the last part of the year 1635 as to mark the effective beginning of the Connecticut settlement. Among them was a special group standing apart by themselves, the arrival of which was in this wise. Sir Richard Saltonstall, a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company and one of the lords and gentlemen to whom the Earl of Warwick in 1630 had deeded the lands he expected to receive from the Council for New England, wished to start a private plantation of his own for the purpose of occupying the territory. He sent over, in his own vessel and at his own expense, Francis Stiles, a master carpenter of London, his two brothers, also carpenters, and eighteen indentured servants, who landing in Boston about the middle of June sailed ten days later for Connecticut. They were coldly received by the Puritans in possession at Windsor and were forced to take up lands on the northern fringe of the settlement, where, as was soon proved, there was insufficient pasture, meadow, and arable to meet the

needs of the newcomers. For these and other reasons it is more than likely that the lords and gentlemen, with at least three places of refuge to select from—Piscataqua, Windsor, and Saybrook—would have rejected Windsor in any case. Saltonstall was angry at the result. "Had I but imagined [he wrote] they would thus have greedily snatched up all the best ground on the river, my pinnacle should rather have sought a pilot at Plymouth than to have stayed ten days as she did at the Bay and given them such warning thus to prevent me." This comment shows that the Dorchester people, already preparing to go, on hearing of the arrival of the Stiles party at Boston, had hastened their departure and in so doing had forestalled Saltonstall in the occupation of the valley lands. It was a piece of sharp practice. Saltonstall's treatment at the hands of his fellow Puritans may have had something to do with his refusal to return to Massachusetts from England, after a brief sojourn of only one year in the colony.

Thus far the people of Newtown have hardly come into the picture. In 1634 six Newtowners had gone in the *Blessing* on its trip to New Amsterdam, to take a look at the Connecticut River with the intention of preparing the way for a future exodus of their fellow townsmen, and there is some reason to think that a few Newtown people had accompanied the Dorchester contingent under Ludlow in the summer of 1635. But as yet no great number had taken part in the westward movement. It took time to dispose of houses and lands and to settle personal affairs in anticipation of removal. Though many of those desiring to go were recent arrivals at the Bay, others were residents of some years' standing, who were loth to leave their properties until purchasers could be found who would take them over. The Newtowners were

reputed wealthy, and as their substance consisted of lands and cattle as well as houses it was difficult to depart at a moment's notice, however much their bent may have been to do so. Nevertheless a beginning had to be made. Sometime in October, 1635, a company of fifty persons—men, women, and children—along some one of the Indian paths westward, reached their destination toward the end of the month. As the Windsor lands were already taken up, they moved southward in the direction of the Dutch fort and began to lay out their homesteads and build their houses upon the ridge above the meadow and back from the river. Thus they became the “north-siders” of the later town of Hartford, the Suckiaug of the first comers. Twelve of the men had accompanied the party to assist its members in preparing winter quarters and in building a palisade and when that work was completed they returned to their home in Massachusetts. On the journey back, which took place during ten days at the end of November, they lost one of their company through the ice and would have starved, all of them, had they not been able to find refuge in the wigwams of the Indians. Others, some seventy in number, part of the Windsor community, half-starved and thoroughly discouraged, struggled through deep snows to the mouth of the Connecticut, where they found the *Rebecca*, a vessel built at Medford in 1634, which was attempting to make its way up the river for the relief of the settlements. Caught in the ice, the boat went no farther and after some delay returned to Boston with those of the fugitives who had not died, as some of them had, on the voyage. Connecticut with difficulty escaped the starving time of some of the settlers elsewhere, a fate that might well have befallen her first inhabitants had they been separated by three thousand miles from their source of supply, as were those of Virginia

and Sagadahoc. The winter was evidently an early and cold one and those who remained must have experienced their bitter meed of suffering. Such were the perils of frontier life in the early New England days.

II

THE greater and more famous migration soon to come took place under conditions quite different from those that attended the wandering of the first pioneers. The latter were in a sense squatters, in that they had no other title to the lands upon which they settled than such as had been acquired by purchase from the Indians, unless their right as the sons of Noah be considered an adequate claim. A new aspect was now given to the situation by the attempt of the lords and gentlemen to enforce their pretension to the Connecticut territory based on the deed from the Earl of Warwick. Although Saltonstall had sent his Stiles party to occupy a portion of the river lands there is nothing to show that he was acting in any official capacity or had been instructed by his fellow grantees to do so. In 1635 the latter made an important decision. On July 7, Saye and Sele, Fenwick, Saltonstall, Haslerig, Lawrence, and Darley, in the name of the entire body, authorized John Winthrop, Jr., to go to New England and there at the mouth of the Connecticut River to lay out lands, build a fort, and erect houses suitable for himself and such other men of quality as might desire to take refuge there. They supplied him with men, ammunition, and £2000 for the purpose. Thus the Puritan refuge (to which Cromwell and others might have come, if Neal's statement in his *History of the Puritans* is to be believed) was located on the Sound rather than at Piscataqua or at Windsor. This site was chosen in part with the idea of anticipating a possible Dutch occupation and of taking

advantage of the river trade and of the coast trade with Boston.

Winthrop came over in the *Abigail*, arriving early in October, with young Henry Vane and the Rev. Hugh Peter as co-agents, and soon after reaching Massachusetts instituted an inquiry into the whys and wherefores of the settlements already made within the territory of the Warwick deed. He was possibly induced thereto by the recent departure of the Dorchester group and by the news which must have come to him, soon after his arrival, of the experiences of the Stiles party. He wished to know by what right or pretense these people were entering and laying claim to the lands of the grantees, and he demanded that all going to Connecticut or who were already there should acknowledge the legal rights of the same grantees and submit to the counsel and direction of himself as their governor, or else leave the territory. He and his fellow agents stated very emphatically that Connecticut lay beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and that settlement there could be made only with the consent of those to whom the grant had been made. Here was a troublesome but perhaps not an unexpected obstacle in the path of migration, confronting not only those who had already gone but also those who were preparing to go, for the Massachusetts general court had already given permission to the inhabitants of Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown to remove to Connecticut. The court had appointed a single constable for their protection and had given them out of the colony's store three pieces of ordnance. It was undoubtedly well known that Thomas Hooker and his church at Newtown were ready to move as soon as their business affairs could be satisfactorily arranged.

Conferences on the subject of removal, in which the

agents, representatives of the Massachusetts general court, and Hooker, Haynes, Ludlow (back from Windsor), Stone, and perhaps others of the Connecticut group must have taken part, lasted from October, 1635, to March, 1636, and efforts were made to arrive at an understanding such as was fitting among men who were friends and fellow Puritans. The problems were not easy to solve and the discussions were conducted with the utmost secrecy. The grantees wanted settlers and the emigrants wanted security and a legal title. Final decisions were reached sometime before March, 1636. Hooker and his colleagues recognized the claims as laid down by Winthrop and accepted him as governor of the whole territory; the agents agreed to the proposed settlement within the bounds of the Warwick deed. But as the agents had no authority from the grantees to permit the establishment of an independent government within the borders of their grant—for nothing of the kind is to be found in Winthrop's instructions—some way of meeting the difficulty had to be contrived. The contrivance was ingenious. The Massachusetts general court was accepted by both parties as qualified to give proper constitutional character to the proposed plantation and was invited to serve, not officially or as a principal, but as a go-between or friendly broker, in the task of putting into authoritative form the agreement arrived at. On March 3, 1636, the court issued a commission, on its own behalf and that of John Winthrop, Jr., and in the interest of "divers friends, neighbors, freemen and members of Newtown, Watertown, Dorchester and other places, who [were] resolved to transplant themselves and their estates into the river Connecticut, there to reside and inhabit." This document contains some of the essentials of a plan of government and was probably drawn up by Ludlow with the coöp-

eration of Hooker and others, for it in no way represented the Massachusetts idea of how a government should be carried on. It may therefore be looked upon as containing the first expression of the political principles which were later embodied in the Fundamental Orders of 1639.

“Where there are a people to sit down and inhabite,” so runs the commission, “there will follow upon occasion some cause of difference,” therefore eight men, Ludlow, Pynchon, Steel, Swaine, Smith, Phelps, Westwood, and Ward—all of whom were either in Connecticut or were preparing to go there—were given full authority to exercise judicial powers to inflict punishment, to make decrees and orders as best might conduce to “the peaceable and quiett ordering of the affairs of the said plantation,” to exercise military discipline, and to make war if necessary. They were also empowered “under the greater part of their hands, at a day or dayes by them appointed, upon convenient notice, to convene the said inhabitants of the towns [not church members only as in Massachusetts] to any convenient place that they shall think meete, in a legal and open manner, by way of court, to procede in executing the power and authority aforesaid.” Here we have a clear-cut statement of government by consent of the “inhabitants,” though no attempt was made to determine just what the word “inhabitants” meant; and we have also, in the use of the same word, an early indication of why these men wished to leave Massachusetts. Certainly half of them were members of the general court which drew up the Fundamental Orders two years later and as some of the terms used anticipate the language of the preamble to that document, we have a right to believe that the two instruments of government are closely related and that all those named in the commission were in sympathy with Hooker and Lud-

low in their desire to place authority in the hands of a wider popular constituency than was the case with Massachusetts. The commission was to last only for a year or until the lords and gentlemen should have made up their minds as to the form of permanent government they wished to establish for their territory.

This important matter having been settled to the satisfaction of all—for both Winthrop and the emigrant leaders had got what they wanted—the westward movement was resumed. John Warham, at the head of the Dorchester church, guided his people, among whom was Ludlow himself and many who had struggled back to Massachusetts the previous winter, to the spot where their fellow townsmen were living at Windsor. William Pynchon, who had inspected the land the September before, led a company by water to Agawam, where he built a trading house, first locating it on the west side of the river and later on the east, selecting the latter site because it offered a safer location and one better adapted for traffic with the Indians. Men and women from Watertown, in groups and organized parties, continued to cross the country or to sail around by water, until some fifty or more had arrived at Pyquag (Wethersfield) in sufficient numbers to constitute a sizable plantation. And, lastly, John White, Samuel Wakeman, and possibly Samuel Stone, Hooker's assistant at Newtown—the forerunners of the larger migration to come—conducted a number of people to join the group already located “at the New Towne upon Quinatucquet River.” They carried the commission drawn up in Massachusetts and under its guidance there was set up the first court in the history of the colony. On April 26, 1636, five of the eight commissioners—Ludlow, Steel, Phelps, Westwood, and Ward—came together at Hartford and passed a few simple orders, swore in con-

stables for the three plantations, and ratified and confirmed the dismissal of seven Watertown men from their church in Massachusetts, on their promise to renew their covenant and to erect a church of their own in Wethersfield. This the seven did, being of the number deemed sufficient for a church by the "ancient ministers" of the Bay. Thus organized government began in Connecticut nearly two months before Thomas Hooker and his company entered the valley, and all the essentials of self-government, based on the settlers' own ideas of the form such government should take—ideas already embodied in the March commission—were put into practice nearly three years before the Fundamental Orders were adopted.

In October, 1635, there came from England in the *Defence*, at the same time with the arrival of John Winthrop, Jr., in the *Abigail*, the Rev. Thomas Shepard, B.A., of Emmanuel College. He and his company soon made their way to Newtown, where he was welcomed as Hooker's successor and where he and his people either began to occupy houses already vacated by those who had gone to Connecticut or proceeded to bargain for the purchase of others that belonged to men who were expecting soon to go. The opportune appearance of the Shepard party relieved in part the business uncertainty, for though some of those going to Connecticut were sufficiently well off to retain property in Newtown after their departure, there were many others who had to sell all their landed possessions as a necessary step preliminary to removal. As we have already seen, some had departed in 1635 and others in the spring of 1636, but Hooker and the members of his church still lingered. It was one thing for individuals to depart quickly, but it was quite another for a covenanted church group, which had been established for three years under Hooker and Stone, to break from its

moorings and remove a hundred and more miles into the wilderness. Shepard, as soon as possible, set about the raising of a new church organization, and on February 1, 1636, asked for the attendance of the neighboring ministers that he might be properly instructed in the New England way of ecclesiastical polity and the proper forms of ecclesiastical procedure. Instruction having been given to the contentment of all, the new members entered into a covenant whereby they became a church, which John Cotton, in the name of the rest, accepted in the bonds of fellowship. The ordination of Shepard as pastor was deferred until another day, "wherein there [should be] more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such a great occasion."

Thus the way was providentially prepared for the withdrawal of Hooker and the members of his church, just as soon as business arrangements could be completed and word had been received from Connecticut that all was ready. February was not a propitious month for a journey through the wilderness by so large a number of men, women, children, and livestock as were expected to go, so that the actual departure was postponed until May. How the two churches got on together during these four months and how the housing problem was solved history has not revealed. It was an eventful day when, on Tuesday, May 31, this company of thirty-five men, with twice as many wives, children, and servants, started on its pilgrimage, under summer skies, along the Indian path. They carried Mrs. Hooker in a horse litter and drove one hundred and sixty cattle, feeding on the milk of the cows by the way. Hooker carried letters to the younger Winthrop from his father, the governor, who took advantage of the opportunity to send also, in charge of Lieutenant Thomas Bull of the company, assisted by one of Win-

throp's servants, six cows, four steers, and a bull, which were to be delivered to his son at Saybrook. As the travelers went on foot and could make but ten miles a day, the journey lasted nearly a fortnight, all sleeping in the open, "having no pillows to use to take their nightly rest but upon such as their father Jacob found in the way to Padan-Aram." They took up their location in largest part on the south side of the little river, adjoining the Dutch fort, and became the "southsiders" of the Hartford settlement. Hooker and others of the leaders, however, remained north of the river.

No record remains of the route which the Hooker company followed in its journey from Newtown to Hartford. According to tradition the pioneers took the Bay Path westward to the Connecticut River at Agawam, thence moved southward to the river crossing from East Windsor to Windsor, and from Windsor, through forests still primeval and by ways that had not yet been widened into highways, journeyed to their final resting place at Hartford. Also possible, and with at least a show of evidence to support it, is the belief that the company followed the Old Connecticut Path running southwesterly, first through the Mohegan-Pequot territory and then through lands of the friendly Podunks, passing by the sites of the later towns of Woodstock, Mansfield, and Manchester, and ending their land wanderings at the river bank opposite Hartford. This view of the case is rather presumptive than conclusive and the evidence brought forward in its behalf rather negative than positive, nevertheless the latter is sufficient to throw the burden of proof on the upholders of the traditional version. It is unfortunate for the early history of Connecticut that no contemporary writings exist, similar to those of Bradford, Winslow, and Winthrop, to aid him

who wishes to know what are the facts in the case. Because of the absence of any such source of information, many of the incidents narrated above have become the subjects of wide differences of opinion and the objects of a good deal of local and personal dispute. Most of these differences and disputes are, however, of minor historical significance.

III

IN the founding of Connecticut no question of religious freedom was involved and no intention was had of establishing a religious colony in any way different from that of Massachusetts. In matters of ecclesiastical polity, creed, and discipline the Connecticut churches adhered in all respects to the New England way of the churches, to which two of the covenanted groups had conformed in Massachusetts and continued so to conform without change in Connecticut. Hooker had no sympathy with the religious agitation associated at this time with the names of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. That which influenced a majority of those who went to Connecticut was not a desire to alter their religious creed and practice, but the allurements of a fertile valley fed by a navigable stream, where land could be obtained of the Indians and where relief could be felt from the pressure of a rapidly increasing population and freedom be obtained to grow and expand. This was the one and only reason assigned by the colonists themselves, when twenty-five years later they had occasion to state the causes of their going. "In that part of the country, neer the port of their first arrival [Boston] they settled for a time, till upon experience they found that place would be too streight for so great a number if they should continue all there long together."

There can be no doubt that available and desirable land was becoming scarce at the Bay and that pasture and meadow, so necessary to a people whose interests at the time were entirely rural and whose lives depended on their stocks of cattle, goats, and swine, were insufficient for their needs. Southampton on Long Island was settled from Lynn soon after because of the limitations of the arable and pasture and the straitness of the opportunities in Massachusetts, and there must have been other towns that suffered similar restrictions upon their enlargement. Newtown, which lay between Charlestown and Watertown, "being in form like a list cut off from the broadcloth of the two fore-mentioned towns," had early complained of the dryness and sandiness of its soil and the insufficiency of its grazing ground, and its people, tired of tillage, expressed a desire to turn to the raising of cattle as a more profitable and less wearisome pursuit. This desire was well known in Massachusetts, for the town of Ipswich had reproached the men of Newtown for seeking "the good of their cattle more than [that] of the commonwealth." The general court tried to meet the emergency by offering the Newtowners land in other parts of the colony, notably along the Merrimac, but neither reproaches nor offers had any effect. Loyalty to the commonwealth was not conspicuous among those who went to Connecticut, as later events were to show, and lands elsewhere in Massachusetts presented no compensating advantages in comparison with the unrestricted stretches of low, rich meadow that lay along the Connecticut, reports of which had been sent or brought back by those who had ventured thither. To the mass of the people, land was still, as it always had been, the object of their desires and its possession a necessity in a pastoral and agricultural age.

To the leaders of the movement there were other causes of discontent. The years 1635 and 1636 were a time of great uneasiness at the Bay. Not only were there fears of the loss of the charter and of the appointment of a governor general but there was also dissatisfaction in some quarters with Winthrop's management. Among those who were discontented was John Haynes, "a gentleman of great estate" in England, who had been highly honored in the colony and was the leading lay member of Hooker's church; and also Thomas Hooker himself and Roger Ludlow, both of whom were nursing certain ideas of their own regarding the way a colony should be governed and regarding certain foundation principles upon which such government should rest. These three men were conspicuous among their fellows—Haynes and Hooker, the Moses and Aaron of the new wandering of the Israelites, and Ludlow, trained in the law, determined in disposition and uncertain in temper, the legal expert who put into proper form their common ideas regarding government and administration. Others of lesser prominence were in accord with these three and willingly embraced the opportunity to escape from Massachusetts and find a new field for the exercise of that leadership which was difficult to obtain at home. Pynchon, Wolcott, Steel, Phelps, Westwood, and Ward were all important men afterward in Connecticut. They had found Massachusetts an uncomfortable place to live in, because of the differences of opinions that prevailed there and because of the overshadowing influence of the magistrates and clergy with their rigid, inelastic methods of oligarchic control. Many a man of the day in New England, orthodox or heterodox, who possessed the instincts of one having authority—Williams, Coddington, Gorton, Pynchon, Davenport, Hooker, Ludlow, and the younger Winthrop

—wished each to have his own little world, where he might set up his own system of theology or government and pursue his own independent way of making a living and a profit apart from, though not out of touch with, others in other localities.

Hooker had other and more personal reasons for dissatisfaction. These reasons are suggested in a letter from one of Winthrop's English correspondents, who wrote that "Mr. Hoker before he went away preached against the strictness of the Massachusetts rule regarding admission to the churches" and was "moved to remove" because of the "great division of judgement in matters of religion amongst good ministers and people." This remark refers of course to the Antinomian controversy, but it also refers to Hooker's disputation with John Cotton, the influential teacher of the Boston church, which took the form of an exchange of opinions, in the customary manner of statements, objections, and answers, during the years 1635 and 1636, and before Antinomianism became a matter of state concern. Cotton held that faith was built upon Christ, not upon sanctification obtained from preaching, teaching, and good works, and that man first attained assurance of faith of his justification by the witness of the spirit of Christ in a free promise of grace. He declared that faith went before works; that in receiving "the Guift of ffaith wee are merely passive, that in receiving Christ or the spirit of Christ we are passive also—an empty vessel fit to receive Christ and his righteousness"; and that sanctification was but a "created Guift" and a secondary witness. He took the position that sanctification could not be the first evidence or "evident cause" or ground of justification and that to believe otherwise was "flatt Popery," an implication that Hooker may well have resented. Cotton declared further that a

“faith made by a word [preaching and teaching] and a work [some outward act] without the witness of the spirit and *before it* was not a faith wrought by God’s Almighty Power,” and that the word without the Almighty power of the spirit was *a dead letter*.” He insisted that the controversy with Hooker (“if it be indeed a Controversie and not some mistake, as I would gladly hope it is”) was not the opposition “between Grace and Works” but “between Grace and the meritt of Works,” or, as he elsewhere puts it, “between Grace and the debt to Works,” a subtle distinction. All this Hooker denied, and it is quite possible that some of the imputations contained in the objections and answers may have aroused considerable bitterness of feeling between the two men, even though Winthrop in his kindly way thought the contrary. Winthrop in his writings always minimized the differences of opinion among the elect.

Just when the controversy was begun and ended we do not know, but it must have lasted quite a long time. Cotton’s first polemic was followed by a reply from Hooker, to which in turn Cotton made answer. Hooker replied again and Cotton counterreplied, evidently in the hope that Hooker would continue the argument, but Hooker refrained. It is not unlikely that at this stage of the debate Hooker was planning to go to Connecticut and did not wish to carry the discussion further. We learn of the encounter from Cotton’s last reply, which was sent to England for the inspection of Archbishop Laud, probably in 1637, on nine small sheets of paper in a writing so fine as to be almost undecipherable. The subject matter shows that in origin this exchange of opinion dated back to the days when Cotton was a Hutchinsonian sympathizer and Hooker on the other side. These differences between the two men in doctrinal and other matters (such as the cross

in the ensign, which is mentioned in Cotton's reply but of which we know nothing more) in which Cotton was the more liberal thinker, may well have been accentuated by the fact that Hooker held more progressive views than did Cotton regarding the share of the people in affairs of government—ideas that were not capable of application in a colony where church membership was a qualification for freemanship and where the magistrates were deemed the oracles of God. Each of these men was something of a prophet in his own community and, as the historian Hubbard says, nature did not allow two suns to shine at the same time in the same firmament. Cotton Mather adds the equally wise remark that two such men were likely to be more serviceable apart than together.

But Hooker's dissatisfaction was not confined to matters of doctrine or limited in its expression to Cotton only. Other causes of uneasiness arose which became manifest as early as 1634, only six months after Hooker's arrival in the colony. What these causes were can be inferred from his letter to Winthrop, written from Connecticut in the year 1638, protesting in vehement and almost passionate terms against the efforts which Massachusetts was making, not only in New England but in Old England also, to discredit Connecticut in the eyes of the English world—the "common trade that is driven amongst multitudes with you" is his way of putting it. It is not easy to believe that so sharp an arraignment of the Puritan habit of criticism could have found utterance within two years of Hooker's arrival in Connecticut had there not been behind it unpleasant experiences of longer standing. Ipswich in 1635, a year before Hooker's departure, had complained of "too many unjust detractions in the bay to serve their own ends," and we know that censoriousness and disapproval were characteristic Puri-

tan failings. "The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither," as Winthrop sums up the situation, is a phrase which may well cover many symptoms of unrest. "Sir," wrote Hooker, "he wants a nostril, that feels not and scents not a schismatical spirit in such a framer of falsifying relations to gratify some persons and to satisfy their amends. . . . Do these things argue brotherly love?" One cannot avoid the conclusion that in this letter are to be found some of the emotions that drove Hooker and the Newtown church to undertake their western pilgrimage. Between the placid lines of Winthrop's journal may be read many things of which Winthrop makes no mention, discontent, vexation of soul, and even animosity.

Later comments also demonstrate the Connecticut state of mind. When in 1648 a dispute arose among the commissioners of the New England Confederation regarding the jurisdiction of the two colonies and Massachusetts insisted that the emigrants from Watertown, Newtown, Dorchester, and Roxbury had taken possession of Connecticut in her name and right, the Connecticut delegates indignantly replied that on the contrary the commission of 1636 originated with the emigrants themselves and "not from any claymes of the Massachusetts jurisdiction over us." From this it is clear that the Connecticut people, twelve years after Hooker's arrival, held firmly to the belief that the commission was the work of the emigrants themselves and had its origin in the determination of these emigrants to remain no longer in a colony with the spirit and government of which they had no sympathy.

Hooker did not like the Massachusetts system and expressly said so. He told Winthrop in 1638, in the letter already referred to, that he objected to the Massachusetts practice of leaving so much to the discretion of

the magistrates and of using the clergy as counselors in purely secular affairs. In dealing with civil things he preferred "a general counsel chosen by all," which was to concern itself with issues that were of importance to all. Answering Winthrop's statement that it was unsafe and unwarrantable to refer matters of counsel or judicature to the body of the people and that the best part was always the least and of that best part the wiser part was always the lesser, he declared that he "chose neither to live or to have his posterity live under such a government." Unlike many of the deputies and two or three of the magistrates in Massachusetts, who were working to liberalize the government there from within, Hooker, Haynes, and Ludlow preferred to depart from the colony and to set up a government of their own outside the Massachusetts boundaries. They wanted to start afresh with a system based on a broader body of political principles, among which the idea of authority vested in such part of the people as was deemed competent to exercise it was the most conspicuous.

Whether they arrived at this fundamentally important idea by a natural process of reaction against the Massachusetts system of government by divine immanence or by some subjective reasoning of their own it is impossible to say. Roger Ludlow has left no writings of any kind from which to form an opinion as to what his political views were. Hooker in his printed works says nothing about political things, but in his conception of the covenant we may find a possible clue. In *A Survey of Church Discipline* he wrote, "Mutual covenanting and confoederation of the Saints in the fellowship of the faith according to the order of the Gospel is that which gives constitution and being to a visible Church." Starting with the fact, accepted by all in the New England way of the churches,

that the members covenanting in a church way had a share in the government of the church, he could easily arrive at a similar idea as to the meaning of the social compact in its application to the state. In determining who these members should be, Massachusetts limited their number to the "regenerate" only, but this Hooker refused to do, perhaps because he knew the difficulties accompanying any attempt to find out who were truly regenerate in spirit as well as in outward conformity. He may well have believed that Massachusetts rejected many who were better Christians than some who were admitted, and he was therefore willing to admit all who professed Christianity, provided they were freeholders as were the voters in England, to a share in government, whether they were church members or not.

At the same time the general principle inherent in the Congregational system that the members of a church had a right to elect their officers and if the latter did not live up to the terms of their election to remove them and place others in their room fell far short of a democracy, which was a form of government repellent to the Puritans. The latter believed that the people might choose but that those chosen—elders in the church and magistrates in the state—were to rule. When the elders proposed anything the people of the church gave their assent; when the magistrates reached a decision the people were to do as they were told. This was as true of Connecticut as it was of Massachusetts. The point has been well expressed by Perry Miller who says, "The component elements of [Puritan] society did not draw up the fundamental law or delegate to the government any sovereignty they originally held. . . . The congregation retained no 'residuary powers.' " This applies very accurately to the political situation in Connecticut, and Hooker may well have had

a commonwealth in mind when he wrote of the church, "The elders are superior in regard to Office, Rule, Act, and Exercise; the people are superior in point of censure. Each have their full scope in their own sphere and compass." In Connecticut this was exactly what happened in governmental practice: the "people," that is, the "free-men," elected and set bounds, but the magistrates took the lead and laid down the principles according to which the people made their decisions. Another similarity is to be noted. Just as no one was propounded for admission to the church without the consent of the elders, so no one was admitted as a member of the commonwealth without the consent of the general court. No man could exercise the franchise in Connecticut simply because he had been born and had been able to live to a certain voting age.

It is quite possible that Hooker was influenced by the example of Plymouth, where for fifteen years the Pilgrims had been applying a not dissimilar principle of political government. The idea of some form of popular coöperation was clearly in the minds of Hooker, Haynes, and Ludlow when they drew up the commission of 1636, which provided for the convening of the "inhabitants" of the Connecticut plantations in a court for the execution of the powers entrusted to them, and this idea was given concrete enforcement in Connecticut during the years 1636, 1637, and 1638. But it did not find full expression until Hooker delivered his famous sermon or address on May 31, 1638. Certain phrases in that sermon are so reminiscent of the language used by Roger Williams in *The Bloudy Tenent* and elsewhere that one is tempted to believe that Williams had some influence upon Hooker in the working out of his political doctrine. "The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people" is almost the same as Williams' "The sovereign power of

all authority is founded in the consent of the people." Hooker and Williams had known each other in England, for they had lived for some time in the same neighborhood, and on one occasion he and Cotton and Williams had ridden to and from Sempringham arguing about common prayer and possibly other things. Hooker visited Williams at Providence at least once, in 1637, and there are extant three letters from Hooker to Williams, written between January and May, 1638. From whatever source these ideas came, whether Hooker was influenced by Williams or Williams by Plymouth or both by Plymouth, the fact remains that Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island conducted their governments in a manner quite unlike that of Massachusetts, in that they accepted the political coöperation of at least a part of the people of their respective colonies, unrestricted by membership in any ecclesiastical organization.

Thus was Connecticut settled and thus there came into existence at the very beginning a form of self-government in which the admitted inhabitants and the freemen of the colony had a definite and important share.

IV

THE commission of March 3, 1636, contained, though in very rudimentary form, the first definition of government for the colony. The eight men named in it were to have full power and authority to exercise judicial functions, to make such orders and decrees as were for the peaceable and quiet ordering of affairs, to regulate matters that concerned trade, planting, building, and distributing lots, and to enforce military discipline. They were empowered to call together the "inhabitants" of the plantations at any convenient place they deemed meet, by way of court, for the purpose of carrying out their instructions, thus

placing the government on the broad bottom of popular coöperation. For the first year, however, the commissioners, acting on the discretion allowed them, apparently did not call either a popular assembly or a general court but conducted the administration themselves, sitting as a "cort" from April 26, 1636, to March 28, 1637.

The commission government lasted but a year. It was not imposed on the settlers from without but was the product of their own minds and the expression of their own wishes. No attempt was made to choose a governor, for John Winthrop, Jr., was recognized as the head of the territory and the right of the lords and gentlemen to appoint a successor if they wished was undoubtedly agreed upon at the time the commission was drafted. Not until the framing of the Fundamental Orders, when the lords and gentlemen had manifestly withdrawn from their enterprise, was provision made for the election of a governor. In all other respects the commission enabled the Connecticut people to look after their own affairs, until a more complete system could be established. When it expired in 1637, the colony went on as before, with one important distinction. A general court was called, apparently for the first time, an action made necessary by the impending war against the Pequots. So serious and dangerous an undertaking demanded that what so intimately concerned all should be approved by all and that the people who were to carry on the war should be responsible for the means and methods employed. To this end the inhabitants were instructed to come together in their respective towns for the election of representatives or "committees," as they were called, to join with the magistrates in a general court at Hartford, in order that the necessary preparations for such a war might be made. With one exception the magistrates were the same as the

old commissioners, but that exception shows that some arrangement was entered into whereby the personnel of the magistrates might be changed. What this arrangement was we do not certainly know, but Hooker says in his letter of a few months later that local elections took place in the towns and that the committees thus elected came to the general court and there chose their magistrates. This selection of magistrates may have been made either independently or from those nominated by the towns.

The first and only important business of this general court was to declare "that there shalbe an offensive war agt the Pequoitt" and to distribute the burden of that war proportionately among the three plantations. The Pequots after invading the river valley had passed southward and southeastward until they came to rest in the region between the Thames River and the present boundary of Rhode Island. They had defeated or pushed aside the peaceful river tribes and in opening a new hunting ground for themselves—covering both the mainland and the islands off the coast—had made enemies not only of the English but also of the Niantics, the Mohegans, and the powerful Narragansetts under Miantonomo, each of whom had a part, though not a very active part, on the side of the English in the war that followed. The immediate cause was a series of three murders: that of Captain Stone and a few companions, itinerant traders from outside the colony; that of John Oldham, who had located himself for purposes of trade at Wethersfield; and, lastly, that of three women and six men of the same plantation in April, 1637. The war, which lasted three weeks and was an undertaking of exceptional boldness for an infant colony—the expense alone was estimated later by Governor Leete at not less than £30,000, a figure very difficult to accept—was brought to a successful issue under the

leadership of Captain John Mason, Captain John Underhill (formerly of Massachusetts), and Lieutenant Robert Seely, with Samuel Stone as chaplain. The soldiers attacked and burnt the Pequot fort two miles from Mystic and, following up their success, pursued the survivors to their retreat near the present village of Southport. There in a swamp fight they completed the destruction or dispersal of the tribe. From this time forward, for nearly forty years, relations with the Indians were peaceful enough, though the settlers suffered from occasional alarms and engaged in a few punitive expeditions. The local Indians were a good deal of a nuisance as well as a danger, and strict orders had to be issued against trading with them or selling them liquor, guns, powder, and shot. There were occasional difficulties in determining Indian land claims and purchases, and Connecticut's share in the quarrel between the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, that is, between Uncas and Miantonomo, was not to her credit. The New England Confederation took the side of the Mohegans, as was not unnatural the Mohegans being Connecticut Indians, but the cold-blooded murder of Miantonomo by the treacherous Uncas was a deed for which the colony must always bear the blame.

For the two years 1637 and 1638 the three plantations continued under the simple form of self-government thus far employed. The householders in the towns were engaged in apportioning land and building houses and in looking after such matters of daily routine as were essential to their existence as traders and planters. The three settlements were still in the plantation stage and can have had no other organization than the meeting of their inhabitants to take common action in the choice of committees to the general court and the management of their agricultural, military, and prudential obligations.

The writer wishes to make a correction here. Governor Leete is evidently referring to King Philip's War, not to the Pequot War, in which case his figure is not excessive.

Their relations with the general court were probably pretty much the same as those which prevailed after the Fundamental Orders were adopted. They sent their committees to act for them whenever the general court was to be held and at the first meeting which, following the Massachusetts practice, was even then construed as a court of election, the committees named the magistrates nominated by each town and the whole body gave its approval in a formal election. The general court, thus made up of magistrates and committees, sat seven or eight times and possibly more during these two years, and there is reason to believe that particular courts, composed of the magistrates only, met for the transaction of judicial, financial, and probate business. The powers of the general court were much the same before 1639 as they were afterward and the nature of the government carried on between 1636 and 1639 does not appear to have differed either in principle or in form from that of the more systematized and orderly arrangement which followed the Orders and the formal setting up of the commonwealth.

V

AN important phase of the situation, because of its significance and its association with subsequent events, demands a brief consideration here. At the beginning Springfield was included among the river towns and Pynchon and Smith had been named as among the eight men selected to govern the settlements under the March commission. Pynchon sat only once with that body and neither he nor anyone else from Springfield attended the general court the next year, probably because of the distance and the threatened dangers from the Indians at the time of the Pequot war. All the planta-

tions during the war were left in a measure unprotected, and Springfield, a small community situated in a dangerous quarter, was in a peculiarly defenseless condition. The people there were not required to furnish any men for the expedition, but Pynchon's shallop was called into requisition, probably without his consent, and later the plantation was assessed £86,15s., a sum that Pynchon said was equal to his entire estate.

Though Springfield was represented in the general courts of March and April, 1638, and probably the Springfield representatives attended other courts held during the latter year, trouble soon arose between Pynchon and the men of the river towns. The cause was his failure (so Connecticut alleged) to carry out his part of a contract for a supply of Indian corn, which he was to furnish in return for a monopoly of the Indian trade up the river in furs and corn—a monopoly he had not asked for and to which he was strongly opposed. Connecticut charged that "he was not soe carefull to promote the publique good in trade of Corne as hee was bounde to doe," and at a general court held on April 5, in his own presence as a magistrate, fined him forty bushels of corn "for the publique and the said Corne to be delivered to the Treasurer to be disposed of as shalbe thought meete." Pynchon was deeply offended at this ill-advised action of his fellow colonists, and taking advantage of the fact that there was considerable uncertainty as to whether Agawam or Springfield was or was not within the Massachusetts jurisdiction he began to consider whether it would not be more to his advantage to have no further connection with the lower plantations.

The importance of the situation was enhanced at this juncture by the plans under way in 1637–1638 for a union of the Puritan colonies in a loose confederation for mutual

support. Should Springfield come in as a part of Massachusetts or of Connecticut? Debate on this question gave rise to considerable ill will between the two colonies, Connecticut and Massachusetts, and served in part to postpone the final agreement. The situation was further complicated by the necessity which the Connecticut leaders felt, in order to prepare their colony for entrance into the new combination, of giving to their own political system a more centralized and uniform governmental organization. Before doing so they had to decide whether or not to invite Springfield to become a member of the commonwealth they proposed to set up. Pynchon settled that question by opposing the plan and deciding to throw in his lot with Massachusetts and so brought it about that the Connecticut leaders in drawing up their frame of government left Springfield entirely out of the new combination.

There were other reasons also than the anger which Pynchon felt at the injustice of the fine imposed upon him by the general court to explain the separation of Springfield from the river towns. Hooker and Pynchon did not get on any better together than did Hooker and Cotton and the differences between them, as was so often the case with the Puritan elect, were apparently irreconcilable. Hooker resented the Massachusetts claim of jurisdiction over Springfield, a claim that had not been made at the time of the migration. He was deeply indignant that Pynchon (who had been one of the chief participants in the westward movement, had shared as a magistrate in Connecticut's beginnings, had taken the oath of fidelity to the common cause, and was a member of the general court, a committee of which was engaged in drawing up the Fundamental Orders) should have been willing on so slight a pretext to break away from

his former allies. It is quite possible too that Pynchon's Calvinism did not suit Hooker, who was one of the most orthodox of the Puritan clergy, just as later it did not suit the Massachusetts general court, when the latter ordered a Pynchon book, *The Meritorious Price of our Redemption*, to be burned on the Boston Common.

These reasons, together with the distance and the difficulties of navigation up the river and the fur-trading interests of the northern plantation, as contrasted with the agricultural activities of the plantations down the river, are sufficient to explain why Springfield entered the New England Confederation in 1643 as part of Massachusetts and not of Connecticut, and thus had no place in the commonwealth which was erected under the Fundamental Orders in 1639. As Massachusetts did not for ten years admit deputies from Springfield into her general court, it was necessary for that small plantation, occupying land on both sides of the Connecticut River, to set itself up, for the time being, as a tiny self-governing republic, with the inhabitants making up the body politic. In 1641, however, Massachusetts appointed Pynchon to execute the office of chief judge and magistrate there, with a right of appeal from his decisions to the court of assistants at Boston. In 1642 Pynchon was chosen one of the assistants and in 1649 deputies from Springfield appeared in the general court at the Bay.

The controversy which ended in the secession of Springfield from Connecticut is thus closely bound up with two events of major importance in the early history of the colony and of New England. The first of these was the proposal which came from Connecticut in 1637 that a confederation be formed of the Puritan colonies for mutual protection against the Indians and the Dutch, for the disposal of the Pequot country and the extension

of the fur trade, and for the maintenance of the common faith and the common good. Agreement was not easily reached and the discussion was prolonged for six years. The claims of Massachusetts to the Pequot country, her support of Pynchon in his determination to withdraw from Connecticut, misunderstandings regarding the boundary line between Springfield and Connecticut, and, later, disputes regarding Connecticut's right to levy tolls at the mouth of the river delayed the ratification of the articles of the confederation and endangered the continuance of the union even after an understanding had been reached in 1643. The antipathies thus created continued to vex the members of the confederation until its usefulness, though not its existence, came to an end with the absorption of New Haven by Connecticut in 1665.

The second important issue was the necessity that the Connecticut men felt of giving to their plantation system a more compact and authoritative form and of consolidating the experiences of the preceding three years in a written document which should represent the principles and policies already tried out in practice. Connecticut as yet had no formal instrument of government. Massachusetts had her charter and Plymouth her Mayflower Compact and Bradford patent of 1630. New Haven, though hardly as yet founded, was soon, in June, 1639, to settle "a Civill Government according to God." We do not know that the Connecticut towns had even plantation covenants as had New Haven, Milford, and Guilford, holding their members together in a common obedience to such constituted civil authority as these members might elect. The Connecticut towns undoubtedly came very early to some understanding regarding local affairs and entered into definite agreements regarding the distribution of their lands, but there is nothing to

show that either Hartford, Wethersfield, Windsor, or Springfield had drawn up any formal civil agreement before or after they entered the valley. Hooker, confronted with the withdrawal of Pynchon and believing that it was every man's right to choose his jurisdiction as he pleased, probably felt that the time had come to bind the inhabitants of the river towns firmly together in a common loyalty to a central government. The assurance that the lords and gentlemen had deserted their settlement and would never erect any government of their own, and the imperative need of creating a jurisdiction that was sufficiently organized for Connecticut to enter the confederation on equal terms with the others were added reasons why in the year 1638 the general court of Connecticut faced the important task of framing the Fundamental Orders of the colony.

VI

THUS by the spring of 1638 circumstances were forcing the Connecticut leaders to take action in two important directions—first, to prepare, as they had not yet done, a statement of fundamental law, which should define their procedure as a government and their status as a properly constituted civil jurisdiction; and, secondly, to combine and unite with the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts so far as to walk and live peaceably and lovingly together to maintain the common cause and to defend the “priviledges and freedoms wee now enjoy against all opposers.” To this end there was gathered, sometime in May, 1638, what Ludlow calls in his letter of May 29 to the Massachusetts Bay authorities, “a generall assembly of these plantacons in this River,” at which were considered “divers particulars that might or may concerne the general good of these parts.” Matters

of so important a character might well have been brought to the attention of the free planters of the colony and though Ludlow makes it quite clear that what he is writing about is the plan for a confederation with Massachusetts and nothing else, nevertheless the idea of drafting fundamentals for the colony might well have been among the subjects presented for the assembly's approval. This assembly, whatever it was—and we do not know anything more about it—probably met, did its business, and departed. That it lasted for any such length of time as to be still in being when Ludlow wrote his letter on May 29 and Hooker delivered his sermon on the 31st is clearly impossible. Were it still sitting on the 29th Ludlow would have used some other expression than “There being of late a generall assembly,” which if words mean anything distinctly refers to an event that has come and gone. The connection of this “assembly” with the Fundamental Orders is therefore wholly a matter of conjecture. The assembly may have given the general court some kind of a warrant to go ahead with the drafting of the orders, or it may have done nothing of the kind. As the colony had already been governing itself for two years, it could hardly have seemed to the leaders necessary to call the planters together before putting into written form what had already been tried out and shown by experience to be workable; whereas the proposal to combine with Massachusetts was so novel that the leaders might well have hesitated to act without the wider consent.

However that may be, Hooker on May 31, 1638, delivered a famous sermon. Before whom he delivered it we do not know, but unless the free planters were called together again, as is most unlikely, he probably spoke to the members of the general court. Whether what he said was solely his own or represented the opinions of others

than himself we are also in doubt. The probabilities are that he was simply putting into an expository form certain principles already agreed on, according to which a civil government should be erected. There was nothing specially new about these principles, for they had been in process of test for the preceding two years in Connecticut, and in others of the New England colonies had found and were to find application in one form or another, notably in Plymouth and Rhode Island. The chief difference in the civil practices of these colonies, including Massachusetts and New Haven, lies in what was understood by the "people," a word which, in the history of mankind, has always been easy to misinterpret. Hooker's statement on this point is idealistic, broad, and loose, and far from precise, if we are to judge from the brief synopsis of his sermon that has come down to us. He said that the foundations of authority were laid in the free consent of the "people" and that therefore the choice of public magistrates belonged unto the "people" by God's own allowance; that the privilege of election was to be exercised according to the blessed will and law of God, because by a free choice the hearts of the "people" would be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and the more ready to yield obedience; and, lastly, that they who had the power to appoint officers and magistrates had also the power to set the bounds and limitations of that power and place unto which they called them. What Hooker meant by his sermon is just what Roger Williams meant in *The Bloudy Tenent*, that authority ought to come from *below* and not from *above*. Everything in the working out of this idea would, therefore, depend on what was understood by "below," a term, which as we shall see later, Connecticut defined in her own particular way.

Under the stimulus of Hooker's powerful words the

general court set about its business of drafting a frame of government. We are left without any information as to how the work was performed. The preliminary task was undoubtedly placed in the hands of a committee, consisting certainly of Ludlow and Haynes and probably of Wells, Steel, and Hopkins also. That Ludlow shaped the instrument in its final form can hardly be questioned. Its brevity, clarity, and compactness are the earmarks of an exceptionally good legal mind, wholly unlike the verbosity of the average Puritan writer. When finished, the draft was put to vote and adopted, January 14, 1639, either unanimously or by a majority of the members present. We have no details.

VII

THE contents of the document, new chiefly in the form in which they are cast, consist of a preamble and eleven orders or laws. The preamble is a civil covenant binding the inhabitants of the three towns or plantations to be guided and governed in all civil things by the orders that followed. These orders are the fundamentals of the "public state" thus erected, the "laws or orders of general concernment," as they were later called by the court itself, which gave body to what Hooker calls the "combination." This "combination" was brought into being, not as something struck off for the first time but as a confirmation of an already established system by a government which had been functioning for more than two years and performing important political, financial, religious, and judicial duties. This government had from the beginning contained within itself all the essentials of self-rule, free from the regulating influence of any outside authority other than God himself.

The preamble was the counterpart of the church cove-

nant, the outward and visible sign of a civil as contrasted with a religious compact. By the latter a group of people entered into an agreement with God and each other to form a church; by the former they entered into a mutual agreement and common accord to form a state or commonwealth. The Connecticut preamble differs from the usual plantation covenant in that it was the work of three plantations, not one plantation, but it did not differ in principle from the covenants that had gone before and were to come after. The covenant or social compact idea lay at the bottom of the Puritan organization in both church and state.

The eleven orders that follow the preamble are in the form of a series of statute laws and differ from similar laws adopted or to be adopted in Plymouth, Rhode Island, and New Haven only so far as they are combined together in a concise, well-systematized scheme or frame of government and embody in unadorned, well-chosen language the essentials of popular rule such as the Connecticut leaders had planned for and Ludlow was competent to draw up. In its main features this government followed the Massachusetts model, based on a trading company's charter, with which these men were familiar. There are the same two general courts—one a court of election and legislation meeting in April (later changed to May), the other a court of legislation only meeting in September and doing much administrative and judicial business. There is also a governor, now for the first time provided for—Winthrop's commission having expired in the summer of 1636 and no successor having been named—and special rules were laid down concerning his election. He was to be a member of some approved congregation, was to be taken from among the magistrates, and was to hold office for only one year, though after another year had

elapsed he could be re-elected. This rule, which was in striking contrast with the rules of the other New England colonies, was retained only until 1660 when the restriction was removed and the choice thrown open.

In practice precautions were taken that neither governor nor magistrates should be hastily chosen, by introducing a series of checks, whereby names of such magistrates as were "fitte to put to election" should be tendered at a previous general court by the deputies from the towns and then, after presentation by the secretary, were to be acted on at the court of election in April (or May). Thus the governor and magistrates were to be elected "by the vote of the country." Just what this phrase actually meant will be considered later. The court could, if it wished, add to the names brought in by the deputies as many more as it judged requisite. Provision was made also for the orderly election of deputies from the towns, though no details are anywhere given as to how the local elections were to be conducted, except that those who exercised the local franchise were to be "admitted inhabitants" of the towns in which they resided.

This matter of the franchise at the beginnings of Connecticut's history has been greatly misunderstood. It has apparently been assumed that every male adult in the colony was given a right to a share in government and that in the exercise of that right the majority ruled. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Fundamental Orders, as well as later laws, make a sharp distinction between one who voted in the town and one who voted for colony officers, that is, between an "admitted inhabitant" and a "freeman," though they are none too clear as to the precise qualifications of each. An "admitted inhabitant" was any householder of "honest conversation," whatever that may mean, who had taken a

carefully worded oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, testifying to the fact that he was neither a Jew, a Quaker, nor an atheist. When admitted by majority vote of those properly qualified in town meeting, he could take part in local affairs, join in the election of local officials, and vote for deputies to the general court. But being an "admitted inhabitant" did not make a man a "freeman." The latter was any "admitted inhabitant" who had been called to freemanship either by the general court itself or by some one of the magistrates who was authorized by the court to make "freemen." Only when thus admitted to freemanship could the adult male householder offer himself for election as a deputy, vote for the higher officials of the colony, and himself fill the post of magistrate. Only a freeman could attend the court of election, either in person, or by proxy in case he lived in a distant town. Thus the "admitted inhabitants" were the householders in the towns, including also the adult males, married or unmarried, in their families, who as landowners and Trinitarians were the substantial and godly men in their respective communities; the "freemen" were only such of the "admitted inhabitants" as were deemed by the general court fit to take part in the affairs of the larger commonwealth. As neither women, servants, apprentices, nor anyone convicted of a scandalous offense were allowed to exercise the franchise or to have any part in the government of town or colony, it happened that in the actual working out of the system from the beginning the words "people" and "inhabitants" acquired a meaning much more restricted than that commonly given to them at the present time.

In the towns the "admitted inhabitants" had to be religious and godly men with a competency of estate, though not necessarily members of a church, and they ran

local affairs and voted for deputies; but in the colony the control of government lay in the hands of the "freemen" only, constituting probably less than one third of the "admitted inhabitants," the specially chosen of the godly men, the last sifting in the winnowing of the grain according to the Connecticut standard, who as the "freemen" constituted what Dr. Bronson calls "a kind of popular aristocracy—the trusted pillars of the commonwealth."

In defining the functions of a government the Fundamental Orders are very imperfect and incomplete and scarcely go beyond a statement of what the framework of the system should be. They are much less elaborate than is the outline drawn up by John Cotton in 1636, representing the government of Massachusetts, or than the New Haven fundamentals of 1639 and 1643. Except in the portions relating to the powers of the general court itself they make no attempt to determine where lay executive, administrative, and judicial authority, probably because the compilers of the instrument considered these responsibilities as vested in the general court itself, by which, if desired, they might be delegated to specially appointed officials. The governor was required to summon the general court, which could be prorogued and dissolved only by vote of its own members; and the magistrates, who in these early years were largely concerned with judicial matters, constituted, with the governor and deputy governor, a particular court "to administer justice according to the Lawes here established and for want thereof according to the rule of the Word of God." The general court was the supreme power in the commonwealth. It was given authority "to make lawes or repeale them, to grant Levyes, to admitt of Freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of to severall townes or per-

sons, to call either court or magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and for just cause displace or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offence, and also to deale in any other matter that concerns the good of this commonwealth except election of magistrates which shall be done by the whole body of Freemen." No provision was made for a speaker (*eo nomine*) or for any rules of parliamentary procedure, except so far as to allow liberty of speech, which was not to be exercised in an unreasonable and disorderly manner. Anyone so offending was liable to a reprimand from the presiding officer—governor, deputy governor, or moderator. Later, secrecy was enjoined upon all. The presiding officer was to put all things to vote and in case of a tie was to have the deciding voice. The general court sat as a single body in the meeting house at Hartford.

There are certain provisions among the Fundamental Orders that represent the fears these men felt regarding the danger of a powerful magistracy and their desire to give ultimate control into the hands of the "freemen"—not of the people at large, for as we have already seen there was a wide gulf fixed between the "freemen" and the "inhabitants and residents" named in the preamble. Such fears may have arisen from their experiences in Massachusetts, where the power of the magistrates was one of the reasons for their dissatisfaction with the government there. Therefore the orders decreed that should the governor or the major part of the magistrates neglect or refuse to summon the general court, in regular or special session according to the method prescribed, then the "freemen" or the major part of them could petition the magistrates to do so, and if they continued to refuse then the "freemen" could take it upon themselves to order the town constables to bring together the "ad-

mitted inhabitants" for the election of deputies. These deputies could meet, choose a moderator, and proceed "to doe any act of power w^{ch} any other court may." Furthermore, the deputies at any time when attending the general court might meet beforehand to prepare an agenda "of all things as may concerne the good of the publike as also to examine their own elections whether according to order," and if they found that any election had been illegally conducted they could exclude the deputy in question, temporarily, until the matter had been passed on by the general court in regular session. At this preliminary meeting the deputies could impose fines upon any that were late or that were disorderly after the meeting had come together. As it happened, however, no court composed of the freemen-deputies only was ever convened; only occasionally at this early period was a court held without a governor or deputy governor; and rarely was an election ever called in question by the general court.

The terms of the Fundamental Orders embody the ideas of the founders as to what they conceived "consent of the people" to mean. To them it meant no more than that the source of authority was below and within and not above and without. Their notion of the "consent of the people" was not the consent of all the inhabitants but rather the consent of those only who, according to the Puritan idea, were of a "religious carriage," and therefore by God's will most qualified to give such consent. Numbers and majorities, though recognized as necessary to an ultimate decision, had very little to do with the matter. The founders of Connecticut differed from their Puritan brethren in Massachusetts Bay and New Haven only so far as they wanted popular self-government to rest on a broader religious base than was

the case in the other two colonies, and they defined their religious requirement in the oath of fidelity which every man had to take before admittance. They were willing to concede a share in government to anyone who was godly, as they interpreted godly to mean, and was responsible, trustworthy, and law-abiding. To have done otherwise would have been to belie their Puritan heritage and convictions, for to the Puritan what we call democracy was looked upon as an aberration of the human mind, disapproved of God and his faithful elect. Only those who were Christians, of honest and peaceable conversation, substantial, respectable, and reliable fathers in Israel were worthy to build up a community the design of which was religion.

The men who were responsible for this noteworthy document showed no intention of creating an organic law that was to be sacrosanct against the general court's complete control over legislation. They omitted, either intentionally or unintentionally, all reference to their royal sovereign across the seas and seem to have wished to cut themselves off from all connection with English authority and English law. Later actions seem to show that they fully expected future courts to elaborate, alter, and add to the general rules already laid down. There are other "fundamental laws" to be found among the early records of the colony that are so called although not contained in the eleven original fundamentals, for the word "fundamental" was in frequent use among the Puritan lawgivers in New England and had no more subtle meaning than a general law—one of the foundation stones upon which the governmental structure rested.

VIII

THE Fundamental Orders were added to and eight times altered in the ensuing twenty-two years. A study of these alterations throws some light on the way the original orders were probably adopted, for in six cases out of the eight the change was brought about by act of the general court itself and in only two—one relating to the summoning of the general court and the other to the tenure of the governor—were the freemen called upon for their approval.

In 1644, five years after the orders were voted, the general court “ordered and adjudged” that the number of magistrates present, sufficient to constitute a lawful court, should be three instead of four as stated in the tenth fundamental, and this change in a “fundamental” was effected by the simple fiat of the court itself. In 1647 the court “ordered, sentenced and decreed” (the very words used in the orders themselves) that the governor or deputy governor with two magistrates should have power to hold a particular court according to the laws established, and in case the governor or deputy governor were absent then three magistrates could choose a moderator and proceed to business. This was really equivalent to a twelfth fundamental and it too was issued by fiat of the general court as a law like the other fundamentals. Three times, in the years 1646, 1657, and 1659, as will be noted later on, were the law and practice of the franchise materially changed and in each case the general court acted entirely on its own responsibility. Again in 1661 the number of deputies was reduced one-half from each town in the colony, thus altering, by act of the general court alone, the eighth fundamental, which allowed the three original towns to send four each. At the same time a further remarkable

provision was made, that in an emergency a general court "with full power and authority" might consist of only the deputies of the towns "on the river," with "so many magistrates as the law required." These instances would seem sufficient to prove that in all probability the original fundamentals were the work of the general court acting by itself, for they show that in governmental matters of the highest importance the court at a later time altered these fundamentals with entire confidence in its power and right to do so.

Only twice before the coming of the charter were the freemen called on for their approval. In 1654 "the freemen voted and ordered to be added to the Fundamentals" that in the absence of the governor and deputy governor the magistrates, by majority vote, could call a regular assembly, choose a moderator, and pass laws in the usual manner. As the number of freemen was increasing, thirty-six having been admitted at this very court, their influence was increasing also, and the matter at issue concerned them very closely. The last revision made brings out this point still more clearly. In 1660 the decision was reached by the general court to alter the law regarding the tenure of the governor—the most important change thus far suggested. In putting this decision into effect the procedure adopted was as follows: The general court drafted the recommendation and ordered the secretary to insert in the warrants for the choice of deputies the proposal that the choice of governor should be thrown open and not restricted as in the Fundamental Orders. This proposal was made of course, only to the freemen, who alone elected the deputies, and they were instructed to vote on the question at the next court of election. The procedure, though more complete, is similar to that adopted in 1654 and shows that in matters of government

the freemen and not the inhabitants at large were considered the final seat of authority, as far as the administration of the colony, apart from that of the towns, was concerned, and that in certain important situations, though by no means necessarily in all, their approval was deemed advisable. In most cases, however, the action of magistrates and deputies in the general court was undoubtedly considered sufficient in matters of legislation.

But even when the approval of the freemen was sought a striking manifestation of Puritan political philosophy is revealed. As the general court itself decided who were worthy to be made freemen and made only such as it saw fit—not under any mandatory law defining freeman-ship but by God's own allowance—it becomes evident that the court was asking the approval of a group of men, very limited in number, the members of which had been selected by itself. If the general court could make a freeman at will and, for scandalous offense, unmake him then it approached very near the possession of more than supreme power, inasmuch as it could determine who should be the ones to exercise what the "freemen" were supposed to possess, and that is ultimate consent. Only in the choice of deputies did the "admitted inhabitants" have any determining influence and even this choice was restricted to "freemen" only, such as the general court approved. This is a curious situation to have existed in a colony that by popular repute is thought to have started as a "commonwealth-democracy."

The truth is that the Connecticut Puritan's idea of the political and religious organization of society was far removed from the democratic idea of later times. It sought the welfare of the community not the individual and in town and colony relegated the individual as an individual to a subordinate place in the social order. No one can

study the history of the Connecticut towns during the seventeenth century without realizing how at every point the freedom of the individual was under restraint whenever the needs of the community at large were involved. In the seventeenth century the towns were covenanted groups quite as much as were the churches. In the distribution and settling of lands; the selling and accumulation of lots; the reversion of land to the town in case the individual moved away; the control of the meadows after the haying season was over; the obligation of the individual to join in labor for the common welfare, as in making roads, clearing brush, and killing blackbirds; the access to the commons, woods, and waste; the use of timber and other natural resources; the attitude toward strangers and aliens; and the making of grants to artisans, millers, fullers, tanners, and the like, where the title was not absolute but only usufructuary—the interests of the community came first and those of the individual were of secondary importance. Town liberty was conserved but not individual liberty. “Saving the good of the community,” though not often expressed, was always understood in all transactions in which the individual had a part. The town records of the seventeenth century are full of votes limiting individual freedom.

That which was true of the towns was true of the commonwealth also. Before the coming of the charter and even more so afterward, the higher government was in the hands of a very small number of men. It was a combination and commonwealth, and later a corporation, that was largely divorced from the inhabitants as a whole and did not regard them *all* as necessary to its existence. It worked through the towns rather than through the people who resided in them, and yet, it did not hesitate to control, punish, and penalize the individual, whenever

the interests of the colony demanded that it do so, without regard to whether the individual had political rights or not. In the political creed of the Connecticut Puritan the essentials of modern democracy—the rights and liberties of the individual and the sacredness of popular representation and majority rule—had no place.

IX

THUS the men who drew up the Fundamental Orders had a perfectly definite idea as to what the words “inhabitants” and “people” were to mean in the practical business of running towns and commonwealth. And just as they disclosed their faith in that direction, so they made known their conviction regarding the relative importance, in another direction, of deputies and magistrates. There was to be no “negative vote” or “negative voice” in Connecticut as there had been in Massachusetts. The deputies were to be supreme in matters of legislation and their will was not to be overridden by magisterial opposition. But as time went on and the administration settled down to a working routine, fear of the magistrates lessened and their position tended to increase in dignity and prestige as well as in judicial authority. They obtained no enlargement of political powers, unless the reduction of the number of those necessary to constitute a general court and their right to preside at its meetings in the absence of governor and deputy governor may be so considered. But they received noteworthy extensions of privilege in other directions. In the first place, with the governor and his deputy, they composed the particular court—court of magistrates or quarter court—which was a “tribunal for the settlement of differences and the establishment of just rights between particular persons, in distinction from the General Court, which dealt with

matters pertaining to the rights and benefit of all the inhabitants." The particular court was a common law court with a jury, the judicial functions of which were taken over, after 1664, by the county courts and the court of assistants, the latter being superseded in 1711 by the superior court. In the second place, in addition to their duties as judges, the magistrates were authorized, either collectively or individually, to commit incorrigibles to prison, to swear in juries, to render judgment in case a jury was deadlocked, to mitigate or increase damages awarded by a jury, to give bills of divorce, occasionally to grant licenses for the sale of liquor, to exercise discretionary power, should it be necessary, in punishing Quakers or sending them to prison, and to superintend the disposal of servants. They could perform the marriage ceremony, as could also the deputies and the magistrates' assistants in the more remote towns who were chosen by the towns to hear cases of less than forty shillings, with right of appeal to the particular court. They could make freemen, give the oath of fidelity to all males over sixteen years of age, press men and munitions for a defensive war, appoint days of thanksgiving and humiliation in the intervals between the sessions of the general court, serve as commissioners representing Connecticut at the meetings of the New England Confederation, and perform other diplomatic duties. The respect in which they were held appears from their being freed from all military service, exempted from all ferry dues, and granted the right to be entertained during the sittings of the particular court. Thus the magistrate in Connecticut, though never considered divinely guided as was his fellow magistrate of Massachusetts, won, through his service as a member of the particular court and his usefulness as an agent of administration, a position of influence superior

to that of the ordinary freeman and deputy, though both of these might at any time aspire to be magistrates themselves, should their fellow freemen choose to elect them as such.

X

COINCIDENT with the advancement of the magistrates a reverse movement was taking place affecting the status of the freemen and their deputies. This reverse movement would seem to indicate a loss of confidence on the part of the general court in the worthiness of those whom the towns were admitting to a share in local government and to the privilege of electing deputies. Perhaps for the same reason stress was laid more frequently than before on "honest conversation" as a qualification for "admitted inhabitants" and the towns were required to give certificates testifying in each instance to the "peaceable and honest conversation" of those whom they recommended to the general court for election as freemen.

At any rate something was happening to the social and moral standards of the Connecticut communities. The particular court records, as far as they are extant (1637-1663), are filled with entries which show the presence in the colony of an undesirable element, neither better nor worse than appeared elsewhere, but sufficiently filled with evil intents to show that Connecticut during these years was not an abode of saints only. As in other colonies most of those charged with wanton dalliance, fornication, lying, drunkenness, blasphemy, robbery, and breaking the laws of the colony were apprentices and servants, of whom there were many in Connecticut as elsewhere bound to labor for a term of years. But some of these delinquents were clearly of the better classes, goodmen, misters, and esquires. Among them were those charged

with contemptuous words and insolent carriage toward court and commonwealth, threatening and malicious speeches, defiance of authority and law, and the slighting of court orders. Men, and women too, were brought before the magistrates and juries in suits for debt, damages, trespass, extortion, slander, defamation, and offenses of all sorts "against the law." The court felt called upon to regulate very minutely the personal conduct and domestic welfare of the people of Connecticut during the years before the coming of the charter, and to take cognizance of such matters as using tobacco, drinking and selling liquor, playing cards, working and traveling on the Sabbath, marriage and divorce, and, not infrequently, relations between husbands and wives, fathers and children, masters and servants. Some twenty or more cases of witchcraft are recorded for Connecticut and New Haven before 1663, with at least ten hangings. Two women were executed for other reasons, one for poisoning her husband and the other for saying that "Christ was a Bastard and she could prove it by Scripture." There were others too whose utterances, if not as blasphemous were, to say the least, disrespectful of the clergy and the New England way of ecclesiastical polity and procedure. The troubles that arose between 1650 and 1660 in the churches of Windsor, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Middletown gave opportunities for a good deal of free speaking. The Rev. Mr. Stow of Middletown was called a contentious, pestilent person by several people, one of whom charged him with saying "that those that were not in the visible covenant" were "dogs and among dogs and in [the] Kingdom of Sathan and at Sathans command." As a result Stow was relieved of his pastorate by the general court, though allowed to continue preaching if he could get anyone to hear him.

Whether there was any connection between the limitation of the franchise and the troubled state of the colony during these years it is impossible to say. Newcomers were undoubtedly thrusting themselves into the towns, religious disturbances were increasing ill will, controversy and disorder were troubling the magistrates (if the records of the particular court are to be accepted as reflecting the spirit of the times), and the witchcraft mania was approaching its height. Certain is it that in 1646, 1657, and 1659, for reasons not specially disclosed, steps were taken to bar undesirables from having any part in the government and, seemingly, to rebuke the towns for letting down the bars of admission and the freemen for their want of orderliness at the courts of election. As we have already seen all these alterations in the law of the colony were made by fiat of the court in the regular course of its legislation, without reference to the freemen for their approval.

In 1646 the court decreed that anyone who had been fined or whipped for a scandalous offense, if legally convicted, should be disfranchised, and such an order proves that the offenders so punished were not servants or apprentices who had no vote, but men in the higher walks of life who could vote under the colony rule. In 1657 the court further decreed that no one was to be admitted a freeman unless he could present "an affirmative certificate under the hands of all or a major part" of the deputies of his town to the effect that he was of "a peaceable and honest conversation." Later in the same year it forbade the towns to admit anyone under twenty-one years of age or who had not at least £30 estate, thus restricting materially the meaning of the term "admitted inhabitant," as used in the seventh fundamental. Finally in 1659, in order to prevent, if possible, the "tumult and

trouble" that had disturbed the courts of election, it ordered that no one be admitted a freeman or have the privilege of freemanship conferred upon him unless he was twenty-one years of age, had borne office, was possessed of £30 of "proper personal estate," and was a man of honest and peaceable conversation. In these measures there is ample evidence to show that the ideals of Hooker, as presented in his sermon and commonly interpreted, whether at any time they had actually been put into practice or not, had become completely discredited within twenty years of the adoption of the Fundamental Orders.

XI

AN explanation in part of these measures lies in the fact that the colony was extending its jurisdiction and facing new conditions as one by one additional plantations came into existence. Alien peoples were drifting in and larger areas of territory, some of it adjoining the coast as well as the rivers, were scattering more widely the activities of the commonwealth and bringing unexpected problems. The Connecticut colony was pushing its jurisdiction eastwardly toward the Pequot country and westwardly toward the Dutch at Manhattan. The former region had been known to the English for a long time, as it was familiar to the coasting vessels going to and from Boston, and it had served as a rendezvous for the Connecticut soldiers during the Pequot war. John Winthrop, Jr., on his return from England in May, 1643, after spending a year or two in Massachusetts, turned to Connecticut and in 1645, with the consent of the general court, began a plantation on the west side of the Thames River, laying out lands and inviting settlers. The plantation was organized, May 6, 1646. In 1650 fourteen families arrived

as a covenanted church from Gloucester, with their minister, Richard Blinman, and uniting themselves with those already there became the first church of the community. In 1658 the name of the place was changed from Pequot to New London.

Just as Winthrop was the founder of New London, the leader and director of the people there, so was Roger Ludlow the one who began the opening of the coast region to the west. Having taken part in the swamp fight against the Pequots near Southport in 1637, he saw the possibilities of the region and in September, 1639, obtained permission from the general court to promote a plantation at Pequannock and for that purpose purchased land of the Indians there. From this purchase and the settling of peoples that followed sprang the towns of Stratford and Fairfield. For a while these two plantations acted jointly in judicial and financial matters, but after 1650 appear separately in the colony's list of estates. Ludlow removed from Windsor probably in 1640, took up his residence in Uncoway (Fairfield) and remained there until 1654, when he returned to England, as did many others who were attracted by the successes of the Puritans there and the offers of positions and honors. He made his way to Dublin, where in all probability he died. He had been influential in promoting the settlement of Norwalk also, which was started about 1650 and made a town the next year. Settlers continued to move westward along the coast, coming into contact with the Dutch moving eastward, but Connecticut made no effort to extend her jurisdiction beyond Norwalk until just before the absorption of New Haven when she endeavored to draw away Stamford and Greenwich from their allegiance to that colony.

Expansion in the neighborhood of the original river

towns was slow, partly because of the sufficiency for the moment of the arable land and partly because of the dense woods that stretched to the east and west on both sides of the great river. Enterprising traders had moved up the Tunxis or Farmington River, engaged in tar-making and in searching for favorable places for settlement. Projects for removal were entertained as early as 1640 and finally led to the planting of Farmington and its recognition as a town in 1645. Movements farther north but down the course of the meandering stream began soon after, and in 1664 Massaco or Simsbury was permanently settled, as an appendage of Windsor, and in 1671 was made a town. This was the farthest point inland from the great river to be occupied for many years.

There was no settlement to the southward, between Wethersfield and the mouth of the Connecticut until 1647, when enterprising men, overcoming their fear of the Indians, began to interest themselves in a certain attractive locality that they must have passed frequently on their way up and down the river. Once begun the plantation there grew rapidly and was sufficiently populated to receive recognition as the town of Mattabeseck in 1651, a name that was changed to Middletown two years later. Norwich, where Jonathan Brewster had located his trading house, was settled by a migrating church congregation from Saybrook, and after various vicissitudes was accepted by the general court as a town in 1663.

Thus without including the towns of Southampton and Easthampton at the eastern end of Long Island and of Setauket and Huntington, about the center of the north shore, which were under Connecticut's jurisdiction for only a short time, there were in 1662, Hartford, Wethersfield, Windsor, Farmington, Middletown, New London, Norwalk, Stratford, and Fairfield, with Norwich, Ston-

ington, Killingworth, Haddam, Simsbury, and the New Haven towns soon to come. These towns, unlike those of Massachusetts, were situated so far apart as to render communication and transportation difficult and infrequent, in a day when traffic was slow and almost entirely by water. Such a situation had a marked effect in slowing down the tempo of the colony and developing that spirit of local independence and self-reliance which has always been so characteristic a feature of the Connecticut towns.

One town has not been included in the list given above—Saybrook. The circumstances in its case call for a somewhat fuller treatment. Starting as a blockhouse and fort, built by Lion Gardiner under Winthrop's direction in 1635, it gradually grew into a settlement which had lost much of its military character by 1641. There was no church organization until 1646, though John Higginson was there as minister for four years. Fenwick was the only one of the lords and gentlemen ever to reside there, as he did with the exception of a few years (1636–1639) until 1645. When it became quite evident that the English grantees had given up all intention of using the place as a retreat, the Connecticut leaders, who were undoubtedly kept posted on the situation by Edward Hopkins, one of the associate grantees, began negotiations for a "treaty of combination," to which Fenwick in 1639 agreed, as far as the fort and the land about it were concerned, the question of boundaries and jurisdiction being left open. Connecticut offered to help financially in the repair and upkeep of the fort and in 1643 made Fenwick a freeman and magistrate of the colony. Then on December 5, 1644, a formal agreement was drawn up, according to which Connecticut allowed Fenwick certain duties on goods, furs, and livestock passing out of the mouth of the river, while he in return made over the fort and the

land, but not the jurisdiction which he could not convey, to the use of the people of the colony, to be enjoyed by them forever. He promised to transfer also all the territory named in the Warwick deed, lying between the Connecticut River and the "Narragansett River" (presumably Narragansett Bay) "if it came into his power." This agreement was merely a bill of sale of land, the ownership of which was assumed to be vested in Warwick, the grantees, and their associates, though it is doubtful if Fenwick had a legal right to alienate any part of the land without the formal consent of the other grantees, which he never obtained, as far as we know. Much less could he transfer the remainder of the land together with the jurisdiction, thus conveying powers of government over the whole territory. Legally it made no difference that the lords and gentlemen had abandoned their claim, at least as far as Fenwick's right of disposal was concerned.

Fenwick went to England in 1645 and was there continuously until his death in 1658. Why he did not obtain a confirmation or renewal of the original Warwick patent while there or secure the consent of the lords and gentlemen, some of whom were still living, to the transfer of land and jurisdiction, as Connecticut desired, is hard to understand, unless it be that no copy of such a patent could anywhere be found. Doubtless consent could have been obtained if it would have done any good. It seems reasonable to believe that by that time the true inwardness of the patent had been realized and Fenwick had discovered that it was not in his power to make the transfer. This cannot have been due to any difficulties he might have met in endeavoring to find a copy of the patent or the deed. The former, had it ever existed, could have been obtained from the patent books of the council

or from Warwick himself; the latter from some one of the grantees, just as John Winthrop, Jr., later found a copy among the Hopkins papers. There was, as Mrs. Cullick, Fenwick's sister, said in her petition, "a total failure" on Fenwick's part "respecting his procuring of a Patten for the Colony." It was all a "great disappointment."

Fenwick's death in 1658 left the question of land and jurisdiction exactly where it was before, except for the fort and land at Saybrook, which Connecticut, whether legally or not, had taken under its direct control. Immediately on hearing that Fenwick had died and finding that they had profited but little from their negotiations with him, the Connecticut authorities demanded of his executor, Captain John Cullick, who had married Fenwick's sister Elizabeth, the return of a part of the £1600 already paid (as Connecticut estimated it) before letters of administration would be granted. Cullick promised to return £500, a sum that had not been entirely paid in 1663, when Mrs. Cullick petitioned for a remission of the amount still due—about £150. This request was refused by the general court. Whether the balance was ever paid in full is doubtful, but it is quite certain that this Fenwick money was never used for the purpose of meeting the expense of obtaining the charter, as has sometimes been said.

Thus in 1644 Saybrook came into Connecticut's possession and from this time forward was reckoned one of Connecticut's towns. In 1654 the population was rated at fifty-three taxable persons and the value of the estates there higher than those of either Middletown or Norwalk. The settlement must have prospered in this interval of twenty years. In 1663 it was rated above these two towns and above Norwich also, showing that the habitable lands outside the fort and the palisade were gradually

increasing in extent as more people came in, and that the whole was beginning to take on the form of a town of the usual type. It was granted representation in the general court in 1651, placed in the list of towns "within this jurisdiction" in 1654, and shared all the burdens and obligations, including jury duty and military service, as would any other town. In 1660 its church congregation, under the leadership of the Rev. James Fitch, migrated as a body to settle the plantation of Norwich at the head of navigation on the Thames. A new church was organized to take its place.

The powers of the towns were carefully defined by the general court in October, 1639. They could dispose of all lands undisposed of within their boundaries and could traffic freely in their own commodities. They could choose their own officials, with power to look after the prudential affairs of the community, make orders not repugnant to the general laws of the colony, impose penalties for the breaches of these orders, levy fines, and distrain for their payment. They could select the magistrates' assistants whom the general court required to hold court in minor cases and were ordered to keep books for the recording of lands, the entering of the estates of deceased persons, and the registering of the earmarks of cattle. Additional laws were passed from time to time concerning weights and measures, hogs at large, and other local concerns. The central government kept a watchful eye upon its towns and plantations, but did not often interfere in their affairs unless requested to do so. It expected each settlement to stand on its own feet, to pay without grumbling its share of the colony's running expenses, and to keep the peace among its own inhabitants and with those of the neighboring towns. The general court did not encourage new settlements or grant town privileges until

certain conditions had been fulfilled that would reasonably assure the meeting of these expectations.

The towns were supposed, after having the colony laws read publicly at town meeting, to copy them into a town law book provided specially for the purpose, though there is no evidence that anything of the kind was done before 1650. Aroused by the efforts of the Bay colony to prepare a code of law to meet the demands of the inhabitants for a more certain knowledge of what the laws were all about, the Connecticut general court in 1646 requested Ludlow "to take some paynes" in making an abridgment of the laws already passed. This Ludlow did. The results were approved in May, 1650, and issued in manuscript copies as the code of that year. Transcripts were sent to the towns, headed by the Fundamental Orders, and this code, whether added to or not I do not know, remained the "town law book" for more than twenty years. In 1671 a revision was called for, which was accepted the next year and ordered to be printed (1673), with a preface written by the governor and the assistants containing this sentence, "Being willing that all concerned by this Impression may know what they may expect at our hands as Justice in the Administration of our Government here, we have endeavored not onely to ground our *Capital Laws* upon the *Word of God*, but also all other *Lawes* upon the Justice and Equity held forth in that *Word* which is a most perfect Rule."

XII

THE colony thus settled in the wilderness had necessarily to provide itself with the means of subsistence and growth, and its efforts to develop its resources are worthy of examination as those of a settlement largely dependent upon its own efforts for its maintenance. Life was agricultural

and pastoral and only to a small extent was concerned with industry and the traffic in furs. The people were engaged for the most part in raising corn and other grains and were busy with the breeding of horses, cattle, swine, sheep, and other livestock, none of which were indigenous to the country, but had in the beginning to be brought from England or the Continent. Horses were used but little as draft animals, because for ploughing and other similar purposes they were found less serviceable than oxen. They were chiefly employed for transportation, were small in size, and were probably brought originally from England, Ireland, or Holland. Neat cattle were essential to Connecticut's prosperity. They furnished the inhabitants with flesh for food, hides for leather, and strength for ploughing and hauling, and their possession was an index to the owner's personal rating. In their garden plots the householders raised small amounts of tobacco, flax, and hemp; from the woods they obtained timber for building, pitch and tar for their boats, and pipe and hogshead staves and headings for export. To facilitate local exchange a market was first held at Hartford in 1643 and, following the English custom with which the colonists must have been thoroughly familiar, two fairs were arranged for at which business transactions of all kinds might be carried on. Of sea-going traffic there was little, the people of the colony, even as late as 1680, "having neither licence nor ability to launch out in any considerable trade at sea." Pinnaces and sloops, built in the colony, passed up and down the rivers and out into the Sound, and made their way along the coast to Boston and to the Dutch at Manhattan.

Corn was the commodity most frequently exported, always under restrictions laid down by the general court, in order that the colony might not be deprived in periods

of scarcity of its most necessary staple, but biscuit, bread, beaver, pipestaves, and livestock were also shipped away to Boston, New Amsterdam, Long Island, the Delaware, and perhaps even at this early date, by enterprising captains, to the West Indies. Out of this traffic, in vessels owned in Connecticut and elsewhere, arose the beginnings of a custom service, finding its origin in the collecting of dues at the mouth of the river—the “Fort rate”—to discharge the obligations incurred by the agreement with Fenwick in 1644. We meet with the equivalent of clearances, entrances, naval officers, forfeitures, collectors, and searchers in rudimentary form. Rules were laid down concerning the dumping of ballast, the prevention of Sabbath Day sailings, and the conduct of incoming mariners and sailors, who made much trouble for these Puritan communities, whether in Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, or New Haven. The medium of exchange was chiefly the products of the soil, though payments were made in wampum and beaver also. There was less wampum or *se-wan*, as the Dutch called the Indian substitute for money, in the river towns than in the coast towns of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Haven, or than in New Amsterdam where the shell supply was nearer at hand. There are traces of coins—nobles, angels, crowns, and marks—probably brought from England, and of Spanish dollars and Dutch guilders, which were acquired in trade.

There seems to have been neither great wealth nor extreme poverty among the people at large, though there were men in Hartford who possessed goodly estates in England or who brought a measure of wealth with them into the colony. Pyncheon of Springfield owned many houses and lands in the parishes of Writtle and Widford in Essex; Edward Hopkins was a wealthy man, as were

the Eatons of New Haven wealthy men before they left England, and Hopkins bequeathed money in the colony for educational purposes. Captain Richard Lord had an estate valued at £3000. Both Haynes and Wyllys were rich and spent money in subduing the wilderness and building houses, that of Wyllys being one of the finest, if not the finest at the time in New England. But facilities for accumulating money in the colonies were few and far between. Staple products were insufficient to furnish a surplus for export that would pay for the commodities needed from abroad; means of transportation were limited almost entirely to water travel, as highways for horses and carts were almost unknown even among the river towns, though there must have been a certain use of the Indian paths down the river and toward Quinnipiac, for cattle were driven both to Saybrook and New Haven. Such transit was, however, slow, arduous, and infrequent. Because of these difficulties of travel distant towns were allowed to vote by proxy at the court of elections and the time and expense involved in travel led to the reduction in the number of deputies to the general court in 1661.

The colonists lived in a world heavily wooded, though because of the river bottoms probably less heavily wooded than had been the case with Massachusetts. The river Indians were never a serious menace, but those in the neighborhood of some of the coast towns now and then became threatening and the government kept a strict watch over them, everywhere and at all times. Wild animals were dangerous and continued to be so throughout the century. The gray wolf was a "pernicious creature" and a constant threat to the lives of the planters and the peace of the plantations. Less common were bears, panthers ("painters"), and lynxes ("wild cats"), but they also made trouble because like the wolves they destroyed

sheep. Both towns and colony paid bounties for wild animals killed and wolf-pits were common both within and without the settlements. Beaver were everywhere and "beaver brooks" and "beaver meadows" are still so-called in local nomenclature. The red fox, members of the weasel tribe—otters, fishers, martens, mink, wolverines, and skunks (Indian "seganku")—muskrats (Indian "musquash"), Norway or wharf rats—all abounded. Moose, too, raccoon (from which coon-caps were made), squirrels, and woodchucks were everywhere. The streams were full of fish and in the Sound and tributary waters and harbors were hair-seals, from which came the seal caps of the colonists, porpoises, and right whales which furnished oil and whalebone. Whales were caught by Connecticut seamen as early as 1647. Some parts of the clothing of the early settlers were fashioned from the skin of the white-tailed deer, which ran through the woods and in severe seasons penetrated the settlements themselves.

XIII

SUCH was the general situation in the commonwealth when in the year 1660 news came of the restoration of Charles II to the throne of his fathers. The news was disconcerting to all the Puritan colonies, who looked to the ascendancy of the Puritan minority in England for their continued security and freedom from interference, but it was particularly disconcerting to Connecticut which had no certain legal standing as a colony. However much the leaders may have placed their trust in the validity of the Warwick deed, they must have come to realize by this time that it would not stand the test of legal scrutiny. They had been unfortunate in their attempt to obtain a patent from the Long Parliament, as Roger Williams had done in 1644, and Fenwick's failure to do anything for

them in England and his manifest inability to carry out his promises must have shown them that something was wrong with their title. If they had not even the slight protection that the transfer of the Warwick deed might have given them, they stood defenseless except for their moral right to exist as a colony of upright and honorable men, as they believed themselves to be, with a prescriptive right to exist as a colony. But were the authorities in England inclined to be unfriendly and ready to take the severe measures that some of the colony's opponents in New England wished them to do, they might advise the king to receive the colony into his own hands and for good and sufficient reasons get rid of the Puritan governments altogether. He might even place a governor general over them, as Massachusetts had feared would be done as early as 1635 and as was actually done when the Dominion of New England was set up under Andros in 1686. Connecticut's leaders knew that the colony was helpless in the presence of this danger and they laid their plans to meet it by the best means at their command. As events were to show these plans were shrewdly and even audaciously conceived and successfully carried out. The man who obtained for Connecticut her first charter and consequently her first legal right to exist as a corporate colony was John Winthrop, Jr., whom the freemen of Connecticut, with considerable adroitness, had drawn away from New Haven, where he was residing, by offering him the governorship of the colony in 1657.

John Winthrop, Jr., the eldest and most worthy son of the governor of Massachusetts, was born in 1606 and was at this time fifty-four years of age. He had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not graduate, was a member of the Inner Temple, in early years had been a traveller of wide experience, and was a gentleman

of many personal contacts, not only among the East Anglian Puritans but also among the leading men of the day in England. He never practiced law but early developed an interest in colonization, and after some hesitation joined his father in Massachusetts Bay in 1631. From that time forward New England became the field of his activities and in 1635 he accepted the offer of the lords and gentlemen to start a settlement at the mouth of the Connecticut River, later known as Saybrook. Remaining there but a year he returned to England but soon came back to America, sailing for Boston in 1643, with the idea of promoting an iron-work in Massachusetts in conjunction with Dr. Robert Child, the remonstrant. This undertaking not proving successful, he withdrew in 1645, having already been attracted by opportunities elsewhere. He received a grant of Fisher's Island from Massachusetts in 1640 "against the mouth of the Pecoit [Thames] Ryver, as far as is in our power, reserving the right of Conectecot and Saybrooke," and though at the time he made no effort to occupy and improve it, its possession called his attention to the Pequot country, where, as we have already seen, he began a plantation under the auspices of Connecticut, as a "curb to the Indians." Connecticut's title to the territory having been confirmed by the New England Confederation, he was commissioned a magistrate in 1648, to exercise justice there according to the Connecticut laws and the rule of righteousness, and became a freeman of the colony in 1651. After a year's residence in New Haven, where he was attracted by the project for an iron-work, he decided to throw in his lot permanently with Connecticut and accepted an election as governor in 1657, an opportunity which was later made more palatable by the change of tenure effected in 1660.

When the news of the Restoration came to that colony

in 1660, Winthrop called a hurried gathering of such magistrates and deputies as could be assembled, who agreed to recommend to the next general court, that of March, 1661, the duty and necessity of dispatching a speedy address to "our Sovereigne Lord Charles," declaring that the inhabitants were "his Highness loyall and faythfull subjects" and asking for "the continuance and confirmation of such priviledges and liberties" as were essential for "the comfortable and peaceable settlement" of the colony. At the next court, that of May, a committee was appointed to perfect the address, which in the meantime had been drawn up by the governor, and to frame a petition for presentation "to his Ma^{tie}," together with letters to such "noble personages" as might be thought favorable to their request. Though many of those in England friendly to the Puritan cause in New England were either dead, in poor health, in retirement or concealment, or in prison, there were a few upon whom the colony believed it might call in this emergency. Among them were the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain, who had married as his second wife the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, was connected with the Essex group, and felt strongly inclined toward the Puritan party, even though he had played an important part in the restoration of the king; Lord Saye and Sele, lord privy seal; Lord Brooke, the son of the grantee; and a few others. The petition was accompanied by a hurried and incomplete statement of what the colony wanted. At the same time a body of instructions was prepared that presented in greater detail sundry matters of a more particular nature. These documents were communicated at the meeting of the court in June and approved. As Winthrop was to be the colony's agent in transacting the business in England, the court gave him a fairly free hand to do

as he thought best, allowing him to write additional letters and to offer any further petitions that he thought necessary. It appropriated £80 for his expenses and £500, in the form of a letter of credit (dated June 16, 1661) upon London merchants, to meet the legal costs and such perquisites and gratuities as might be necessary. He was expected to obtain, if possible, a confirmation of the Warwick patent, which the colony still hoped was in existence somewhere, and to secure in its stead a royal letters patent or charter, containing such additions and enlargements as the colony wanted. Winthrop was specially enjoined to see that the "liberties and privileges inserted in the Patent" should "not be inferiour or short to what is granted to the Massachusetts."

Winthrop, bearing the address, petition, and letters, sailed from New Amsterdam to Holland, where he arrived September 6, 1661. He proceeded via Harwich to London, taking up his residence with William Whiting in Coleman Street, next door to the church of which John Davenport had been the vicar, and more than two miles from Whitehall where most of his work was to be done. In the course of his activities he was probably advised that the address written in the colony was not in satisfactory form, and therefore he drafted, or caused to be drafted, another and more suitable text, in which he prayed for a "Renual of the said [Warwick] Pattent under your Ma^{ties} great Seale." Yet there is no reference to a Warwick patent in the Connecticut charter as there is to the New England Company's patent in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. This fact in itself is fairly conclusive evidence that no such patent ever existed.

Winthrop was highly thought of in England, where he was known not only to the survivors of the original

grantees but also to many a prominent man outside the Puritan fold. He had corresponded for some years, at various times, with Robert Boyle, the governor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the most representative member, if not the founder, of the Royal Society; with Sir Kenelm Digby, whose connection with the Winthrops was close and intimate; with Samuel Hartlib, the author of numerous pamphlets on husbandry and a great variety of other topics, educational, social, and religious; and with William Brereton, son of Sir William, the latter of whom had died before Winthrop reached England. The younger Brereton, knowing Winthrop's great interest in the medicine and science of the day, proposed him for membership in the Royal Society and he was admitted January 1, 1662. While in England he took an active part in the proceedings and read a number of papers. Though he found Saye and Sele too ill to be of much use to him, he learned that the Puritan lord had already spoken to Clarendon, the lord chancellor, in his behalf and was able to give him useful introductions. He was presented by Hartlib to Dr. Benjamin Worsley, who had been officially concerned with colonial affairs for a decade and he renewed his friendship with William Jessop, former secretary of the grantees and for many years identified with Puritan enterprises. The letter which he bore to the Earl of Manchester must have been of great assistance to him.

Despite his personal influence and the influence of his friends, Winthrop realized that his path to success was not to be without obstacles. The Puritan cause was not in favor in England and the Puritan colonies had many enemies in America. The spokesman of these was Samuel Maverick, who had the ear of Clarendon and during the year 1661 had written him from New Amsterdam many

letters on the subject. Returning to England he had followed up these letters with personal interviews, in which he sought to checkmate the Connecticut request. "The two southern Collonyes Conecticott and New Haven [he wrote] have no Pattents that I know but govern by Combination amongst themselves, but in a strange confused way, and in this Confusion [are] the governments in New England at present, and I conceive will be no otherwise untill his Maies^{tie} be pleased to call all againe in to his owne hands and disposall. . . reduced under his Ma^{ties} obedience." Though Maverick's strictures were chiefly directed against Massachusetts they were aimed at Connecticut also, and he would have been glad to see the latter's petition for a charter denied and a governor general placed over all the colonies in New England. But Lord Saye and Sele also had the ear of the chancellor and Maverick had to acknowledge that there were influential men in England who had "no desire that these persons in New England should be reduced." Their insistence and Winthrop's dexterous diplomacy had the desired effect. Winthrop handed in his final petition some time before February 6, 1662. This was received by Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the principal secretaries of state, and by him referred to the attorney general. The latter's report being favorable, the secretary acting under instructions from the king in Council, caused a warrant to be issued under the royal sign manual authorizing the attorney general to prepare the text of the charter, apparently based on Winthrop's own version which the crown's legal advisers were able to put into proper official form. These preliminaries having been completed, the charter passed rapidly through the seals and as a writ of privy seal, dated May 10, 1662, was enrolled in the six clerks' office in Chancery Lane. It received the great seal on the same

day, as is evident from the entries in the accounts of the clerk of the hanaper and from Winthrop's own report of proceedings.

There is no way of finding out exactly how much it cost Winthrop to obtain the charter. Roger Williams, in a moment of what appears to be gross exaggeration, said that Rhode Island paid about one thousand pounds and Connecticut about six thousand pounds for their charters. These figures are not possible of acceptance, and it may be that Williams, recalling the circumstances nearly twenty years after the event and when seventy-eight years of age, was either forgetful or careless. He wrote in thousands when he should have written in hundreds. Six hundred pounds would be nearly correct, if we include the amount appropriated for Winthrop's expenses. Winthrop, when writing home, May 13, 1662, expressed the hope that the colony would be "well satisfied about the charge that had been necessary for the affecting and prosecuting a business of such consequence"; and had he run over the £500 allotted he would doubtless have heard from the colony about it and some record would remain. That he used some of his own money to meet the costs of living in England for nearly twenty months is likely, but that he kept within the limits set by the colony in spending the money furnished for fees and perquisites seems evident from the accounting that followed. He borrowed the £500 of three merchants of London—Cowes, Silvester, and Maskeline, and he and his son made themselves responsible for the payment. He agreed with the merchants that, toward the end of November, 1662, the colony should pay the £500 in the form of 2000 bushels of wheat at 3*s.* 6*d.* a bushel and 1200 bushels of pease at 2*s.* 6*d.* This amount the colony levied on the towns, bidding them send the wheat and pease, in carts, boats, and canoes, at

their own charge to New London, where they were to be stored until the arrival of the *John and Robert*, a flyboat of London dispatched by the merchants for the purpose of carrying the cargo back to England for sale. The cost of sending the vessel on a voyage of five or six weeks each way must have been considerable, when the charges for wages, food, and insurance are taken into account, but the merchants evidently expected to recover their costs as well as their loan from the prices received in the London market. The whole financial transaction was completed by October, 1663, when Winthrop and the colony formally acquitted each other of all further claims in the premises.

Winthrop did not bring back the charter himself, as he was not returning at once to New England, but dispatched it by the hands of two Massachusetts agents, Bradstreet and Norton, who arrived in Boston, September 3, 1662. From there it was brought to Hartford by the Connecticut representatives at the meeting of the commissioners of the New England Confederation, where it had been presented and examined before being sent to the colony. On October 9, 1662, it was publicly read "in audienc of the Freemen and declared to belong to them and their successors," after which it was entrusted to the care of three of the magistrates for safekeeping, though the document itself was given over to Lieutenant John Allyn, who became secretary of the colony the following year. He retained it in his possession until in 1687 Connecticut became a part of the Dominion of New England and the famous episode of the hiding of the charter in the oak tree on the Wyllys estate was enacted.

XIV

UNDER the charter of 1662¹ Connecticut became a corporate government, legally and royally recognized, with authority vested in the governor and company, the members of which were the freemen of the company-colony. By this royal letters patent the people of Connecticut were for the first time given official security and their relations with their sovereign across the seas, who was now no longer ignored as he had been in the Fundamental Orders and the Code of 1650, were carefully defined. Henceforth they were the king's loyal subjects and as such were to have and enjoy all the liberties and immunities that were possessed and exercised by the free and natural subjects within any of the king's dominions. In their turn they took, as freemen "formally incorporated into this civil society," an oath of supremacy such as was required by the charter and, thirty years later, an oath of allegiance in which every member of the general assembly was obliged to swear that he would "bear true allegiance" to his own protestant king" (William III). The oath of fidelity was still required of all admitted inhabitants of the towns and a new "oath of freedom" of all who were granted the freedom of the company, in which, as far as we know, there was no mention of either obedience or allegiance. Though justice was to be rendered as before according to the Word of God and the law of righteousness, the colony declared in 1673 that it was not its "purpose to repugn the Statute Laws of England, so far as we understand them, professing ourselves always ready and willing to receive Light for Emendation and Alteration as we may have opportunity." Henceforth all writs ran in the king's

¹For an exact reprint of the charter, see A. C. Bates and C. M. Andrews, *The Charter of Connecticut*, 1662. (No. III in this series.)

name and later a king's or queen's attorney was appointed for "impleading in the law all criminal offenders." Now that Connecticut had a royal charter and was determined not to lose that charter by any ill-advised or incautious acts, she was willing to go a long way in the direction of accepting English authority and English law. As long as she could retain and exercise the power of self-government, she was willing to make any reasonable concession that did not infringe on this fundamental right or that would enable her to avoid any inquisitorial investigation into her affairs by the authorities at home.

The essential parts of the charter were based on the Fundamental Orders and on the laws passed and practices tested since that time. The terms had undoubtedly been carefully drawn by Winthrop in his final petition and they expressed in formal legal language, with here and there a modification, the determination of the Connecticut leaders to retain the government as it had been carried on since 1636. Thus the charter did little more than set the seal of the king's approval on what the colony had already done and its acquirement made little difference in the actual machinery and routine of administration. The colony, nowhere in the charter called a commonwealth as the founders had styled it, continued to have its governor, deputy governor, and assistants, chosen as before by the freemen from among themselves; its two annual assemblies, with not more than two members elected by each of the towns from among the freemen of the colony; its power to make laws, no longer unlimited but restricted by the phrase "not contrary to the laws of England";² its right to erect courts of justice, though the

²The situation arising under this provision is dealt with by the writer in two pamphlets in this series, *Connecticut and the British Government* and *The Connecticut Intestacy Law*. (Nos. I and II.)

indefiniteness of the language made uncertain the inclusion of vice-admiralty courts under the civil law; full freedom to carry on trade, to bring in or send away such of the king's subjects or strangers as were willing voluntarily to enter or migrate, to impose fines, imprison or otherwise deal with offenders, to pardon such if desired, and to convert the heathen. It was to have a common seal, for the first time legally, but it was not able to obtain release from the payment of custom duties in England, as Winthrop had so ardently hoped would be the case. Connecticut henceforth on the governmental side was one body corporate in fact as well as in name, with right of perpetual succession, capable of pleading and being impleaded, of answering and being answered, of defending and being defended in all suits and causes whatsoever. She was secure against aggression or interference within the bounds of her jurisdiction.

XV

“WITHIN the bounds of her jurisdiction!” The story of Connecticut's land claims is neither a simple nor an inviting one to deal with. It begins with the extent of land mentioned in the draft of the Warwick patent handed in to the Council for New England, June, 1632, but never acted on by the council. In that draft Warwick solicited land stretching southwesterly from Narragansett River (presumably Narragansett Bay) for thirty miles along the coast and fifty miles into the interior, thus asking for nothing west of the Connecticut River. But in the deed which he had already issued to the lords and gentlemen three months before he granted them a territory running for one hundred and twenty miles along the coast and west to the South Sea, which was then thought to lie just over the western mountains. How are we to account for

this extraordinary discrepancy and who was responsible for it? These are questions that we cannot answer. But we do know that when the general court of Connecticut drafted its instructions to Winthrop it bade him apply for all the territory named in the deed and in addition for enough more to carry the eastern boundary to the Plymouth line, the northern boundary to the Massachusetts line, and the western boundary to the Delaware, thus rounding out by enlargement in three directions the land granted by Warwick to the lords and gentlemen. Winthrop in his second petition improved a little on this instruction, seeking land from Narragansett Bay on the east, to the Massachusetts line on the north, to the Sound on the south, and to the South Sea on the west, with all the islands thereto adjoining. These are the boundaries of the charter, and, literally interpreted, as Connecticut insisted on interpreting them then and afterward, wiped out completely all other claims to soil within their limits. In thus "crowding on," Connecticut took advantage of the weakness of Rhode Island and New Haven, whose titles were defective, and of the insecurity of the Dutch on the Hudson, with whom her relations had been none too friendly, and following the precedent set by Massachusetts Bay dared all that she could. For the moment she was successful, though the committee of the Privy Council said later "that King Charles the Second was surprized in his grant to Connecticut as to the boundaries." If this statement is to be believed then how did the boundaries get into the charter? The English authorities in granting the charter, as later events were to show, had apparently no intention of destroying the independence of either Rhode Island or New Haven, for there is nothing to prove that in the latter case the treatment of the regicides had anything to do with the matter. Winthrop,

too, when he went to England had no thought of infringing on New Haven's liberties in carrying out the objects of his mission. William Hooke in his letter of February, 1663, to John Davenport, his former coadjutor in the New Haven church, speaks of spending a forenoon "with Mr Winthrop, Major Tomson (who hath bought Mr Whitfield's house and land at Gilford), also Captaine [John] Scott of Long Island, and Mr. Nath: Whitfield, in debating the business of your colony. They all came unlooked for, or undesired by me, to the place of my present abode [Hooke was in hiding]." In the course of the conversation "Mr. Winthrop apologizeth for himself, that it was not his Intention you should have been thus dealt with by his neighbours at Connecticut, nor that your Liberties should have been in the least infringed and that it is his desire that yet you may injoy them as much to the full as ever you did."

With Winthrop and the king both disclaiming any intention, in granting the charter, of curtailing the liberties of New Haven, a question of considerable difficulty arises, which we shall not attempt to answer here, regarding the circumstances attending the drafting and issue of that instrument and the overthrow of New Haven's independence. The story of Connecticut's beginnings is not fully told until the relations of Connecticut with New Haven, which led to the absorption of the latter colony in the years from 1660 to 1665, are accurately and impartially narrated. Such narration must be the subject of another pamphlet at another time.



PUBLICATIONS OF THE TRICENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission will issue, during the next few years, a series of small Pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt is to be made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention being to issue Pamphlets at any time and upon any subject that seems to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

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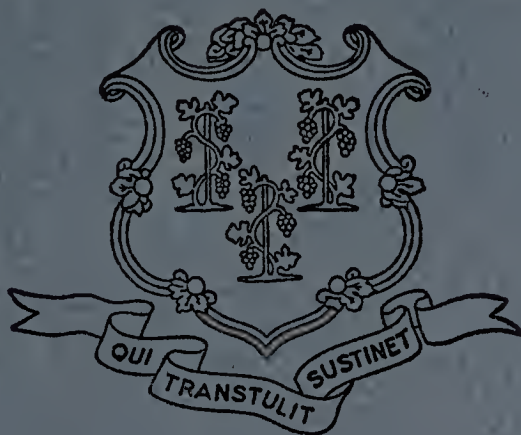
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HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Connecticut Inventors

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Connecticut Inventors

JOSEPH WICKHAM ROE

I

THE flood of inventions which characterizes the Machine Age appeared first in England and France in the eighteenth century, then in the United States after the Revolution, and in later years in Germany with the industrialization of that country. Other countries of course have had their part, but these four have led all others. In this country pioneer conditions, lack of transportation, and repressive legislation by England held back any natural aptitude for invention during the whole colonial period. Benjamin Franklin is the only colonial inventor who is widely known today. He did not believe in patents, and never tried to make any profit from his inventions. If his fertile mind had produced nothing else, the Franklin stove and the lightning-rod would give him a place as an inventor. We owe to him also the introduction of bifocal eye-glasses.

That Yankee ingenuity was here is evident in every collection of colonial tools and handicraft. The northern colonials, especially New Englanders, were an inventive race. In the isolation of the farms they spent the long winters devising clever contrivances, amazing in number

and variety, for easing the work of the farm and household. These were chiefly for use at home, or at most for sale in the neighborhood. Metals, such as iron and copper, were scarce and expensive, so most of them were of wood, and everything was made by hand, as machine tools were unknown. There was little or no organized industry, but there were some skilled craftsmen, such as clockmakers, who plied their trades as far as social and economic conditions could support them, and the quality of their work was good, all that the people needed and could pay for.

With the close of the Revolution conditions changed. European goods were gradually excluded by tariffs, transportation improved, the markets steadily widened, and industry began a growth unprecedented in all history. Coincident with this there came an activity in invention which may have been a cause or an effect. Probably it was both.

Connecticut turned early to manufacturing and has held a leading position in this field ever since. Its inventors have been the major factor in this leadership, and from the very beginning of the United States patent system in 1790, Connecticut has consistently led all other states in the number of patents granted in proportion to its population. Up to and including 1932 the United States had granted 1,897,932 patents out of a grand total of 4,710,508 which had been granted in all countries. Great Britain had granted 797,153, France 871,532, Germany 583,728. More than one third of all patents ever granted have been by the United States.

The United States Patent Office compiles each year a table showing the patents granted to citizens of the various states, and the ratio of patents granted in each state to its population. This ratio is highest for Connecticut and has varied from about 1 patent to 700 of popu-

lation, to something over 1 to 1,200, and averaged about 1 to 1,000. The ratio for the country also varies, but has averaged about 1 to 3,000. For many of the non-industrial states it runs from 1 to 25,000 to 1 to 30,000. These figures show that activity of invention has been higher here than in any other state of the country, and for many years it probably has been higher than in any other similar district in the world.

It is interesting to question why this characteristic has been so marked and persistent. First, there is race, as already indicated. The Connecticut mechanics in the main traced back to the middle class English, the people who brought about the Industrial Revolution and who have led Europe industrially to this day. The climate, land, and social conditions were favorable to manufacturing and unfavorable to other activities. There were no great plantations, no rich landed class on one hand nor servile class on the other, and no great money crops such as cotton and tobacco. Such agriculture as existed was almost wholly for subsistence. Ship-building and overseas trade which had been active in colonial days declined and almost disappeared in the early years of the nineteenth century, but not before it had brought considerable capital which was available to start manufactures. Many streams and the roughness of the countryside provided water powers which could operate small industries.

These factors bred a host of little factories scattered along the Sound and up the river valleys. Absentee ownership was almost unknown. The workers were secured locally and many if not most of them had grown up with the owners. Both owners and workers were individualists and the problems and the opportunities were known to all. Labor, due to the lure of the West, was steadily growing more expensive. Ingenuity, spurred by an inborn

labor-saving instinct, was continually trying to substitute machine production for hand labor wherever possible.

Connecticut has had its full share of the major inventions but it is chiefly to the field of the tools and methods of manufacture that its inventions have been directed. Their cumulative effect has been tremendous, and they have influenced methods of manufacture throughout the world. Because of their very number and variety they cannot be covered here in detail.

II

THE system of interchangeable manufacture, which originated with two Connecticut gun-makers, Eli Whitney at Whitneyville, just outside New Haven, and Simeon North of Berlin, spread rapidly all over the state and was applied to the manufacture of clocks, hardware, and other articles. It gave order and direction to the labor-saving instinct and made it effective. The interchangeable system can hardly be called an invention, but it comes near being one. It was a new *method*, and one which was far from obvious. That the corresponding parts of a mechanism, such as a gun, *could* be made interchangeable was thinkable, but that parts could be so produced not only commercially but actually cheaper than by old hand methods was incredible. Even if the system is not itself an invention, it is made possible only by a multitude of inventions covering the gauges, machines, and special jigs and fixtures to replace hand operations.

Whitney began with the use of "filing jigs" which were devices for forming pieces such as triggers and hammers by hand to a required shape, the contour being controlled by clamping the rough piece between two hardened steel forms which precluded filing the work to other than the required shape. Very soon, however, he began supplant-

ing hand operations with machine work done in "jigs" or "fixtures" which are special devices, almost infinite in variety, for holding work in a machine during an operation and guiding a cutting tool in exact relationship to it, both as to path and, if necessary, as to distance traveled.

One of his early steps was the development of a milling machine which was the forerunner of one of the most important of modern machine tools. The development of the gauges and special fixtures constituted a series of inventions of varying degrees of importance, but all requiring originality. Hundreds were required for the production of the various parts comprising a gun or a clock. The principles involved are now well established and widely used, but at the beginning their development required invention, and those who did this were inventors of the most useful kind.

Two letters of Thomas Jefferson show that interchangeable production was tried by a Frenchman, Le Blanc, in Paris in 1785. For some reason he did not succeed. But Eli Whitney in 1800 and Simeon North about the same time, probably independently, applied the method successfully to gun manufacture. No patents seem to have been taken out by either man on either the method or the tools developed for it.

Whitney will be taken up a little later in connection with the cotton-gin.¹ Simeon North was born at Berlin, and in 1795 started making scythes in an old mill adjoining his farm. Soon after he began making pistols, and in 1799, the year after Whitney received his first contract for muskets, North received his first one for 500 pistols. This was followed by others during the years 1800 to 1810. By 1813 he had made at least 10,000 and was employing 40 or 50 men. In none of these contracts is there

1. See p. 20 below.

mention of interchangeability, but some time during these years North began to use interchangeable methods. It is probable, however, that of the two Whitney was the pioneer. North's contract of 1813 is said to be the first one to *incorporate* a guarantee of interchangeability as part of the contract. The clause is as follows: "The component parts of the pistols are to correspond so exactly that any limb or part of one Pistol may be fitted to any other Pistol of the Twenty thousand." This clause marks not the beginning of the system, but the first recognition of methods which had already come into use. Both men had been *using* the method for a considerable time.

It is hard to allocate the credit between them, but between these two men the interchangeable system had its birth. How far they influenced each other, if at all, it is impossible now to say. It would seem inevitable that two pioneer manufacturers and government contractors in closely allied industries, located but twenty miles apart, must have known more or less of each other's work. Of the two, Whitney had a far greater influence. He was well known and influential through his invention of the cotton-gin and was located in a larger center. He was called upon by the government for advice, and at its request sent to Springfield and Harper's Ferry some of his best workmen to introduce his system. By 1820 the interchangeable system had come into use not only in Connecticut but in the armories in other parts of the country. It was natural that the method should have been applied first to military small arms as they were the only articles made at that time in great quantity, of the same design, where interchangeability was clearly desirable.

III

THE next field to use the interchangeable method was that of clockmaking. Only a year or so after Whitney began his work at Whitneyville, Eli Terry at Windsor, later at Plymouth, began manufacturing wooden clocks in lots, first in twenties and hundreds, and within a few years by thousands. Mr. Hoopes² says that it is understood he did so on suggestions from Whitney. Terry's neighbors called him crazy, and said that such quantities could never be sold, but his new tools enabled him to lower the price of his clocks so that the market was more than able to absorb them. He was followed by Seth Thomas and Chauncey Jerome, both of whom worked for him, and by Joseph Ives, who all founded firms which survive to this day. The work of these men brought the total cost of a clock to less than five dollars, and eventually in the cheap kitchen clocks, to less than one dollar. When they began, clockmaking was a handicraft; they made it an industry. Mr. Hoopes's monograph gives a clear account of this transition, and of Terry, Jerome, and Ives, who were the principal inventors involved in the change. The manufacture of clocks illustrates well the fact that, contrary to popular impression, interchangeable manufacture does not lower quality. Most of the finer mechanisms now in use, such as watches, sewing machines, bicycles, typewriters, cameras, and automobiles, are better in quality than they would be if made by hand, as well as lower in price, and in all cases their value to the user is greater for the principle of interchangeability used in their manufacture, on account of the availability of repair parts. Without this principle

2. *Early clockmaking in Connecticut* (no. XXIII in this series).

they could be produced, if at all, only at prices which would be either prohibitive or so high as to restrict their use to a small fraction of what obtains today. In perhaps no article today does one get more for his money than the modern automobile, and this has been made possible by the interchangeable methods used in its manufacture. Interchangeable manufacture was developed in Connecticut and is one of the great contributions to modern economic life.

IV

ANOTHER great industry in which Connecticut inventors have taken a leading part is the brass industry. In 1790 Henry Grilley began making pewter buttons in Waterbury, and in 1802 Abel and Levi Porter joined him, and they began making brass buttons. The latter involved the rolling of brass. The copper needed came partly from the old mine at Simsbury, but chiefly from scrap copper brought back by the Connecticut hardware peddlers who roamed the entire Atlantic seaboard and were the first interstate traders. In 1811 the business was taken over by a new firm, Leavenworth, Hayden, and Scovill. James M. L. and William H. Scovill, James Croft, and Israel Holmes raised this enterprise from these small beginnings to the great industry which has become the Scovill Manufacturing Company. Aaron Benedict founded another line of companies from which has sprung the Chase group and the American Brass Company. These pioneers not only imported machines and workmen skilled in brass rolling, but they developed all kinds of machinery for the manufacture of pins, lamps, cartridges, daguerreotype plates, and other articles. Hiram W. Hayden invented the process of spinning for making kettles, and John I. Howe for making pins. Jerome's brass clocks made an-

other great outlet and the rise of the electrical industry opened up an even greater field. The chief factor in all this activity was fertility of invention in devising presses, dies, screw machinery, and all types of cutting and forming tools. For many years eighty to ninety per cent of the entire production of brass and brass goods of the country was centered in the Naugatuck valley. Of late years it has been spreading elsewhere but Connecticut still is the largest center. It is far from the chief sources of raw material, copper and zinc, and from the center of gravity of the market, but the industry will probably continue to center here for the same reason as in the past, namely inventiveness and skill in manufacture.

V

WHILE the brass industry was growing in the Naugatuck valley, the hardware industry sprang up in New Britain and other towns to the east. The first tinware in the colonies was made by Edward Pattison in Berlin in 1740. He it was who first employed peddlers in other towns. They added other articles—scissors, buttons, brassware—until they became peripatetic department stores. They traveled farther and farther afield and were the pioneers in the widening of the market which made factories possible.

In Hartford, New Britain, Bristol, Collinsville, and Southington, local smithies evolved into factories making carpenters' tools, locks, builders' hardware, wagon and harness hardware by machinery. The industry spread to New Haven and Stamford, ingenuity and inventiveness always threading through it and at work as to both output and methods of manufacture. In all these towns there are today large plants, many of them of international importance, whose position has been built up on the work of inventors too numerous even to list here.

VI

ANOTHER industry located in Connecticut because of invention is that of arms and ammunition. In colonial times gunmaking, like clockmaking, was found in all the colonies. The old long-bore rifles of the pioneers, made in Pennsylvania and the South, were famous, but they were all the product of handicraft. In 1800 Whitney and North began manufacturing small arms as we have seen, and Whitney rifles and North pistols became the standard a hundred years ago.

In 1836 Samuel Colt patented his revolver. After the Seminole and Mexican wars had demonstrated its superiority, the United States government adopted it, and he began manufacturing in quantity. His first large lot of 2,000 was made at the Whitney armory in New Haven. In 1855 he completed his own new armory at Hartford and it was immediately recognized as the most highly developed metal working factory in the world. It revolutionized gun manufacture and to it came representatives of all the governments in the world.

Colonel Colt was a remarkable man—masterful, daring, and brilliant. He was not only the inventor of the revolver but he started the larger industrial development of Hartford and affected modern manufacturing methods more than any other man of his generation. One of the elements of his great success was his capacity to gather about him men of the highest order. Among these was Elisha K. Root, one of the ablest mechanics New England has ever produced.

Root was a farmer's boy who served his apprenticeship in Massachusetts and came as a young man to the Collins Company, axe makers, at Collinsville, in 1832. His inventions and methods converted a primitive shop into a

modern factory which is running to this day. His work was so outstanding that he was offered three of the most important positions in the country. It is characteristic of Colt that, although he was only just starting, he outbid three others and secured Root at what was then an enormous salary. Root designed and built the new armory and installed its machinery. He invented many of the machines, some of which are still running, holding their own in accuracy and economy of production with those of today. Among these were the best form of drop-hammer then in use; a turret lathe, one of three fundamental types in use to this day; and machines for boring, rifling, making cartridges, and stock turning. He pushed the whole system of special tools and gauges to a point which had never been dreamed of. He spent more money in "tooling up" the machines than on the machines themselves. Credit for the revolver belongs to Colt; for the way it was made, mainly to Root. When Colt died in 1862, Root became president of the company and continued until his death three years later.

Root was a mechanic and inventor of high order, but his work went into flesh and blood as well as into iron and steel, for under him worked Francis A. Pratt and Amos Whitney of Pratt and Whitney; Charles E. Billings and Christopher M. Spencer of Billings and Spencer; George A. Fairfield of the Hartford Machine Screw Company; and William Mason, and many others scarcely less famous. Few superintendents have raised such a brood.

In 1848 Christian Sharps invented his breech-loading rifle, and in 1851 formed a company to manufacture it at Hartford. Richard S. Lawrence, an able but little known inventor, came from Windsor, Vermont, and introduced there and at Colt's a milling machine which was improved by Francis A. Pratt, who had left Colt's and was

a foreman in George F. Lincoln & Company, and known ever since as the Lincoln miller. It has been said that over 80,000 of these machines have been manufactured.

William Mason, mentioned above, was superintendent of Colt's for many years after the Civil War, and later became master mechanic of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, with which he remained until his death in 1913. He was little known outside of his immediate associates, but was a fertile inventor of almost unerring mechanical judgment. He was granted more than 125 patents, most of them in connection with arms and ammunition and tools for their manufacture.

The Colt and Winchester armories have maintained their leadership for many years. Other manufacturers were Charles Parker in Meriden and John M. Marlin in New Haven, who made sporting guns; Horace Smith and Daniel B. Wesson who started in Norwich and moved to Springfield, Massachusetts, and Savage who started in Middletown and moved to Utica. Probably the gun-makers have affected tool design and machine-shop methods more than any other industry, with the possible exception of the automobile industry.

VII

THE influence of machine tools in modern life is little appreciated by the average man. The New York Museum of Science and Industry has on its walls a panel stating that they have made possible all generated light, heat, and power, all modern transportation by rail, water, and air, and all forms of electric communication; have produced all the machinery used in agriculture, textiles, manufacturing, printing, and paper-making, and the instruments used in every science. "Everything we use at

work, at home, at play, is either the child or grandchild of a machine tool."

Although many nations have good mechanics, for some reason all the important machine tools used throughout the world were developed in two districts, in England and in New England. From about 1800 to 1850 leadership was in England. After that it shifted to this country, and Connecticut's contribution has been outstanding.

The first milling machine with a power feed of which we know was made by Eli Whitney in 1818 or before. It is still in existence and is now in the New York Museum of Science and Industry. A clear descent can be traced from this machine to the one which Lawrence brought with him to Hartford and which became the Lincoln miller.

Many of the old Colt armory men have left a deep mark on tool building. Christopher M. Spencer was born in Manchester, Connecticut, and began his remarkable career in 1847 with the invention of a silk-winding machine for Cheney Brothers. He invented the Spencer rifle, over 200,000 of which were made for the government during the Civil War. He greatly improved the drop-hammer, and his invention of the cam control or "brain wheel" whereby the operation of lathes is made automatic, was one of the fundamental improvements of the lathe, ranking with the invention of the slide-rest and lead-screw by Henry Maudslay in London fifty years before, and with the development of the turret principle by Frederick W. Howe and Henry D. Stone at Windsor, Vermont, about 1850. This method of control is the basis of all high production automatic lathes. Spencer was a great mechanic and an effective inventor in the field of machine tools until his death in 1922, so that his creative work spanned a period of seventy-five years.

Francis A. Pratt, already referred to, was another inventor and improver of machine tools, and one of the founders of the Pratt and Whitney Company in Hartford. For seventy years this company has been one of the leaders in the development of many types of tools, and like the Colt armory, it has been a training school for tool inventors. Worcester R. Warner and Ambrose Swasey went from there to Cleveland and founded a well-known plant manufacturing lathes. As an avocation they have designed and built the greatest telescopes in the world. William Gleason developed bevel-gear cutters and founded the Gleason works in Rochester, New York, where his son has continued his work. Edward P. Bullard, about 1880, incorporated the turret principle into the general-purpose boring machine and made it effective for quantity production. Edward P. Bullard, Jr., his son, invented the Mult-Au-Matic lathe of the multi-spindle type in 1914, which applies the principle of simultaneous operations to larger individual pieces. This machine has had a great influence on the automotive industry. Edward C. Bullard, a grandson, is carrying on the family tradition in the same field. John Johnston is the inventor of another well-known type of automatic chucking lathe. Edwin Henn and Reinholdt Hakewessel in 1895 invented the multi-spindle lathe in which a plurality of tools are operating simultaneously on a corresponding number of bars. This type of lathe is a refinement of the automatic lathe as it left the hands of Spencer. Practically all the machines made by these inventors are of the automatic or semi-automatic types which have made mass production possible.

Another inventor of an important line of machine tools is Joseph N. Lapointe, who developed the art of broaching. A. W. Foote, Frederick M. Gardner, and George

Bardons were other men who went from the Pratt and Whitney shop to found, elsewhere, shops manufacturing machine tools of their invention. Asa Cook, a brother-in-law of Francis A. Pratt, and like him an old Colt man, was the inventor and manufacturer of machinery making wood screws and bolts, and founder of a successful firm in that field. Eli J. Manville, another Pratt and Whitney workman, with his five sons established a plant in Waterbury, which has been conspicuous in the design of presses, bolt headers, and thread rollers for the brass industry. W. P. Norton of the Hendey-Norton Company at Torrington was a pioneer in incorporating the change gears into the body of a lathe, one of the important contributions to tool building in recent years. All these men, except Norton and the later Bullards, worked as young men in the Pratt and Whitney plant.

Waterbury and Ansonia have been the centers for the building of cutting, stamping, and forming presses of all kinds; drop-hammers; and heavy machinery for the production of rubber, sugar, and paper. Other well-known tool builders are located in New Britain, New Haven, Bristol, and smaller towns throughout the state.

From the above it is seen that the older Connecticut shops have not only grown into important plants, but they have been training grounds for many tool inventors who have gone elsewhere. Their work has had the effect of extending and utilizing to the fullest the principle of interchangeable manufacture developed by Eli Whitney.

VIII

Most of the inventors we have considered have worked either under or over others in some highly organized industry. They were seeking objectives already desired and their work was recognized and appreciated at once. There

are other inventors of the old traditional type, pioneers breaking a way through into new fields, men who work alone, often against indifference and opposition, with repeated failures and no encouragement. Most of our basic inventions have come from men of this type. If perchance they succeed they have to defend themselves against the greed of pirates who would rob them of their rewards. Some may win honor and success. Others go down in disappointment before the world has caught up with them, yet it is to some of these that we owe the most. A few of the outstanding ones will be taken up.

IX

DAVID BUSHNELL, born in Westbrook, was the pioneer in submarine navigation. He graduated from Yale in 1775. Immediately after graduation he began work on the first submarine which was called the *Turtle*. It was made of oak, weighted with lead to make it submersible, and driven by a hand-operated propeller. It was large enough for a single operator and had controls which enabled him to raise and lower it, keep it at any required depth and propel it in any direction desired, without coming to the surface, at a speed of about two or three miles an hour. There was air enough to enable the operator to stay down about half an hour. At the end of that time he could rise quickly to the surface and get a fresh supply of air.

On the outside was a magazine shaped like an egg, containing about 130 pounds of powder, with a gunlock to explode it, and a clock set to fire the gunlock after a predetermined period. This magazine was attached to the back of the submarine a little above the rudder, by means of a screw, one end of which passed into the magazine and acted as a stop on the movement of the clock, to pre-

vent premature explosion. This screw, when withdrawn, would free the magazine and set the clock running. The most difficult problem was fastening the magazine to the hull of the ship being attacked. It was this difficulty alone which appears to have defeated the purpose of the whole apparatus. Bushnell's plan was to use a sharp screw operated from within the submarine which would secure the magazine to the ship.

This submarine was used in New York harbor in August, 1776, when an attempt was made, under General Israel Putnam's direction, to blow up the *Eagle*, a 64-gun ship commanded by Lord Howe. Bushnell himself was too frail to operate it. He had trained his brother, who developed great skill in maneuvering it, but the latter was taken sick just prior to the attempt on the *Eagle* and the actual attack was made by Ezra Lee of Lyme, a sergeant in Colonel Parsons's Connecticut Continental regiment.

The *American journal of science and arts* for 1820 contains a communication from Charles Griswold, who received directly from Lee his account of this adventure. Lee entered the machine a few miles from the *Eagle* and maneuvered with and against the tide for two and a half hours, until he arrived near the stern of the ship. When he descended under the ship's bottom he did all in his power to make the screw attached to the magazine enter the ship's bottom, but owing to the thickness of the copper sheathing or to his having encountered some other metal, all his attempts failed. Probably the pressure necessary to make the screw enter the sheathing pushed the small submarine away from the warship, so that he could not get the necessary purchase. He paddled to a different part of the ship, came to the water's surface and found that the daylight had so increased as to make

further efforts impossible. He pulled away for about four miles, was discovered and cast off the magazine, which of course started the clock. The enemy saw it and started toward it, but scenting something wrong they turned back. The magazine drifted into the East river where it exploded with tremendous force.

He made several other attempts to blow up war vessels, using floating mines. One of these was against the frigate *Cerberus*, at anchor off New London. In this attempt a schooner lying nearby was blown up. Another was an attack on the British vessels lying in the Delaware off Philadelphia, when he sent a squadron of kegs floating down the river. Several of them blew up small boats, but did little major damage. Timothy Dwight's poem, *Greenfield Hill*, contains the lines:

See Bushnell's strong, creative genius, fraught
With all th'assembled powers of skilful thought,
His mystic vessel plunge beneath the waves,
And glide thro' dark retreats, and coral caves!

This perhaps idealizes the bottom of New York harbor, but it indicates that the incident was well known.

The failure seems due not to inherent defects in the apparatus but to faulty manipulation. Lee could have left the magazine floating by the side of the vessel. Admiral Howe was in deadly peril while Lee was burrowing at the bottom of his ship, and the wonder is not that the attempt failed but that submarine warfare did not become a tremendous reality then and there. Bushnell did not follow up the invention. He went to France for a few years, then to Georgia, where he practiced medicine for the rest of his life.

As Connecticut furnished the pioneer in submarines, so in Simon Lake of Bridgeport it has furnished a leader

in the modern development of this type of naval craft. Lake built his first submarine in 1894, has continued their development to the latest type of naval submarine, and is at work today on others for salvaging purposes.

X

JOHN FITCH, the pioneer of steam navigation, was born in South Windsor under some unlucky star, in 1743. Because he was too weak and puny for farm work he studied arithmetic and surveying and became a peddler and clock repairer. He wandered southward, became a surveyor in the Northwest Territory, was captured by the Indians and held for a year, losing everything but his tools, and then settled down in Pennsylvania. His mind became occupied with the idea of steam as a motive power, and in 1785 he built his first model of a paddle-wheeled steamboat. Others followed, using side and stern paddle-wheels and a screw propeller. He organized a company and built a 45-foot boat, equipped with a double-acting steam engine and a separate jet condenser which made a successful trip on August 22, 1787. For some reason Fitch changed from paddle-wheels to an arrangement of vertical paddles with a reciprocating and lifting motion, duplicating that used with a canoe, perhaps a survival of his experience with the Indians. In spite of the clumsy device the boat ran four miles an hour for over 40 miles. He then built a larger one with paddles at the stern, launched in 1788. It carried as many as 30 passengers, and made 20 miles in three hours, traveling in all between 2,000 and 3,000 miles, but it was not a financial success. In spite of waning support Fitch managed to build a third boat in 1790 which was put in scheduled service on the Delaware river. This was seventeen years before Fulton's *Clermont* sailed up the Hudson.

But this too was a commercial failure. A fourth boat was wrecked before it was finished, and all financial support was lost. Disappointed and defeated, he committed suicide in Kentucky in 1798.

The invention of steam navigation cannot properly be credited to any one man. It has been claimed for at least ten men, in four different countries. Fitch was the first actually to build and operate a boat carrying passengers. Fulton was the one who made the steamboat an *economic* success, but no apportionment of the credit for this great invention can leave out Fitch as the pioneer who blazed the way for those who followed.

XI

ELI WHITNEY'S life is a different story. He has profoundly affected modern life in two fields: first, with his invention of the cotton-gin; second, his development of interchangeable manufacture already mentioned. He graduated from Yale College in 1792, went South as a tutor, and in the winter of 1793 invented the gin while living in the home of Mrs. Nathanael Greene. Its effect was immediate and far-reaching. In spite of the new textile machinery just invented in England, cotton fabrics were still luxury articles because of the expense of the raw material, due to the difficulty of separating the cotton fiber from the seed. It took a woman all day to separate one pound of staple. The cotton-gin solved this difficulty and because of it, cotton, from being the rich man's staple, has become the poor man's staple the world over. The cotton crop of the South grew by leaps and bounds, more than one-thousand fold, with all the social and political results involved. The cotton-gin may be classed as one of the major inventions, and unlike most it is clearly attributable to one man, and one alone. It is unique also in being

the work of a young man in his twenties, who perfected it within a period of about two weeks. The first model, finished within that time, worked perfectly and contained all the essential elements of the modern gin.

The invention proved of little worth to its inventor because it was too valuable to defend. The patent system in the United States was just starting, infringement suits were tried before local juries, and it was to the interest of everyone in the South to break the patent. Few dared to testify even to the most obvious facts. Juries would not find for the patentee. Whitney in a letter to Fulton said:

In one instance, I had great difficulty in proving that the machine had been used in Georgia, although, at the same moment, there were three separate sets of this machinery in motion, within fifty yards of the building in which the court sat, and all so near that the rattling of the wheels was distinctly heard on the steps of the court house.

More than sixty suits had been instituted before decisions were obtained which sustained the patent, but these were too late for much practical effect. In all, Whitney received about \$90,000 from the invention, most of which was offset by cost of the litigations.

By 1798 Whitney saw that, valuable as his invention was, he could have no hope of any large return from it. He never took out another patent and turned to the manufacture of guns for the government. He proposed from the start to do this "by a new method" and in so doing initiated interchangeable manufacture. He had to build a plant, equip it with new and untried types of tools, and educate workmen to new methods. It is a tribute to Whitney's standing with those who knew him that ten of the foremost men in New Haven signed his bond for \$134,000 for the faithful performance of his contract.

The business which he started was in operation for ninety years until it was sold to the Winchester Repeating Arms Company in 1888. Whitney continued his inventions until his death in 1825. None of these was as spectacular or well known as the cotton-gin but taken as a group their influence has been even greater. He improved everything he touched or superseded it by something better. Unlike most inventors he was a splendid business man and commanded the confidence of all who knew him. Fulton rated him with Watt and Arkwright among his contemporaries and few inventors have had a greater influence on agriculture and the manufacturing methods of the whole world.

XII

ELI WHITNEY's nephew, Eli Whitney Blake, was another inventor whose work has been far-reaching although little known to the general public. He graduated at Yale in 1816 and then attended Judge Reeve's famous law school in Litchfield. Eli Whitney brought him to Whitneyville to help him in the arms factory, and on Whitney's death, he with his brother, Philo Blake, managed it for ten years. In 1835 they started Blake Brothers in Westville, making locks and hardware. Here he was the first to introduce mortised locks in place of the old box locks which were fastened on the outside of doors, and other improvements in builders' hardware which soon came into general use. This business continued until 1880. He was one of the earliest to give scientific analysis to the shape of gear teeth and a paper by him in 1824 was a standard for years.

His great contribution was the Blake stone-crusher, patented in 1858. He had been placed on a town commission in New Haven to lay two miles of macadam

pavement on Whalley Avenue and in this connection he saw the waste of labor in breaking stone for road use by hand. "It took two days' labor to produce one cubic yard of road metal." He set out to devise a machine which would take in the largest size of stones used and crush them to the required size. It was based on upright, convergent jaws, one of them oscillated to and fro by suitable, powerful linkwork. It was so carefully designed and worked out that the first machine built operated perfectly from the start. This machine is the basis of all stone-crushers and has a fundamental influence on all ore-crushing and civil engineering construction. Concrete, which is a mixture of broken stone, sand, cement, and water, is now the prevailing building material throughout the world for masonry structures, improved highways, and foundations. It is used in every new building, for if the building itself is not of concrete the foundation is. In fact this has been called the Age of Concrete. Good concrete was made and used by the Romans, but although it has been known through the centuries it was of only minor importance because of the labor and expense of crushing the stone by hand. Even with the introduction of steel reinforcement, which came into general use about 1900, concrete would never have attained its present predominance in all types of engineering work were it not for the machines which can crush the necessary rock at economic costs and in sufficient quantities.

XIII

ANOTHER Connecticut inventor, Charles Goodyear, was to an even greater degree the father of one of our large industries. No industry owes more to one man than the rubber industry does to him. Caoutchouc, or gum elastic,

is said to have been first brought from the New World by Columbus, and for over 300 years it was known only for certain curious and interesting properties. By 1780 a use was found for it in the erasing of lead-pencil marks, and that use has rechristened the material as rubber.

In 1823, a Scotchman, Charles MacIntosh, began to waterproof cloth with it for raincoats, with which his name has long since become synonymous. A Frenchman made some use of it by cutting imported sheets of it into shreds which he made into elastic cloth for tapes, garters, etc. The little there was in this country was a drug on the market and worth only a few cents a pound.

In 1820, a pair of India-rubber shoes was brought to Boston and handed about as a curiosity. Within a year or so 500 pairs—thick, heavy, and ill-shaped—were imported and sold readily; and there sprang up around Boston, notably in Roxbury, an active manufacture of rubber boots, shoes, coats, caps, and life-preservers, all made out of rubberized cloth, but trouble soon developed. The gum elastic which was used proved intractable to handle, and unstable. It did not adhere satisfactorily to the fabric, became sticky and ran in hot weather, and was stiff and brittle in cold weather. The rubber goods on store shelves frequently stuck together and became a total loss. Within a few years all the companies were bankrupt and closed. Unless some satisfactory method of curing or tanning, as they called it, had been invented, rubber would never have become of economic importance. This method was supplied by Charles Goodyear.

Goodyear's struggle was as long and disheartening as Fitch's, but though frail and delicate all his life, Goodyear was a far stronger character. With amazing persistence he came up again and again from defeat and disappointment and lived to found a great industry. He was

born in New Haven in 1800, had only a rudimentary education, and at sixteen started as a clerk in a hardware store in Philadelphia. Four years later he came back to be with his father in New Haven and Naugatuck, in a small factory making hardware. In 1826 he went back to Philadelphia and for ten years tried to run a hardware store of his own. It went from bad to worse. He failed and was imprisoned for debt not once but many times. In 1834 a chance incident in New York turned his attention to rubber, and it became an obsession with him for the rest of his life.

He set himself the task of finding some way to treat gum elastic which would retain its flexibility and useful waterproofing qualities and at the same time free it from stickiness and from being ruined by heat and cold. Without technical education or knowledge of chemistry he explored his way, trying every expedient and every material available. He was a keen observer, and nothing escaped him. For years in New Haven, New York City, Staten Island, Roxbury, Woburn, and Springfield, Massachusetts, and then again in New Haven, in rented shacks, hired quarters in the closed rubber factories, and in his own kitchen, he experimented ceaselessly. Slowly, through poverty, ridicule, and alternations of success and failure, single-handed he discovered vulcanization, which was the answer. The story of this struggle is so long that only a few points can be given here.

A year or so after he started he was able to coat thin sheets of gum elastic with a hard smooth surface, but the slightest touch of various chemicals found in every-day contacts destroyed it. The first of his "lucky accidents" was when he tried to wash off some bronze ornamentation from a piece he was working on, with nitric acid. He found the acid had tanned the surface and in a few weeks he was

producing thin rubber sheets which were quite satisfactory. From these he began making aprons and table-covers. He patented this process, known as the acid gas process, and formed a partnership with William Ballard in New York City, but the panic of 1837 ruined them.

Poor almost to starvation he kept on, and a few licenses on his patent began to come in. A friend, Nathaniel Hayward, who had been a foreman in one of the closed rubber factories, discovered that by combining sulphur with the gum and exposing it to the sun, thin sheets were cured. At Goodyear's suggestion, Hayward patented the process and Goodyear bought the patent. This was the first step toward vulcanization. It had been discovered previously by a German chemist, Luedersdorff, in 1832, but neither Hayward nor Luedersdorff carried it on to the next and necessary step, vulcanization, the treating of the rubber and sulphur at sufficiently high temperatures.

The sulphur-solarization process produced only surface curing and was useless when applied to thick materials. When Goodyear tried it on mail-bags, life-preservers, and other heavy goods, they soon came back on his hands. Again he was thrown into poverty, but he kept at his problem until by a combination of a second "accident" and his own keen observation he found his goal. He inadvertently spilled some of the compound he had used for the mail-bags on a hot stove and noticed that, instead of softening, the material charred. He inferred from this that if the charring process could be stopped at the right point, it might divest the compound of its stickiness and make it better than the native gum. With this lead, he went on for months developing the process, determining the right proportion of sulphur, the right temperatures and time of curing, until he had fully developed the process which we now know as vulcanization. That name

was not given it by Goodyear but by William Brockedon, a partner of Charles MacIntosh in England.

In this discovery Goodyear had found much more than he had originally sought. He had started out to improve the qualities of gum elastic, but he had created what was in effect a new material, useful for many purposes of which he had not even dreamed; a material which could be made soft and elastic or hard and capable of high polish, one of the best of electric insulators. Its range of use was greatly extended by Nelson Goodyear, his brother, who discovered that a very high percentage of sulphur added the hardness which made possible ebonite and vulcanite. Nelson Goodyear died in 1841 at the age of 30. If he had lived longer he might have contributed more to his brother's work.

So thoroughly had gum elastic become discredited that it was years before Goodyear could secure general acceptance of this new material, and he was dilatory in regard to his patents. Vulcanization was not patented until 1844, five years after its discovery. This delay cost him heavily, as the invention was pirated in England and a patent taken out on it there by Thomas Hancock which resulted in expensive and heavy litigation.

To the end of his life Goodyear experimented ceaselessly on the various uses to which rubber could be put. It is singular that he missed entirely the use which now absorbs more than three fourths of all the rubber produced in the world; namely, vehicle tires. Solid rubber tires were in use sparingly in Goodyear's time, but he does not seem to have thought of them. Pneumatic tires were patented in England in 1843 by Robert W. Thompson, who used a leather casing. They were reinvented in 1888, using rubber, by John B. Dunlop in Belfast, and applied to automobiles by André Michelin in France in

1893. Apparently Goodyear never suspected that rubber had greater wearing qualities for road use than steel. This seems to be almost the only use he missed.

His early manufacturing was centered in New Haven and Naugatuck, and although tire manufacturing now centers in Akron, Ohio, the modern rubber industry had its beginnings in Connecticut. The Goodyear family was associated with the very beginnings of the New Haven colony, and for four generations they have contributed to American invention. Charles's father, Amasa Goodyear, was an inventor and improver of builders' hardware and farm tools. Charles Goodyear himself gave us vulcanization, and his brother, Nelson, hard rubber. Charles's son, Charles Goodyear II, inventor of the Goodyear welt, left a deep and permanent impress on the shoe industry, and Nelson Goodyear, son of Charles Goodyear II, was a successful inventor of acetylene and other gas apparatus. Most of the important materials of modern industry have long been known. Commercial rubber, with its many and vital uses in all the arts, is not yet a century old and we owe it to Charles Goodyear.

XIV

ANOTHER pioneer, who has only recently died, was Frank J. Sprague. His work was done elsewhere but he was a Connecticut man, born in Milford. He graduated at Annapolis, served a few years in the navy and became an assistant to Thomas A. Edison. In 1884, he started in for himself and by a series of inventions made possible the electric street railway. He built the first one, that at Richmond, Virginia. Its success was so immediate that more than 200 lines using his system of control were built in Europe and America within the next two years. Every electric street railway and rapid transit line in the world

uses his inventions. He was also the foremost figure in the development of the electric elevator, which has practically displaced all other types. He was a prolific inventor and his work covered a wide range of fields, but these are the two achievements for which he will be longest remembered.

XV

CONNECTICUT'S history in its social and economic aspects has two clearly defined periods. The first, which covered about two centuries, was rural. The chief occupation was agriculture, with some shipping. Towns were small, scattered, and served only the surrounding countryside. In 1830 New Haven was first in population with 10,678, Hartford second with 9,789. Only three other townships had a population of over 5,000; namely, Middletown, 6,892, Norwich 5,179, and Saybrook 5,018. The population of Bridgeport was 2,800, smaller than seven other towns in Fairfield county. Waterbury had only 3,070.

Beginning about 1830 the economic life of the state became primarily industrial and has remained so ever since. Many towns have grown into wealthy, thriving cities which serve the whole country, and despite its small size and meager natural resources, Connecticut has become one of the great manufacturing districts. This change is in large measure due to its inventors, and to them not only the state but the whole nation owes recognition.

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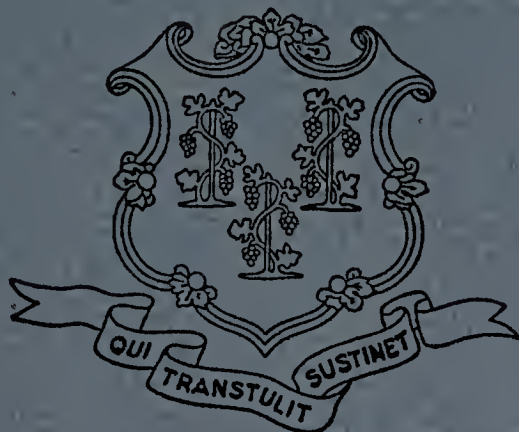
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Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion
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COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Susquehannah Company:
Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion*

JULIAN PARKS BOYD

I

EARLY in February, 1774, Silas Deane of Wethersfield scribbled off "A Plan for making Discoveries, purchase, & Settlement on the Western Lands within the Limits of the Connecticut Charter." It was a large subject, but Deane's imagination was feverish. He rapidly outlined a joint stock company of "Two hundred persons of Character and property" which he thought could be organized quickly enough to send out surveyors along the northern boundary of the colony, all the way to the Mississippi, by the middle of May. The government of such a tract of land as this company would purchase, thought Deane, "must for a Course of Time be . . . a sort of voluntary & parental Government." When Deane finished this plan based on an Indian policy "different from any yet adopted in N America" he scarcely gave it a second reading so anxious was he to send it off to William Samuel Johnson

of Stratford for counsel. He began a letter which he thought would be merely an accompanying note. But his flying quill turned off page after page as his imagination skimmed westward along Lake Erie and on to the Mississippi. Then he looked into the future: "supposing from the Westernmost boundaries of New York to the Mississippi it is Eight Hundred Mile & the width Seventy there Will not be Two Hundred Acres of Land to Each person in this Colony and allowing our increase to be justly Estimated, We shall from Connecticut alone soon people the whole of it in less than one Century. . . . Looking forward, we stand amaz'd at ourselves, or rather what We must inevitably be, & that very soon." At last he apologized for his verbosity—"the subject," he said, "has insensibly stole Me beyond all bounds of a Tolerable Letter."

Had these thoughts about what Deane called "the Glory of this New World" raced through the brain of one of the leading citizens of Connecticut but a short quarter of a century before Deane committed them to paper, his sanity would probably have been challenged. The spark that set fire to Deane's imagination had been more than twenty years in the making. He wrote at the climax of a movement which had back of it two decades of propaganda, land speculation, political intrigue, and pamphleteering; which had for its allies the increasing scarcity of land in Connecticut, the growing population, and the onrush of hard times; and which was, in January, 1774, given the legal sanction of an act of assembly recognizing the western claim and annexing most of northern Pennsylvania to Litchfield county as the town of Westmoreland. Deane was by no means the only prominent citizen in the colony whose imagination had been inflamed: Roger Wolcott of East Windsor, George Wyllys of Hartford, Phineas Lyman of Suffield, Jonathan Trumbull and

William Williams of Lebanon, Eliphalet Dyer and Jedidiah Elderkin of Windham, Jedidiah Strong of Litchfield, and Roger Sherman and Ezra Stiles of New Haven were some of those who, at one time or another, were caught up by "the Glory of this New World" which lay west of the Delaware river. Few subjects of Connecticut's history are more fascinating than the birth of this idea of a western claim and its growth in the public mind of Connecticut in the quarter century preceding the Revolution.

II

IN 1681 when the overlapping grant to William Penn was made, Connecticut offered no protest. Sir William Jones, the attorney general of the crown, found no valid obstruction in the "real but impractical" rights which the New England charters contained in their sea-to-sea grants. Nor had Connecticut in her boundary settlements with New York in 1664, 1683, and 1725 made any mention of a claim west of New York. Governors of the colony had invariably replied to the inquiries of the board of trade concerning boundaries by saying that Connecticut was limited on the west by New York. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a number of persons in Connecticut had begun to look into the seventeenth-century grant that Sir William Jones had found "real but impractical."

In May, 1750, several inhabitants of Simsbury petitioned the legislature for a town grant. Except for the fact that these petitioners claimed that the charter granted by Charles II to Connecticut in 1662 covered "a Large Tract of Land . . . Lying west of Hudsons River which is not Included in any of the Charters to any of the neighbouring Governments," their petition was similar in form and purpose to the customary procedure for forming new

towns. That, however, was a startling difference. Here, apparently for the first time, was voiced the claim that the Connecticut legislature had a right to grant lands west of the colony of New York.

What obscure attorney or shrewd yeoman first thought of making such a pretension we do not know, but it is possible that the idea came eastward from land disputes in New Jersey. An attorney of Norwalk, James Brown, acting on behalf of New York claimants in the New Jersey-New York disputed area, petitioned the legislature in May, 1751, asking for a grant of any right or title the colony of Connecticut might have over the territory involved and offering in payment "a Reasonable sum of Money (which y^r Memorialist hath Ready to offer)." Most prominent among Brown's New York clients was James Alexander, wealthy merchant and lawyer and a member of the councils of both New Jersey and New York. The joint committee to whom the petition was referred, however, recommended that the colony surrender its claim to a tract of land bounded on the east by the Hudson river and on the west by a line drawn five degrees of longitude west of the Delaware river. But the most significant statement in the joint committee's report was the candid admission that there was not the "Least Probability of this Colonys ever recovering the Possession of any Lands Westward" of the line fixed as the western boundary in 1725. The upper house was willing to make a grant of the lands between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, but the lower house, aroused to the serious consideration of something hitherto considered worthless for which they had been offered seven hundred and sixty Spanish dollars, refused to make any grant. This was as near as Connecticut ever came to making a categorical renunciation, officially, of its western claim.

In a few months Brown and Alexander, no doubt, regretted their initiative in promoting the idea, for Irish settlers in Hunterdon county were petitioning the Connecticut legislature to erect a county government over them and New York claimants as far up as Wallkill were "flocking to sign Petitions to the General Court of Connecticut, to grant them Townships there." The New Jersey council took steps to suppress this seditious "Conspiracy and Combination to throw off their Dependence on his Majesty's Government of this Province," and James Alexander's last years were complicated by similar activities of settlers on the New York side of the line.

Meanwhile, the Simsbury town group, now six times the original number, set about to establish their priority in the matter of the western lands. In October, 1751, they renewed their petition for a grant of a town on the theory that they had been "as it were . . . the first discoverers of that new world." The idea of an almost unlimited supply of fresh lands in the West which might be had for the asking was one calculated to stir imaginations, and the Simsbury and Brown petitions were quickly followed by others. In May, 1752, Joseph Blackleach of Stratford and more than four hundred others, including those from Simsbury who had "discovered" the western claim, sent a request to the legislature for a grant of four towns on or near Delaware river. The large number of signatures affixed to this petition is evidence that the project was now a fairly common topic in the taprooms and other meeting places. Of still more significance in tracing the growth of the western claim is the fact that some important persons were among the signers, such as Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Mathew Griswold of Lyme, Stephen Lee of New London, Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane.

At the May, 1753, session of the legislature no less than

six petitions for town grants were presented. Most important of these was that dated March 29, 1753, signed by 152 inhabitants of Windham, Farmington, Canterbury, Plainfield, and Voluntown. It asked for a grant and for the right to purchase the Indian title to a tract of land sixteen miles square covering the Wyoming Valley on the northeast branch of the Susquehanna river. This was the group which three months later, having expanded both in numbers and in purpose, formed the Susquehanna Company. At the same time John Whiting of Stonington and other veterans of the Cape Breton expedition of 1745 asked for compensation in the form of a grant of land twenty miles square between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, where "Dayly Encroachments are made by Strangers without any Consideration to this Government." Sixty-eight inhabitants of Suffield asserted that their town was "Grown full of Inhabantants so that a Great many must unavoidably move to Sum other Place" and they thought it would be advantageous to Connecticut to plant settlements on the western lands in order to prevent encroachments, for which purpose they prayed a grant of a "suitable Quantity" of land. Seventy-two inhabitants of Norwich, being burdened with "Great & Expensive Family's & being Confined to very Small Inheritances" also asked for a grant of land west of the Hudson river. They thought the settlement of this "Wild & Uncultivated Wilderness" by loyal subjects would be of great benefit both to the crown of Great Britain and to the colony of Connecticut.

Two other petitions presented at this session of the legislature were the most imaginative of all the requests for grants of western lands. The first was made by Isaac and Elisha Tracy and their associates, most of whom were from Norwich and many of whom were later inter-

ested in the Delaware Company purchases; the second was presented by a number of inhabitants of Greenwich. Even the chaotic condition of colonial boundaries hardly justifies the logic of these two petitions. For the lands requested lay not west of New York but in the very heart of that colony, being within the triangle formed by the intersection of the northern and western boundaries of Connecticut as set forth in the agreement of 1664, the Hudson river forming the third and eastern side of the triangle. The western line of Connecticut, according to the agreement of 1664, which was neither surveyed nor approved by the crown, ran off in a northwesterly direction from the mouth of the Mamaroneck river. It was, of course, superseded by the agreement of 1725 establishing the boundary between New York and Connecticut at a line twenty miles east of and parallel to the Hudson river. This line had been surveyed, approved by the crown, and acquiesced in by Connecticut for more than twenty years when these petitions, based upon the incomplete agreement of nearly a century before, were presented. A more significant commentary upon the feverish growth of the idea of a western claim could scarcely be found.

The breeze which stirred up this flurry of petitions may have originated in the western part of the colony or even in New Jersey and New York, but the seed borne by it found fertile soil in eastern Connecticut. The legislature made no grants in response to these petitions, but all those presented in May, 1753, were continued over to the October session, an indication, perhaps, that the western claim was growing in popularity. But before the next meeting of the deputies a new purpose was given to the movement—that of erecting another colony west of New York. Its sponsors, who became the Susquehannah Company, were thereby enabled to monopolize the western

claim with something of a proprietary interest for the next few decades.

III

THE explanation for this sudden rise of the idea of asserting the western claim is not difficult to discover. Connecticut, particularly in the west, was not overcrowded, since its agrarian population of 130,000 in 1756, despite large emigration, grew to 197,000 in 1774 with room for still further increase without great discomfort. Yet the colony was in a "crowded" state of mind. A widespread mania for land speculation, prevalent in other colonies as well, was a chief cause. Migration from Connecticut northward along the Housatonic and the Connecticut, together with lotteries and other speculative schemes, had brought about an excited state of mind concerning the acquisition of fresh lands. Other factors contributed, such as a wasteful and unimproved system of agriculture, heavy taxes, the absence of commerce on the scale that existed in other colonies, the absence of markets, the falling value of farm lands, the inadequacy of transportation facilities, and, perhaps to some extent, religious and social dissent. The motive expressed in the articles of association of the Susquehannah Company, drawn up at Windham on July 18, 1753, was "To Spread Christianity as also to promote our own Temporal Interest."

Nor is it difficult to understand how the Susquehannah Company evolved from a small town-group to a large company of individuals seeking to establish a separate colony. Similar projects were on foot in other colonies. Benjamin Franklin, supported by Lewis Evans, Thomas Pownall, and Sir William Johnson, proposed a series of inland colonies as a barrier to the French, and this proposal was incorporated in the Albany Plan of Union of

1754. The Connecticut legislature rejected this Plan, but endorsed that part of it concerning the erection of western colonies and urged it as a definite policy of the crown. Samuel Hazard of Pennsylvania has been credited with promoting the first scheme for a colony west of the Alleghanies before the French and Indian War. But it is evident that the Susquehannah Company had definitely embarked upon a plan for erecting an inland colony about a year before Hazard conceived his project. The articles of association of July 18 stated that the associators were "desirous to Enlarge his Majesties English Settlements In North America," and a dispatch, dated July 27, 1753, from Connecticut to the *London magazine* said that "Several hundred people of this Colony have agreed to purchase a large tract of Land of the Six Nations . . . Expecting that it will be in a short time a distinct Government."

IV

THE growth of the Susquehannah Company was rapid. When the town-group which had petitioned the legislature in May met at Windham on July 18, now numbering hundreds with a sprinkling of members of the legislature, justices of the peace, and other prominent persons in the colony, they still contemplated the securing of a small tract of land for the purpose of dividing it up into farms among themselves. The selling of "rights" at two Spanish dollars each, however, signified two noteworthy facts: that the formation of a company was taking place and that land speculators, with their facile optimism and their means of promoting a scheme, were being enlisted. In September, 1753, a competing town-group in Colchester was absorbed by the Susquehannah Company. By January, 1754, rights or shares to the extent of five hundred

were authorized to be sold at four dollars. On May 1, 1754, the selling of five hundred additional shares at five dollars was approved. By the following November the value of a share was set at nine dollars.

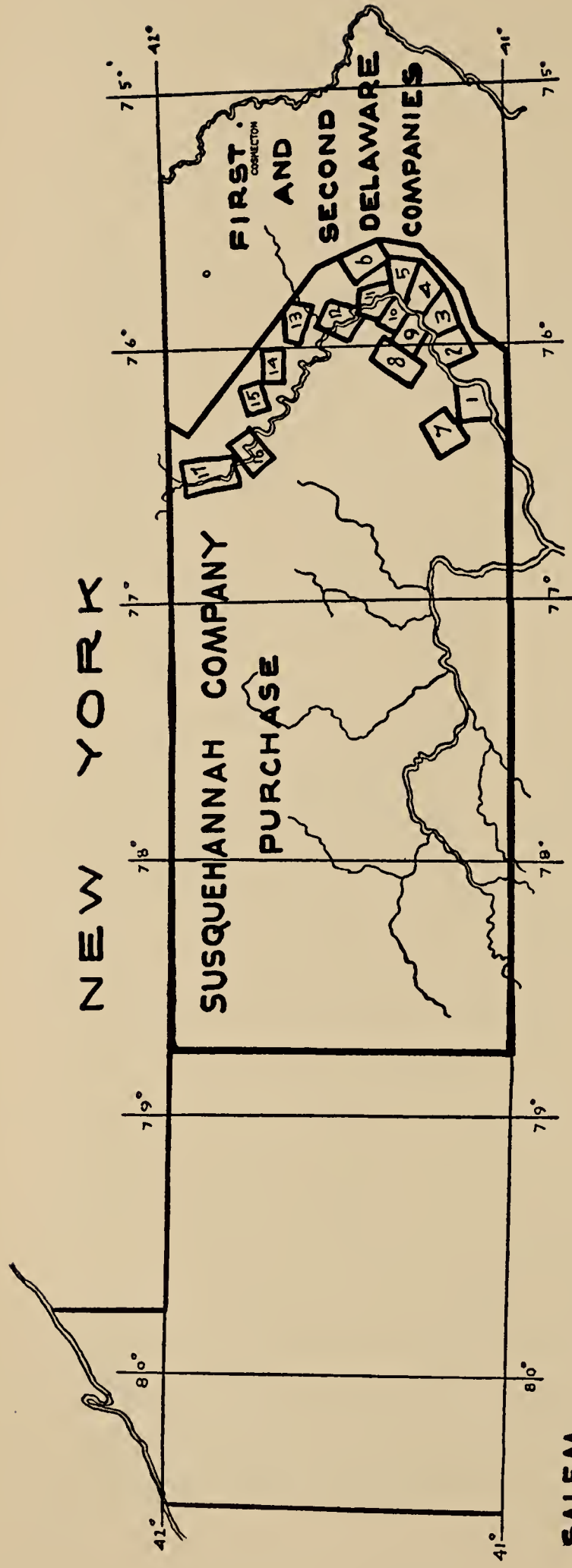
The old customs of town-groups in securing and distributing lands were, as might be expected, utilized by the Company. "Rights" originally were not considered as shares of stock; a subscriber merely paid a stated sum as his part of the expense of making an Indian purchase and of surveying and locating the lands, expecting thereby to own an equitable share in fee simple. Despite the changing scope of the enterprise, the Susquehannah Company continued to utilize the familiar methods of the town-group. All questions of policy were decided in a general meeting, usually called by advertisement in Connecticut newspapers. A standing committee, corresponding roughly to a board of directors, had charge of the Company's affairs in the interim between meetings. Special committees for selling rights, collecting assessments, negotiating purchases, or making surveys were appointed in general meetings. A moderator was chosen to preside over such meetings, though he had no executive powers. There was never an executive head of the Company, though at times forceful individuals like Eliphalet Dyer of Windham and John Franklin of Canaan dominated its policies largely through control of the standing committee. There was a permanent secretary, Samuel Gray of Windham, and a permanent treasurer, George Wyllys of Hartford. The Company was never incorporated; indeed, there was a strong doubt at the time whether the colony, itself a corporation, had a legal right to create corporations.

Once organized, the Company benefited by the growing land mania. Connecticut missionaries active among the Indians in evangelical work aided the Company in its

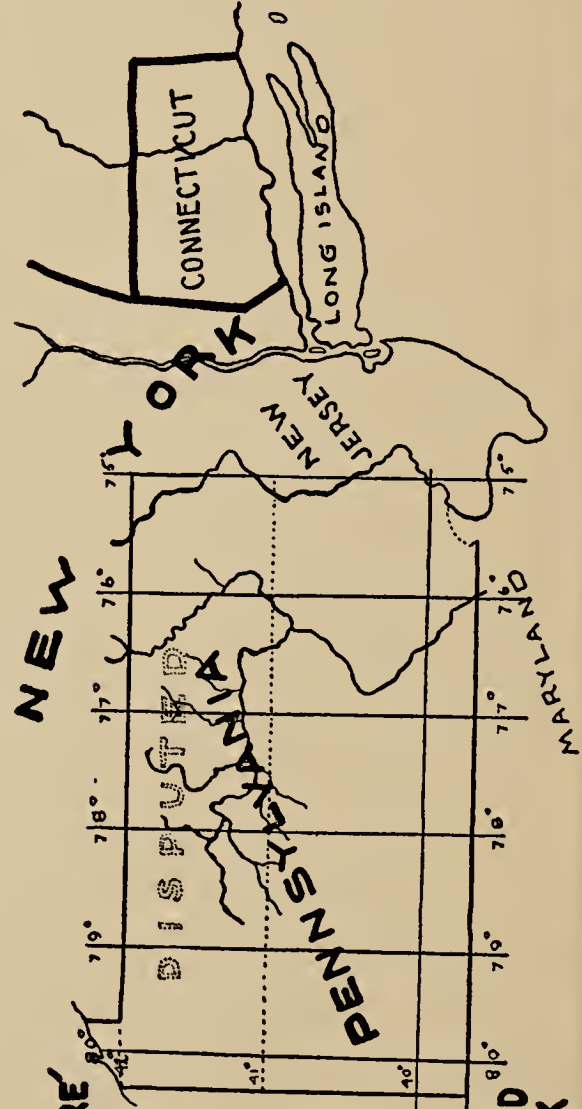
first negotiations for the purchase of the land. Timothy Woodbridge of West Springfield, Massachusetts, who had been employed to conduct youths to the Indian Mission at Stockbridge, and Gideon Hawley of Bridgeport, who was designated to establish a mission on the Susquehanna river in the spring of 1753, were both useful in furnishing information to the Company and in negotiating with the Indians. Woodbridge was given a share in the enterprise in January, 1754, for securing a grant from the Indians. He was allowed full discretion in the matter and the Company had such confidence in his wisdom and integrity as to ratify in advance anything that he should undertake in its name. Unfortunately for the best interests of the Company and for his own reputation, Woodbridge made the mistake of delegating his authority to a Dutch trader of Albany whose reputation was not altogether spotless, John Henry Lydius.

During the Albany Congress of 1754 Lydius negotiated with some Indians of the Six Nations for a tract of land covering the forty-second degree of latitude and extending two degrees westward of a line drawn ten miles east of and parallel to the Susquehanna river. While the Indians who signed the deed were sachems of the first rank, their signatures were possibly gained while they were under the influence of liquor. The deed was dated July 11, 1754, but the last name was not affixed until March 4, 1755; thus the document was not executed in open council and, despite the conflicting testimony regarding it, was probably secured under questionable circumstances.

Such misfortunes as the so-called Wyoming massacre have been attributed to the fraudulent nature of this deed, and the charge of illegality arose to harass the Company continually. It appears, however, that too much importance has been attached to this document both by the



- 1 SALEM
- 2 NEWPORT
- 3 HANOVER
- 4 WILKES-BARRE
- 5 PITTSTON
- 6 PROVIDENCE
- 7 HUNTINGTON
- 8 BEDFORD
- 9 PLYMOUTH
- 10 KINGSTON
- 11 EXETER
- 12 NORTHUMBERLAND
- 13 PUTNAM
- 14 BRAINTRIM
- 15 SPRINGFIELD
- 16 CLAVERACK
- 17 ULSTER



MAP SHOWING CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF
CONNECTICUT AND PENNSYLVANIA AND
THE PURCHASES OF THE SUSQUEHANNAH
AND THE TWO DELAWARE COMPANIES
WITHIN THE DISPUTED AREA

DRAWN BY FRANK BOBBE

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50

Susquehannah Company and its opponents and by historians. A part of the lands involved had been confirmed to the Six Nations by several treaties, with the reservation that, when sold, they would be conveyed to the proprietors of Pennsylvania. Yet some of those who signed the Connecticut deed had a few days previously signed a similar deed granting a part of the same lands to those proprietors. The Six Nations again sold the Wyoming lands to the Pennsylvania proprietors at the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768. Yet in 1775, three years before the battle of Wyoming, when, at the instigation of a Pennsylvania land speculator an Indian sachem of the Six Nations denounced the deed to the Connecticut people, he was publicly reprimanded by his fellows. Instead of maintaining an unswerving hatred of the Connecticut people for the manner in which they had been induced by Lydius to sign the deed, the leaders of the Six Nations exhibited merely a childlike inconsistency. There is no question, however, that the deed to Pennsylvania of July 6, 1754, was more properly executed than that to the Company; it was drawn up in open council and, most important of all, it bore the approval of Sir William Johnson.

Meanwhile, a journeying committee of seven had been sent into the Wyoming country late in 1753 for the purpose of appraising the land, making a purchase of the Indians, and selling shares en route. They succeeded in the first and last objects, but the most significant effect of their journey was a negative one: they planted the seed of opposition in Pennsylvania. News that the Connecticut people had made a considerable disturbance among the people of Northampton county by telling them that the Connecticut charter covered their territory and that in the spring a thousand settlers would invade the lands reached Thomas Penn about the first of the year. He was

not alarmed; he thought that their project for a new colony might easily be defeated in England and that a proclamation for arresting illegal settlers would be effective. He authorized letters to the governor and deputy-governor of Connecticut, but meanwhile news came that many Northampton farmers were abandoning their Pennsylvania titles "for trifles" and were buying rights in the Company. On receiving Penn's instructions, Governor Hamilton at once protested to Governor Roger Wolcott and Deputy-Governor Thomas Fitch. Wolcott had already, in January, 1754, given his sanction to the Company. The replies of Wolcott and Fitch were both noncommittal but sharply contrasted in their tone; that of the former was diffuse and rambling, perhaps artfully so. Not only did Wolcott fail to answer Hamilton's entreaty that he use his authority to stop the proposed migration, but he tried to show Hamilton the advantage of having a buffer group of freeholders on the frontiers of Pennsylvania who would have some inducements for fighting the French. Fitch wrote in a crisp and pointed style and declared that he would "in all proper ways use my interest to prevent any thing that may tend any way to prejudice the General good of these Governments." Sir William Johnson was appealed to both by Governor Hamilton and by the Susquehannah Company; he assured the former that his sympathies and interests were with the proprietors of Pennsylvania and promised to give a "proper answer" to the Connecticut leaders.

As soon as news of the Lydius purchase reached Philadelphia, protest was made to Governor Fitch. Now in full authority, his answer was more equivocal than it had been when he was deputy-governor. Although his own son was engaged in the enterprise, he professed to know nothing of its objects or leaders. Conrad Weiser also sug-

gested that some of the Six Nations Indians be invited to Philadelphia for a conference. Sir William Johnson persuaded Hendrick Peters, one of the leaders who had signed the Connecticut deed, to undertake the journey to Philadelphia. Showered with presents and entertained sumptuously, he and Scaroyady agreed to have the Lydius deed nullified by the Six Nations. As they passed along the upper Susquehanna on their return, Gideon Hawley wrote Lydius of the Philadelphia conference and added: "If you do anything to purpose now is the time." Once again, however, the proprietary agents were disappointed, for less than two months after making his promise, Scaroyady affixed his totem to the Lydius deed, and early in the autumn Hendrick Peters fell in the Bloody Morning Scout at Lake George with at least one of his promises forever unfulfilled.

These discouragements did not deter the Company. At Hartford in November, 1754, plans were laid for making an appeal to the crown. An additional thousand dollars—"And more iff Necessary"—was sent to Lydius. George Wyllys, Roger Wolcott, Jr., Phineas Lyman, and other prominent men in the colony were now numbered among the eight hundred shareholders. In May, 1755, the Company presented a petition to the legislature asking for its approval of an appeal to the crown for a royal patent. Without affirming or denying the legality of Connecticut's claim to the western lands, the legislature gave its sanction to the proposal at the same time that it approved a similar petition of Samuel Hazard who was planning a colony farther westward. The Company at once held a meeting and voted to proceed immediately with a settlement at Wyoming and with its petition to the crown. But the opening of the French and Indian War put an end for the time being to these plans, and further activity was

suspended until the general westward movement began at the close of hostilities.

V

So successful had Lydius been with the Susquehannah Company's Indian negotiations that a second group of land operators came into existence known subsequently as the Delaware Company. The leaders of this group were centered in Norwich, while those of the Susquehannah Company had Windham for their headquarters. The Delaware Company made three Indian purchases under circumstances even more dubious than those attending the Lydius purchase. One of these was made December 20, 1754; it was renewed and amplified on May 6, 1755; and a final deed was secured October 29, 1755. They were all obtained from obscure Delaware Indians and only contemporary copies of these documents remain to inform us of the manner of their negotiation. The first two deeds constituted the purchase of the so-called First Delaware Company, and embraced the northern half of the forty-second degree of latitude between the Delaware river and the Susquehannah Company's purchase. The third deed constituted the purchase of the Second Delaware Company and embraced the southern half of the forty-second degree between the Delaware river and the Susquehannah Company's purchase. These two Delaware companies acted together in all matters of policy, and while the bounds of their Indian deeds did not coincide precisely with the projected north and south lines of the Susquehannah Company's tract, on their maps the three companies claimed the whole of the forty-second degree from the Delaware river to a line which was variously stated as being either two degrees of longitude or 120 miles west of the eastern line of the Susquehannah tract, or west of the

Susquehanna river. The records of the Delaware companies are not known to be extant, but throughout their history the three companies usually acted in unison on all important matters.

Although the Lydius purchase did not have the effect of alienating the Six Nations, the efforts of the Company to place a settlement on the lands so purchased did arouse the resentment of the Delawares, a tribe which recognized the overlordship of the Six Nations and which had been assigned to the lands at Wyoming. When this tribe made war upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania in 1755, its leader, a vain and drunken fellow called Teedyuscung, declared that the Connecticut purchase had been one of the chief causes. Whether Teedyuscung merely seized upon this as an excuse for his depredations is not so important as the fact that peace negotiations with the Delawares afforded a basis for friendly coöperation between Sir William Johnson and the proprietors of Pennsylvania in opposing the Susquehannah Company.

News of the first Connecticut settlement on the Delaware, at Cushietunk or Coshecton, came to Philadelphia in the late summer of 1760. Governor Hamilton at once dispatched a committee of local officials who, in disguise as farmers and laborers, sought to find out the intentions of the Connecticut people. They discovered that the settlers claimed title under a "grant" from Connecticut and two Indian purchases, that three townships had been surveyed, and log houses, a grist-mill, and a sawmill had been erected. The Connecticut people firmly declared they intended to remain there until the dispute was settled by "the Highest Authority."

Teedyuscung complained twice to Governor Hamilton against this settlement, being apparently the more determined because a few Indians on the upper Delaware were

said to be living on terms of friendship with the Connecticut settlers. The governor and council of Pennsylvania sent letters of protest to Governor Fitch and to Sir William Johnson in February, 1761. Simultaneously the first of many Pennsylvania proclamations against the Connecticut settlement was issued.

In England Thomas Penn approached Lord Halifax, president of the board of trade, with the request that orders be secured at once against the expected migration early in 1761. Halifax advised Penn to see Earl Granville, lord president of the privy council; this he readily agreed to do, as Granville was a close friend. He also laid the matter before Pitt. It was at Granville's suggestion that Penn caused a statement of the case to be drawn up so that the matter might be laid before the attorney general and the solicitor general. In this statement, drawn chiefly by Henry Wilmot, an effort was made to bring the government of Connecticut into the dispute. Finished late in January, 1761, it was at once submitted to Attorney General Charles Pratt and Solicitor General Charles Yorke for their opinion on the validity of the Connecticut claim. To this question both royal officials replied in substantial agreement with the opinion given by Attorney General Jones at the time the Pennsylvania charter was granted. They strongly supported the right of the Penns to the territory involved, and denied that of Connecticut, though they gave divergent reasons for their opinions.

Thus, with these two opinions, and with Granville, Halifax, and other important officials as their friends, the Penns were fortified legally and officially far better than their lands in Pennsylvania were. "As to their gaining a Charter here," wrote Thomas Penn confidently, "that can never be done. They have no Friends, and if they had all you imagine, they could be of no use to them." If the

dispute had been fought out on the grounds chosen by the Penns, there could have been little doubt of the outcome. But the legal and official field constituted only one of the battlegrounds, and, from the standpoint of final results, not the most important. What was happening on the frontiers of Pennsylvania was of far more lasting consequence. The settlers at Cushietunk had by this time built a large blockhouse equipped with swivel guns.

VI

MEANWHILE, in Connecticut the Susquehannah Company was preparing to follow the lead of the Delaware Company. At a meeting in April, 1761, the decision was reached to join with the Delaware Company in applying to the crown for a charter; Eliphalet Dyer was appointed to undertake the embassy. Dyer was granted a salary of £150 sterling and all "proper Expences"; for this purpose two hundred additional shares were authorized to be sold at eight pounds per share. Although nothing appears in the minutes of this meeting to indicate that a vote to settle the lands at Wyoming was considered, it seems probable that such a vote was passed. Meanwhile, as evidence of the growing strength of the enterprise in Connecticut, Governor Fitch had delayed three months to answer Governor Hamilton's protest, and even then he produced what Hamilton termed "a meer piece of artful Evasion." Fitch took the technically defensible position that the government of Connecticut had not sanctioned such an emigration, and that it could not presume to advise its citizens on their conduct under other governments. The "interposition" of Sir Jeffery Amherst, the new commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was next sought by the governor of Pennsylvania, and another appeal was sent to Sir William Johnson. Amherst

warned Fitch against laying the foundations for another Indian war; in reply, as was anticipated by Pennsylvania officials, Fitch merely repeated to Amherst what he had already said to Hamilton. These protests, however, probably induced the Company to refrain from attempting a settlement in 1761.

By the beginning of 1762, as a result of the steady complaints of the Delawares and of the letters of Hamilton and Amherst based on these complaints, the Company found it expedient to pass a vote to "prepare The minds of the Indians" for a settlement at Wyoming. The manner in which this was to be done—by employing one hundred picked men at the expense of the Company—did not indicate that this necessarily meant peaceable persuasion. But if force in this respect was contemplated, as the vote implied, it was not adopted. Instead, Timothy Woodbridge was named as a member of the committee to see that the Indians' fears were quieted. Again Woodbridge delegated his powers; this time he secured an Indian sachem to carry a speech to the Six Nations. Typical of what was after all a commonplace in the annals of Indian relations, this speech demanded that the Indians confirm the Lydius deed. Otherwise, "the great God will punish you . . . for he knows what you have done," said Woodbridge, who further urged that they should not get offended if he should settle one hundred families on the lands in the next spring. After sending this message to the Indians, the Company at a meeting in May, 1762, voted again to make a settlement immediately, giving as a gratuity ten miles square of land to one hundred picked men who would effect settlement within four months and maintain it for five years. This was, in substance, a land bonus for enlistment in the service of the Company; more than twenty years later the leaders had recourse to the

same sort of policy. In both cases it was a determined effort at forcible possession; in both cases, likewise, the settlers attracted were of a rugged type. They constituted, of course, an armed force.

This action, together with Woodbridge's speech, however, only aroused the Indians to increased hostility. At a private conference at Johnson Hall in April, 1762, the Six Nations complained of Woodbridge's speech; and at the Easton treaty of June, 1762, Teedyuscung asked Johnson and Hamilton to prevent a New England settlement at Wyoming. To this end both promised to use their best endeavors, and Johnson declared to Hamilton that if such a settlement were made, he would not feel safe in his own house. The most important outcome of this treaty, however, was Johnson's report to the board of trade, in which he pointed out the dangers of an Indian uprising if the Susquehannah Company persisted. Again the Delawares and Six Nations protested at the Lancaster treaty in August, 1762, but on his return from this conference Teedyuscung, on arriving at Wyoming, met a considerable body of Connecticut men, armed and with "all sorts of Tools as well for Building as Husbandry." They had already cut a road connecting the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. An emissary sent by Governor Hamilton to Wyoming to verify Teedyuscung's report found it substantially correct and the men engaged in cutting hay. They told the agent that Governor Fitch favored them, that he and his two sons were engaged in the affair, that they had arranged a meeting with the Six Nations at Albany the ensuing winter, and that settlers to the number of one thousand, with two pieces of artillery, would come in the spring. The Delawares at Wyoming made such threats against this body of men, however, that they withdrew to Connecticut for the winter.

This attempt at a settlement had not been made without a gesture of defiance to the government of Connecticut. Nearly a year after Fitch had promised Amherst he would do so, he laid the matter before the Connecticut legislature, setting forth the substance of the votes passed by the Company in May. The result was a proclamation, authorized reluctantly, according to Ezra Stiles, after many of the members had gone home. The proclamation was regarded, as indeed it was, more as a warning against a settlement and as an exculpation of the government than as an absolute prohibition. Even so, it "gave great offense" to the Company, and in July at a meeting called to consider the effect of the proclamation, a defiant vote was passed rehearsing the offer extended in May and doubling the number of men and the amount of lands given in consideration for their effecting a settlement. Eliphalet Dyer, Eleazar Fitch, and Joseph Chew were at the same time appointed as emissaries to solicit Sir William Johnson's interest in the undertaking. They even offered him a share in the enterprise, which he declined. The Company could scarcely have expected Johnson to lend aid to their project, though the leaders probably did hope to induce him to maintain a neutral attitude.

The armed force sent to Wyoming late in the summer of 1762 had met the Indian delegates of the Six Nations on their return from the treaty of Lancaster and John Smith of Voluntown, one of the important committeemen of the Company, had apparently made an informal arrangement with them for a meeting to be held at Albany March 22, 1763. This "agreement" was confirmed by the Company in a meeting in November, and Dyer, Woodbridge, and Lydius were appointed to meet the Indians and to procure by means of "reasonable" presents a recognition of the deed of 1754. But the next March when

Dyer and Woodbridge appeared at Johnson Hall with quantities of pork and beef, they found no Indians, though they did stir Johnson to renewed protests to Fitch, Amherst, and others against their interference in Indian affairs. This effort to secure a ratification of the Lydius deed failed, partly due to Johnson's opposition and partly to the fact that the conference was not a regularly appointed one. A meeting of the Company was held immediately on the return of the agents from Johnson Hall, and a vote was passed to lay out eight additional townships near the two gratuity townships; Woodbridge was to be "Chief or president" of the committee to supervise the settlement.

Before this enlarged settlement could be got under way, however, a general council of the Six Nations held at Onondaga in April, 1763, dispatched a deputation of Indians, accompanied by Sir William's nephew, Guy Johnson, to Hartford to protest against any further attempts at settlement at Wyoming. These Indians arrived during the sitting of the legislature, late in May. They were listened to by the members of both houses, before whom, according to Ezra Stiles, they "spake in all the Dignity of Indian oratory." They also behaved in accordance with Indian character in other ways. They had been instructed to lodge their protest and return without waiting for an answer. Nevertheless, they were not only persuaded to wait for an answer, but, so satisfactory did Governor Fitch's reply appear to them, they gave assurance that if ever the lands were sold, they would be sold to Connecticut—despite similar assurances that for years had been given to Pennsylvania. However much pleased the Indians may have been with Fitch's reply, they were soon to learn that the government of Connecticut could no more speak for the Company than the Indians who

signed the Lydius deed could speak for the Six Nations. Indian irresponsibility was soon to be answered by Yankee determination in business enterprise.

One important effect of this embassy of Indians was the encouragement which it gave to the opponents of the Susquehannah Company in Connecticut. Jared Ingersoll openly renounced his connection with the Company, and Joseph Chew endeavored to persuade Dyer to drop the affair. It was apparent that the obstacles before the Company were increasing, not only on the frontier, and in England, but within the colony as well. The Indian opposition had been expressed in every way except that most dreaded by the frontiersman, and those who wished to employ that method bided their time down the road of the near future. Even while the Indian emissaries were in Hartford, Pontiac in the West released the pent-up forces of Indian warfare, which was to bring, as one of its far-flung effects, disaster to the first New England settlement at Wyoming.

VII

MEANWHILE, the machinery of the home government was being put in motion. On receiving Johnson's report of August 1, 1762, concerning the dangers inherent in the Connecticut project, the board of trade at once recommended that measures be taken to put an end to the disturbance. Thomas Penn had already been having interviews with important ministers, and it was probably at his suggestion that Lord Egremont, the secretary of state, sent a letter to Governor Fitch through General Amherst, advising him to stop the settlement until the matter could be laid before the king in council. Fitch communicated this letter to the Susquehannah Company and a vote was at once passed to stop further settlement.

Under votes that had been passed before the receipt of Egremont's letter, the Company had sent out a body of settlers early in May, who probably departed for Wyoming after that letter was made known to the leaders. Indeed there is evidence to show that this early emigration was increased during the summer to the extent of about one hundred and fifty settlers. On the day that the vote was passed, Governor Hamilton wrote that fourteen Connecticut people were at Wyoming preparing to build houses and were expecting four hundred more emigrants daily. This fact may throw some light upon Ezra Stiles's comment that it was difficult to say whether Egremont's letter "threw more Discouragement upon the Affair, or augmented the Eagerness & Resolution of the Company." However, the Delaware Company a week later ordered a complete cessation of its plans, and the settlers at Cushietunk were recalled; they were thus spared the Indian ravages that took place in the upper part of Northampton county in the summer and autumn of 1763.

Meantime, the board of trade, acting on an order of a committee of the privy council, had recommended on April 27, 1763, that each colony should appoint a commissioner to go to Wyoming and proclaim the king's orders that the Connecticut settlers be removed. This recommendation was approved and on June 15 an order in council to this effect passed the seals. Early in September Governor Fitch received this command, and the legislature appointed Major David Baldwin of Milford to proceed as the commissioner from Connecticut. James Burd was appointed to represent Pennsylvania. But the royal orders were never executed; the Indians, as Dyer put it later, "saved the government the trouble" of driving the settlers off. While Baldwin was on his way, a body of Indians on October 15 annihilated the little

settlement on Mill Creek, leaving horribly mutilated bodies as witnesses to the futility of the Company's strategy in circumventing Lord Egremont's wishes. This was the real Wyoming massacre, and there can scarcely be any doubt that it was directly attributable to the Indian policy of the Company between 1754 and 1763.

Two months before this disaster, Eliphalet Dyer embarked for England. But the negotiations entailed in representing an American business enterprise at the Cockpit were not suited to Dyer's temperament. Aggressive and impulsive, he found procedure in London quite different from the simple and direct business practices of eastern Connecticut. "I have been used to driving as much as most any with us," he wrote, "but here there is no such thing." He presented a petition asking for a grant of the lands purchased by the Companies and their erection "into a new Colony." It is hardly conceivable that any ministry of that day would have sanctioned a charter similar to that of Connecticut as the Companies desired, even if it had been united on the question of erecting new colonies—and, of course, his mission was a failure.

VIII

THE fixing of the Indian boundary line at the treaty of Fort Stanwix on November 5, 1768, was the signal for a third, and, with the exception of temporary ejections, permanent settlement by the Company. The leaders argued with a show of plausibility, but without legal foundation, that the fixing of the Indian boundary beyond the limits of their settlement (though not entirely beyond the limits of their purchase) had really amounted to a supersedure of the order in council of June 15, 1763. They thereupon determined to take possession of the lands and defend them under their Indian purchase.

This action was anticipated by the agents of the Pennsylvania proprietors at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. They not only secured from the Six Nations a deed to the lands held by the Susquehannah Company, but induced the Indians to make a formal protest against the deed obtained by Lydius at Albany in 1754. Even before this purchase was consummated, however, Governor John Penn began issuing warrants for surveys of proprietary manors within the limits of the New Purchase. Two of these, embracing about 30,000 acres, were laid out at Wyoming in the place contemplated by the Susquehannah Company for a settlement. Shortly afterwards, Governor Penn leased to Amos Ogden of New Jersey, John Jennings, the sheriff of Northampton county, and Charles Stewart, an Irish settler, Indian trader, and land-jobber, some of the manor lands on condition that they would secure other lessees to defend the lands.

The leases executed by the Penns to thwart the Susquehannah Company not only failed in attaining their initial object, but due to the favoritism shown Ogden and other New Jersey men, caused many farmers on the frontiers of Northampton county to join the Susquehannah Company rather than serve the Penns. Stewart and others charged the proprietors excessively for supplies and services, managed what few men they assembled badly, and showed little spirit in opposing the Connecticut people. The whole move, therefore, was costly and ineffective.

One other factor in Pennsylvania made it easier for the Susquehannah Company to override the opposition of the Penns and gain a foothold in 1769. This was the situation in the land office. Favoritism was shown to the large land speculators in disposing of the lands of the New Purchase. This also incensed the farmers, especially the Germans and Scotch-Irish of the western counties, and

many of them migrated southward. For the Susquehannah Company, however, the most important reaction was the decision of a turbulent group of Pennsylvania frontiersmen called the Paxtang Boys to join the Connecticut settlers. Thus the agents of the Penns had blundered again in favor of the Susquehannah Company, causing many sturdy yeomen to leave the province and driving others to join the enterprise which they were fighting.

The Company proceeded with enthusiasm. Shares rose in value when 40 select persons were told on December 28, 1768, to take possession of the land before February 1, and 200 more were authorized to join them in the spring. The First and Second Delaware companies quickly followed the lead of the parent organization. The next five years were filled with obstacles to the enterprise, in Connecticut as well as in Pennsylvania.

IX

THIS period from 1769 to 1774 was marked by two main lines of policy on the part of the Susquehannah Company: the effort to take forcible possession of the land, and the effort to make the affair a political question in Connecticut in order to secure from the legislature a definite grant of the land or to induce the colony to assert jurisdiction over it. By the former the Company hoped to be able to hold their possessions against claimants under the proprietors, and by the latter they hoped to make the colony assume the defense of the charter claim and the consequent boundary dispute.

The question of establishing a permanent foothold on the land by actual settlement was one which involved open border warfare, long noted in local annals and in contemporary documents as the struggles of the Yankees and the Pennamites. The men who emigrated from Con-

necticut in 1769, under the command of Major John Durkee of Norwich, really constituted an armed invasion. The rude fort that they built in the summer of 1769 was forced to capitulate by the settlers under Captain Ogden in November of the same year. But the unrest on the borders of Pennsylvania was promptly capitalized by the Company. The Paxtang Boys were approached in the summer of 1769, and early in 1770 they made a proposition to the Company for ejecting the Pennsylvanians in return for a grant of land. This offer was accepted, and the group of veteran Scotch-Irish Indian fighters from Lancaster county marched into the Wyoming Valley early in February, 1770, and took possession for the Susquehannah Company. They were augmented by additional forces from Connecticut, but in the autumn of 1770 the settlement was again routed by the Pennsylvanians. The Paxtang Boys again took possession in December, 1770, but when, on January 21, Lazarus Stewart, their leader, killed the brother of Amos Ogden, the group was so fearful of the consequences that it evacuated without a struggle, and Stewart with six associates escaped to Connecticut. Possession was regained late in the summer of 1771 by a large force of Connecticut settlers, this time permanently.

The settlement now proceeded swiftly. Zebulon Butler of Lyme was the leader of affairs. He had succeeded Durkee as military commander in 1770, and the authority that he exerted in that capacity tended to remain with him long after the settlement had become comparatively peaceful. The organization of the settlement at first was, of course, upon a basis of what might be called a block-house economy. Under this rule a quasi-communistic order obtained. Farming, what little there was of it, was carried on in groups for the sake of protection, not against

Indians but against the more dreaded Pennamites. Baking, milking, hunting, scouting, indeed almost all duties were performed by groups who did not individually reap the profits of their labor but shared them in common. The year 1772 marked the end of the blockhouse rule. In this year new towns were laid out up and down the river, and settlements were attempted on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Settlers began to sow and reap for themselves, though for a time they continued to live in a central blockhouse or fort, and guards were maintained night and day. But by 1773 rude log houses were scattered about the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys, and the work of clearing the land and tilling the soil proceeded without material interruption from the Pennsylvanians.

Presumably, if normal procedure had been possible, the Company would have settled as many of the shareholders on the lands as possible, in order to accomplish the double purpose of giving them the desired farms and of making the remaining unimproved lands more valuable and more available for profitable disposal to nonmembers of the Company. But normal procedure was far from possible, and the policy of selling lands for profit to the shareholders never became possible.

Very abnormal conditions determined the land policy of the Company in the period before the Revolution, forcing it to adopt desperate measures in order to accomplish the essential object of possession in the face of disputed ownership. The measures took the form of special concessions to induce settlers to occupy the lands in as large numbers as possible. In May and July, 1762, two towns of ten miles square each were granted to two hundred settlers as a gratuity above their other equity in the Company for taking possession of the land; the settlers were to be picked by a special committee for that purpose,

and were to occupy the lands for five years. In April, 1763, the same policy was continued; eight additional gratuity towns were ordered to be laid out near the first two. These additional towns, however, were to be five miles square, and were to contain forty settlers each. The Company reserved to itself "all Beds of mine, Iron ore and Cole," as well as three rights in each town. In 1768 the Company continued this policy by giving five gratuity towns to 240 settlers, the first forty to have their choice, the remaining two hundred to take the remaining four towns. The Company also appropriated £200 for tools and provisions for the settlers. The conditions respecting three extra rights in each town, the reservation of minerals, and the five-year term of settlement were also renewed. On April 12, 1769, three new gratuity towns were ordered to be laid out on the West Branch of the Susquehanna for 300 additional men. Only the first five gratuity towns of 1768 were actually settled under the terms stipulated.

In addition to this policy of giving gratuity towns to induce settlers to occupy the lands, the Company resorted to various expedients in order to further the interests of the Company. One of the most common was the practice of giving shares to individuals who were in a position to serve the Company in one way or another. On May 1, 1754, the Company voted to reserve sixty shares "for particular persons"; the members of the standing committee were authorized to dispose of these to such persons as they thought fit. Again in 1761 fifty shares were entrusted to the same committee "for Special purposes to be disposed of when and to Whom it may be thought most for the benefit of the Company." For special services, a share each was given to Timothy Woodbridge in 1754; to Pelatiah Webster and Joseph Galloway in 1767; to Joseph

Jacobs of Philadelphia in 1768; to William Ledlie of Easton in 1769; and to the Reverend George Beckwith, the first minister of the settlement. The whole town of Nanticoke, which had already been allotted to a part of the 240 gratuity settlers of 1769, was granted to "our Paxton friends" in 1770. In 1773, because of the extraordinary services of "a particular gentleman in this Colony," who happened to be Governor Jonathan Trumbull, the Company made a grant of five hundred acres as a gift, which was accepted. In 1774, an opponent of the Company charged that it had gained a predominant interest in the legislature "by selling to some and giving to others." This was denied, but the charge was not at all improbable. The Company throughout its history was generous to those who performed any signal service in its behalf. Besides granting numerous shares, the Company sought to promote settlement by the appropriation of funds for roads, grist-mills, fortifications, by provisions respecting schools and churches, and by the purchase of tools and other provisions for the use of the settlers.

X

IN its method of distributing the land to the shareholders the Company had only one policy. That, as would naturally be expected, was the method customary to the New England colonies. True to its origin as a town-group, the Company utilized the town, rather than the individual grant, as the unit for settlement. According to the rules for settlement laid down in 1770 in a general meeting, and further confirmed in 1772, the location and surveying of towns was under the direction of a committee of fifteen who had power to "over see & Direct the whole settlement." Allotment of towns to groups of fifty persons was made by this committee in much the same way that the

legislature of Connecticut had formerly disposed of the unoccupied lands within its borders. The committee was required by the vote of the Company to see that the fifty "settlers' rights" within the town were to be alike, as nearly as possible, "for Quantity & Quallity." The towns were five miles square, and were divided into fifty-three equal shares, of which three shares were reserved for the use of the town proprietors in establishing schools and churches.

The requirement for equality in regard to quantity and quality was carefully observed, even with regard to the three extra rights. This usually made necessary the division of the town into three or four sections, each of which was in turn divided into fifty-three equal parts. Thus the town of Wilkes-Barré had four divisions, corresponding roughly to town or house lots, farm lots, meadow or upland lots, and mountain lots. Usually these "divisions" or "tiers" corresponded fairly well to the different sorts of soil, so that each settling right in a town commanded approximately the same quantity of good and poor soil, meadow and timber-land, as every other right. The fifty-three lots in a particular division were numbered on the survey, and, at a stated time, a lottery of corresponding numbers was held by the fifty proprietors. Thus all opportunity for partiality in locating or surveying individual lots was eliminated. The several divisions were sometimes surveyed and allotted even after the initial division had been settled and was under cultivation. Often, however, a town was organized, surveyed, divided into lots, and the lots drawn by the settlers before any of them set out from Connecticut to the Susquehannah Company's lands. It was, without question, the most equitable and democratic method of land division that has ever been developed in this country, and it formed the bulwark of the Susquehannah Company's strength in the years from 1769 to

1774 when the possession of the territory was bitterly contended for by powerful opponents. The Pennsylvania method of land distribution, of course, was an individualistic and competitive system. One of the most significant aspects of the whole enterprise, therefore, is the opportunity it affords for the comparative study of widely differing land systems.

For administrative purposes the Susquehannah Company endeavored to maintain a close relationship with the settlers in the various units or towns; first, with the object of keeping them in a compact, organizable body for military defense; later, for preserving peace and order and making the administration of the whole settlement uniform. This connection was maintained by a supervising group called the settlers' committee. This settlers' committee varied from time to time in authority and numbers, but at all times it was the administrative head of the settlement. In 1769 this committee was given power to "Divide and apart out the men into parties proper for the various Businesses, Husbandry Tillage, Labour fortifying, scouting, Hunting, providing, & other parts necessary & Convenient for the whole." The settlers' committee was appointed by the Company in general meeting but the settlers themselves were empowered to choose additional members. From the decisions of the settlers' committee the inhabitants might, and frequently did, appeal to the Company.

In 1773 the Company formulated an elaborate scheme of local government for the settlers, corresponding very closely to the local civil establishment of Connecticut. Directors in each town, corresponding to the New England town selectmen, were to be elected by the inhabitants, and in their joint meetings were to have judicial powers very similar to the county courts of quarter sessions.

Appeal from this body to the Company was limited only to matters involving land. The system of directors of 1773 was barely adopted before the colony extended its jurisdiction over the territory and made unnecessary the local government set up by the Company. For its own administrative purposes, however, the Company continued to utilize the settlers' committee, which had power to locate and survey new towns, admit shareholders to them, and decide controversies involving land. Close communication was maintained between the Company and the settlers' committee, of which Zebulon Butler was the actual head until after the Revolution. Thus, in administrative organization as well as in land policy the Company was a coherent, coöperative group, and, though there were minor frictions, especially between the Paxtang Boys and the Connecticut settlers, the orders and policies of the general meetings were carried out with remarkable fidelity. Under the system each settler felt that his exertions involved a great tract of land in which he had an equitable share. No such feeling could have pervaded the settlers under the Penns or under the large land speculators of Pennsylvania.

XI

THE second line of policy in the years from 1769 to 1774 was, as noted above, the effort to induce the legislature of Connecticut to recognize the Company's claim either by making a definite grant or by extending the jurisdiction of the colony to the territory involved. To many in Connecticut this effort seemed to be prompted by the desire to have the colony assume the burdens and responsibilities which faced the Company as a result of the opposition by the Pennsylvania proprietors. William Samuel Johnson, one of the ablest public men in the colony at the time,

was strongly opposed to the colony's interference in the dispute. On the other hand, the Company's leaders in eastern Connecticut—Eliphalet Dyer, Samuel Gray, Elizer Talcott, Silas Deane, and others—found in Governor Trumbull an ally who was not only in an influential position, but who, despite the fact that the governor of Connecticut had little real power, was so adroit and indefatigable in his labors in behalf of the Company that its ultimate object was successfully accomplished. Without Trumbull's aid, it scarcely could have been. He succeeded in making it the foremost public question in Connecticut in 1774, and identified it with his own political future. The triumph of his group at the polls, therefore, meant success to the Company.

When the first attempt to secure the aid of the colony was made, in 1755, little opposition was incurred; the legislature probably thought that it had no real title to the western area and, at most, it only gave the Company permission to solicit a charter from the crown. But in 1769, when the continued agitation of the claim had built up a strong opposition in the colony, the petitions of the Company at the October session were not granted. Dr. Benjamin Gale of Killingworth was the most bitter opponent of the Company in 1769 and at the adjournment of the session wrote a pamphlet strongly criticizing it and the methods used. Eliphalet Dyer replied in another pamphlet, which was promptly answered by Gale. This acrimonious discussion of the affair in print brought the Company more closely to the attention of the public. "The Publick's Humble Servant" in 1770 continued the discussion where Dyer and Gale had left off, presenting the subject in a much more sober light, and from time to time newspaper articles appeared on both sides.

In 1771 the legislature was induced to vote to support

the western claim, and a committee, headed by Governor Trumbull, was appointed to draw up a statement of the colony's case, to be forwarded to counsel in England. In 1773 this case came back, with an opinion signed by Wedderburn, Dunning, Jackson, and Thurlow, favoring the colony's claim. The legislature in October, 1773, appointed a committee to treat with Governor Penn for the purpose of seeking an amicable and legal settlement of the dispute. This committee, composed of Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson, and Jedidiah Strong, was unsuccessful in its mission and returned empty-handed. The following session of the legislature, in 1774, passed an act erecting the town of Westmoreland, which embraced all the lands within the breadth of the forty-second degree of latitude from the Delaware river to a north-and-south line fifteen miles west of Wyoming—an area almost as large as the colony itself. Governor Trumbull issued a proclamation forbidding any individual to take up lands within the limits of the town, and Zebulon Butler, appointed a justice of the peace, was authorized to call the inhabitants together for the purpose of organizing the town politically.

XII

THIS action set the colony aflame. Despite the early attempts of the Company to distribute the ownership of the shares equally among the counties of Connecticut, the strength of the organization had become centralized in eastern Connecticut, and had become identified with the long-standing sectional hostility between eastern and western Connecticut. In addition, the long labors of Trumbull and Dyer had made it a political question, primarily their political question. Thus the Old Party, by which name was usually meant the more conservative

group of politicians headed by Thomas Fitch which was strongest in western Connecticut, had found one more issue on which to fight "the wise men of the east." This group had been out of office since 1766, as a result of the agitation over the Stamp Act, and they were therefore anxious to threaten the solidarity of Trumbull's group. The bitter discussions that followed in the newspapers testified to the state of the public mind on the subject.

Taking their cue from the radicals of 1766, the conservatives called an extralegal convention at Middletown on March 30, 1774, where representatives from twenty-three towns gathered ostensibly to draw up a remonstrance to the legislature against the Susquehannah Company and the Westmoreland act. This they did, in a temperate, well-framed petition, asking that the action of the last assembly be rescinded in May. Most of the towns which sent representatives to Middletown promptly ratified this action, and some others did likewise; but the border towns, Hartford and East Windsor, refused. In some cases the town meetings were reported to be the largest ever assembled. Meanwhile, the newspaper conflict over the "Unconstitutional" convention at Middletown raged. The real purpose of the convention, however, was to draw up a ticket opposed to that specified according to law by the legislature. This was done, but either from a misunderstanding or blunder, three tickets were drawn up. The result was a scattering of Fitch's strength, and Trumbull was re-elected; the Susquehannah Company was assured that the Westmoreland act would not be repealed, and their labor in behalf of Trumbull was not in vain.

James Tilghman, who probably got his information from Jared Ingersoll, wrote on April 3, 1774, that it was said the principal use of the new town of Westmoreland was "to gain a Number of Votes to Mr. Trumbull . . . at

the next Election." The election results seem to lend color to the rumor; on April 1 a group of the Susquehannah Company members wrote to Zebulon Butler at Wyoming urging the settlers to be spirited at the election on April 11. The postscript carried the essence of the letter: "We no our Friends and we no oure Foes and we can Tell Who we shall Vote for in the uper House but we Dont Want You Jentlemen to Vote as we Do without it is your minds. . . . Those Gentlemen that we have put . . . here above are in the Nomination, and so We remane your Fast and Deare Friends and Hoping you Gintlemen will Remane so." There can be no doubt that they did remain so. Samuel Gray wrote to Governor Trumbull on April 30 that Vine Elderkin had reported to him that 500 freemen had attended on election day: "He understood your Honor & Col. Dyer had Every Vote."

Many in Connecticut resented strongly this interference by the Company in Connecticut politics. One writer said that the Company hoped to force the colony to "fight the battle with the colony's money and the Company gain the prize if any." Others opposed the colony's interference in the affair on the ground of the expense that would be involved in the ensuing litigation over the boundaries. Still others apprehended, and with good reason, that such a move might mean an attack on Connecticut's charter.

This entanglement of business and government was typical of the endeavors of the large land companies; in the governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia the activities of the land speculators were very evident. But in Connecticut there was a wider popular outcry than elsewhere, due, no doubt, to the fact that Connecticut was more completely a self-governing commonwealth than any of the other colonies, and the people felt and expressed a greater measure of responsibility in their government.

In this bitter political contest the Company also manifested a typical activity of the colonial land enterprises by its generous use of newspaper and pamphlet propaganda. This, while foreshadowing the business developments of the future, was more the result of the controversial nature of the enterprise than of any conscious effort to advertise.

From February to May, 1774, the *Connecticut courant*, the *New London gazette*, and the *Connecticut journal* were filled with acrimonious writings both for and against the Company. Only the *Norwich packet* remained aloof and declined to participate in the controversy. In this battle with printer's ink both sides indulged in sarcasm, innuendo, allegory, and forthright accusations of fraud, deceit, and falsehood. When the proponents of the Company accused Jared Ingersoll of being a low artificer and traitor because he had furnished the documentary basis for Dr. William Smith's *Examination of the Connecticut claim to lands in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1774), Ingersoll, in a restrained but indignant reply, asked: "Do those who are loudest in the cry for the freedom of the press, mean that the press should be free only for themselves? There are certain people at this time, who if a word is said against dear Susquehannah, behave as if they thought an open attack was made upon their honour and their property, and impute all that is said to the worst motives."

To Ingersoll's query about the freedom of the press, the letter from Silas Deane to Joseph Trumbull on April 11, 1774, complaining of "the most infamous piece, scandalizing the Susquehannah Company" which had appeared in the *Connecticut courant* of April 5, was sufficient answer. Deane asserted that he had pointed out the falsity of the article to the printer, Ebenezer Watson, who had promised not to publish it but had nevertheless done so. Deane

immediately wrote Watson, affirming that among his principles he held that liberty of the press and liberty of speech ought to be inviolable, and demanding the name of the "author of the Libel." He threatened that persons more immediately interested would take "proper, Manly, & Legal Steps . . . for redress." Watson declined to name the person, saying that he had anticipated a lawsuit with the Company and had secured indemnity from the author. Deane replied curtly that the Company had "a more expeditious method of dealing with him, which was to withdraw our custom." To Trumbull, Deane added: "and so we parted, not without much apprehension & distress on his part." This threat brought the editor of the *Courant* to terms. Not only did the Company threaten to withdraw its support from the paper, but immediately began negotiating with Timothy Green to establish another printer at Hartford. Green was not hostile to the idea but urged the Company to seek an accommodation with Watson if that were possible, saying that "there shall be nothing wanting in my power to bring Mr. Watson to a Sense of his honor." "I understand," he added, "that Watson is greatly alarmed." Such was the influence of the Susquehannah Company upon the press of Connecticut.

XIII

THUS in its two main policies from 1769 to 1774 the Company was successful: the land by January, 1774, was in the possession of 1922 inhabitants, and the legislature in the same month extended to them the protection of its laws. The proprietors of Pennsylvania had long since resigned the possession of the lands to the Connecticut settlers. The board of trade had, in 1770, declined to intervene in the dispute, saying that it was a matter for settlement by the proprietors, within whose province it

lay, and whose laws were capable of meeting the situation. Since 1771 no serious effort had been made to eject the Connecticut people. In 1775, at the instigation of a group of Pennsylvania land speculators, an expedition of some 500 men was authorized to proceed against the settlement at Wyoming. The Continental Congress took cognizance of this imminent clash between two of the governments that were a part of the contemplated union of the American colonies, and tried to avert it, but without success. An attack was made on the Delaware companies' settlements also, and many persons agreed to yield to Pennsylvania authority. The expedition against the settlers of the Susquehannah Company, embracing both mounted and unmounted recruits, moved up the Susquehanna river and attacked Captain Zebulon Butler's men in a strongly fortified position at the southwestern pass to the valley. The attack of the Pennsylvanians caused the loss of a few lives, but was unsuccessful. The Connecticut people remained firmly in possession of the land throughout the Revolution, were represented in the Connecticut legislature, and were governed by Connecticut laws.

Much of the expense of this expedition was borne by a newly-formed association of Pennsylvania landholders. This fact signaled the beginning of a new era in the Company's history. The contest henceforth was not between the Susquehannah Company and the proprietors of Pennsylvania, but really between the Company and the large landholders of Philadelphia, such as James Wilson, and Robert Morris. The land speculators had learned that such a coöperative endeavor as the Susquehannah Company could not be successfully combated with their individualistic, competitive methods. In the two decades following the Revolution they made a practical—and successful—application of the lesson they had learned.

The Revolution brought about a suspension of the general activity of the Company in settling the lands, and with it a cessation of the Company's era of prosperous expansion. The dispute over the jurisdiction to the territory was promptly taken up by the Pennsylvania legislature, acting under pressure from the land speculators. In 1781 a petition was presented to the Continental Congress asking for the establishment of a court of commissioners to adjudicate the matter in accordance with the provisions of Article IX of the Articles of Confederation. Congress acquiesced, and the commissioners were chosen. John Hanson of Maryland, president of the congress of the Confederation, warned them that "the peace of two States and consequently of the whole Union" depended upon a final and amicable settlement of the dispute. The commissioners and the counsel for the two states assembled at Trenton in November and December, 1782. By the decision of the court the jurisdiction of the territory was awarded to Pennsylvania. No reasons or written opinions were given; the bare decision was simply announced.

XIV

THE history of the Susquehannah Company in the two decades following the Trenton decision, involving the efforts of a group of individuals to make good the titles to lands on which they had settled, is not an integral part of the history of Connecticut and may be summarized briefly. Once the protecting jurisdiction of Connecticut was withdrawn, many of the staunch Connecticut leaders began to lose interest in the Company and the settlers. Moreover, the new status opened the settlers to the liability of ejection suits. Pennsylvania in 1783 made a gesture at compromise by passing an act for staying such suits, but it was only a gesture. The legislature appointed a com-

mission at the same time to inquire into the status of the settlers, but the commissioners' appearance at Wyoming simultaneously with a group of representatives of the Pennsylvania landholders indicated the forces back of their appointment. Their compromise offers of leases to the Connecticut settlers were peremptorily refused. The stay law was repealed, troops were sent to Wyoming, and another Pennamite-Yankee war soon broke out. The inhabitants of Wyoming appealed to the Connecticut legislature and to the Continental Congress for the appointment of a second court of commissioners to decide the question of the private right of soil. The request was granted by Congress but no further action was ever taken.

There emerged among the settlers at this time a forceful leader by the name of John Franklin, a native of Canaan, Connecticut. From 1784 onward, Franklin outlined the policies of the Company and was chiefly instrumental in their execution. He had able lieutenants like John Jenkins, a native of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, and one-time resident of New London, but it was the aggressive, often radical, leadership of this striking figure that made a coherent following out of the Connecticut settlers now scattered up and down the Susquehanna river in seventeen towns. There was, to be sure, a noticeable division in the ranks of the Connecticut settlers after the Trenton decision. Many, growing tired of the armed dispute, favored acquiescence in the demands of Pennsylvania. Colonel Zebulon Butler, once the leader of the whole settlement, now became the leader of the conservative element and John Franklin, the leader of the radical element.

Franklin traveled up and down the Susquehanna, spreading enthusiasm among the settlers. He interested New York speculators such as Caleb Benton and Joseph Hamilton; he went into Massachusetts and Connecticut

and aroused a considerable interest there. It was in 1785, however, at a general meeting of the Susquehannah Company at Hartford, that he unfolded his boldest stroke of policy. Like many other contemporary leaders in the West, he conceived the idea of erecting a separate state. Neither the states of Connecticut and Pennsylvania nor the Continental Congress could be surely depended upon to validate the titles of the Susquehannah Company. It was possible that the titles to the towns already settled at the time of the Trenton decree would be honored, but even that was doubtful. A separate state, however, erected by the Susquehannah Company, would, as its creature, perforce declare not only all the settlers' titles valid, but would also give validity to the whole area of the Indian purchase of 1754. The headquarters of the Company shifted from Connecticut to Athens, Pennsylvania, which it appears was the proposed capital of the new state. The standing committee was authorized to issue 400 half-shares to non-shareholders on condition that they would submit to the orders of the Company for a period of three years. This really amounted to grants of land in compensation for military service. Six hundred additional shares were ordered to be disposed of by the standing committee, "to the use of the Company, using their discretion." By these resolves the Company set about to erect a separate state, to become the fourteenth commonwealth.

The movement was carried on surreptitiously. The minutes of the Company divulge nothing of the real object. But correspondence followed, containing veiled references to the gathering of arms, ammunition, and forces at Athens, which leaves no doubt of the intention of the leaders. Unlike most of the post-Revolutionary movements for statehood, this did not seek permission from congress or any state. It was in all phases a strictly

local movement for autonomy. Several shares in the Company were given to Ethan Allen, who agreed to bring his Green Mountain Boys to aid in erecting the new state. His letters of advice to the settlers were characteristic: "Crowd your settlements, add to your numbers and strength, procure firearms and ammunition, be united among yourselves. . . . Nor will I give up my interest to usurpers, without trying it out by force of arms."

But Pennsylvania landholders were becoming alarmed, and in 1786 the Pennsylvania legislature erected the county of Luzerne, which embraced almost all the region inhabited by Connecticut settlers. Timothy Pickering, a New Englander and a considerable land speculator himself, was chosen as agent of Pennsylvania to induce the citizens of the new county to yield allegiance to that state and to promise them that, in return, their titles would be confirmed to them. It was a politic move. Many of the settlers in the Wyoming Valley, headed by Zebulon Butler, were glad to accept a compromise. The erection of the new county greatly accentuated the division already apparent among the Connecticut settlers. "Franklin," wrote Pickering, "has got to the end of his tether."

This, however, was not the end. Franklin, head of "that Despotick Committee" which had charge of laying out new towns, was admitting new settlers and locating new towns on the upper Susquehanna. Large grants of land were made to New York and Massachusetts speculators; whole towns in some cases were sold to individuals. Thus the Company, now dominated by Franklin, inaugurated a new policy in the matter of disposing of the land.

Pickering's work, however, progressed successfully; the Pennsylvania legislature in March, 1787, passed a law confirming the title to all those lands that had actually been settled before the decision of the Trenton court. For

a while the movement for a new state quieted down. Franklin, however, was seized and put in close confinement in Philadelphia on a charge of treason. His followers immediately retaliated by seizing Pickering and keeping him captive for several weeks. Both, however, were released. But when in 1790 the legislature of Pennsylvania repudiated the work of Pickering by repealing the Confirming Act of 1787, the whole question was thrown open once more.

Franklin revived his movement for a new state. Additional shares and towns were sold to speculators; Barnabas Bidwell, a promising young lawyer of western Massachusetts, was employed to write a popular legal defense of the claim, which was printed and widely distributed. Copies of it were sent to members of the legislatures of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and to members of the federal congress. But events were already moving too strongly in the opposite direction. In 1795, the United States Circuit Court for Pennsylvania decided against the Connecticut titles in the case of *Van Horne's lessee vs. Dorrance*. Land speculators and merchants like Conyngham and Nesbitt in Philadelphia were growing tired of the dispute, and brought about pressure to have it ended. In 1799, Pennsylvania passed the Compromise Act for the settlement of the whole question. With the passage of this act, and its amendments, the resistance was really broken. The next four years, although marked by extreme bitterness in the conflicts between the agents of the committee of Pennsylvania landholders and the leaders of the Susquehannah Company, brought a peaceful, and, on the whole, satisfactory termination to the long dispute. The various commissions appointed to straighten out the maze of titles in the seventeen towns of the Susquehannah Company performed their task thoroughly and conscien-

tiously. In the end, 1,745 certificates were issued to the Connecticut settlers in the seventeen towns for 288,532 acres of land. The Pennsylvania claimants were compensated in the form of land grants elsewhere. It was a compromise that might as well have been made in 1783 when the Pennsylvania legislature offered its gesture toward a peaceable settlement. But animosities then were running too high; on John Franklin, more than on any other one individual, rested the responsibility for prolonging the contest and for delaying the compromise.

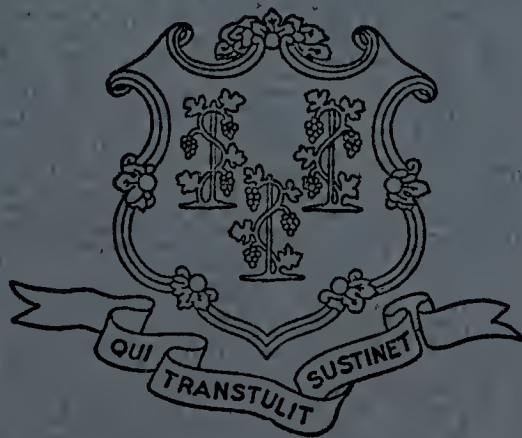
XV

THE explanation of the measure of success which the Susquehannah Company had lies deep in the background of New England institutions, and especially in the land system of New England. Therein also lies what is for historians perhaps the most significant phase of the whole episode: the fact that this business enterprise brought into conflict two colonies having widely contrasting governmental institutions, racial elements, religious sects, educational policies, and, above all, land systems. The Susquehannah Company was the medium through which Connecticut was enabled, in all these respects, to contribute much to the development of Pennsylvania.

Bibliographical Note

THIS account is based on the author's edition of *The Susquehannah Company papers* (vols. 1-4, Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, 1930-1934, published by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society). The introductions to these four volumes, which extend through May, 1772, furnish a somewhat fuller narrative as far as that date.

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The Regicides in Connecticut

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COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*The Regicides in Connecticut*¹

LEMUEL AIKEN WELLES

I

MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD WHALLEY, Major General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell were three of the members of what the house of commons set up and termed a High Court of Justice which tried and condemned to death King Charles I, and were among those who affixed their signatures to his death warrant. Edward Whalley, an own cousin of Oliver Cromwell, and William Goffe, a son-in-law of Whalley, while not of high birth, had attained great distinction as colonels in the parliamentary army during the civil wars and in the battle of Dunbar, and later as major generals had held the highest executive authority under Cromwell during the Protectorate.²

¹ Thanks are due to Mrs. Frederick H. Hitchcock of New York City, the owner of the copyright of the writer's *History of the regicides in New England* (New York, 1927), for permission to use material from it in the preparation of this Pamphlet. In that book there is appended in nine pages a full list of the contemporary authorities and of some later publications, so that it has not been thought necessary to include a Bibliographical Note in this Pamphlet.

² Whalley and Goffe were known in New England as "the colonels." They have also been called "the judges" and in late years generally "the regicides"—a name of which they probably would not have disapproved.

Charles the Second's Declaration of Breda, offering a pardon to all not exempted by parliament, was read in the Convention Parliament on May 1, 1660, and three days later Whalley and Goffe, under the names of Richardson and Stephenson, went on board the ship *Prudent Mary*, commanded by the Puritan Captain Pierce. The day the ship got under way the house of commons ordered the arrest of all who had sat in judgment on the late king. A relative of Colonel Dixwell petitioned the house of commons that the latter was ill and unable to surrender himself within the time fixed. This petition was granted, but instead of surrendering Colonel Dixwell fled to Germany, and nothing is known of him until he appeared in Massachusetts nearly five years later.

The *Prudent Mary* arrived safely in Boston July 27, 1660. No such prominent Englishmen as Whalley and Goffe visited New England during the colonial era, and even the English generals who came during the French and Indian War and during the Revolution were children at warfare compared with Cromwell's old officers. "They did not attempt to conceal their persons or characters when they arrived at Boston, but immediately went to the governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteously. They were visited by the principal persons of the town. . . . They appeared grave, serious and devout and the rank they had sustained commanded respect."³ Yet they received at least one insult while in Boston.

On August 29, 1660, parliament passed an act of indemnity in which the regicides were excepted by name. On September 22, a royal proclamation offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of Whalley and Goffe dead or alive. In October the regicides in Eng-

³Quotations where not otherwise indicated are mostly from Hutchinson, who wrote with Goffe's diary—now unfortunately lost—before him.

land were tried and twenty-nine were condemned to death. Ten of these were hanged, drawn, and quartered; the sentences of the rest were commuted to life imprisonment. The Massachusetts officials became alarmed, but their opinions about the matter differed. Governor Endecott summoned the court of assistants, on February 22, 1661, to consult about arresting Whalley and Goffe, but the court did not agree to it. Whalley and Goffe became aware that it was time for them to move and decided to go to New Haven. There were several reasons why New Haven was chosen as the place of their retreat. Soon after their arrival in Boston, the Reverend John Davenport wrote from New Haven to Governor John Winthrop, that he hoped to see them at his house in New Haven the following month. He had also preached a sermon, in which he strongly commended hospitality to strangers. New Haven, moreover, was the remotest of the Puritan colonies and furthest distant from Boston, where the regicides had landed.

The two left the home of Major Daniel Gookin in Cambridge, where they had been living, and started, on February 26, 1661, with horses and a guide on a winter's ride of about one hundred and sixty miles through the woods. From Hartford, where Governor Winthrop says they did not stay, Simon Lobdell guided them to New Haven, where they arrived on March 7, and were welcomed in Mr. Davenport's house. The next day the Massachusetts authorities issued a warrant for their arrest! In New Haven they were among firm, though previously unknown, friends. News of the king's proclamation was soon brought to New Haven, however, and within three weeks their feeling of security vanished. Perhaps to give the impression that they had fled to the Dutch at New Amsterdam, on March 27, 1661, "they removed to Mil-

ford, and appeared there in the day time, and made themselves known; but at night, returned privately to New-Haven, and lay concealed in Mr. Davenport the minister's house until the 30th of April." News of the execution of ten of the regicides and the king's warrant to cause Whalley and Goffe, "who stand here convicted of the execrable murder of our Royall Father" to be apprehended, reached Boston on April 28. Governor Endecott now became energetic. He caused this warrant to be printed and distributed, and, after a conference with the magistrates, sent two zealous royalists, Thomas Kellond, a merchant, and Thomas Kirke, a sea captain, with letters to the governors of Connecticut and New Haven, to pursue and secure the fugitives. They lost no time, and about six o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 7, they started with John Chapin as guide, and covered the hundred and twenty-five miles or more to Hartford in three days, and called on Governor Winthrop late at night on Friday, May 10. They reported: "The honourable Governour carried himselfe very nobly to us, and was very diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniencies for the prosecution of them, and promised all dilligent search should be made after them in that jurisdiction." The day after their arrival Governor Winthrop and the magistrates ordered a search made (the search warrant for Windsor, dated May 11, has been preserved). Winthrop wrote to Endecott that Kellond and Kirke were "very deserving gentlemen for the great care, diligence, and activity in the vigorous and speedy prosecution of that design wherein you had employed them." They employed Samuel Martyn, of Wethersfield, to guide them to New Haven and New Netherland, and the next morning, Saturday, May 11, started for Guilford to see Deputy-Governor Leete, at whose home they arrived that after-

noon. We cannot fail to admire the legs of sea Captain Kirke, which could endure riding about forty miles a day for four successive days through the rocky, roadless woods of New England!

In the meantime some friends had warned the regicides, for on April 30 they left Davenport's house and went to that of William Jones nearby, where they stayed until the day Kellond and Kirke arrived in Guilford, when they moved to a mill about two miles from New Haven.

II

KELLOND and Kirke lost no time in presenting Governor Endecott's letter and a copy of the king's warrant to Deputy-Governor Leete, who perused them and began forthwith to read them aloud in the presence of several persons who were with him. Kellond and Kirke told him it was convenient to be more private in such concernments. Then, withdrawing to a chamber, Leete told them he had not seen the two colonels in nine weeks. They said they had information that Whalley and Goffe were in New Haven since the time he mentioned, and asked him to furnish them with horses. He delayed and they reproached him. This interview occurred Saturday afternoon, and of course nothing could be done in a Puritan colony on Sunday, so Kellond and Kirke were obliged to wait impatiently in Guilford over Sunday. Meanwhile they collected some interesting information. As they left Leete's house and started for the ordinary a few rods distant, Dennis Crampton, who had been whipped for a misdemeanor by order of Leete, came up and told them that he would warrant that Colonels Goffe and Whalley at the time of his speaking were harbored in the house of Mr. Davenport, the minister at New Haven; that Goodman Bishop of Guilford was able to give them a like account;

that, without all question, Deputy-Governor Leete knew as much; that Mr. Davenport had put into his house ten pounds' worth of fresh provisions at one time, and that it was imagined it was purposely for the entertainment of Whalley and Goffe. He told them also that Goffe and Whalley were seen very lately betwixt the houses of Davenport and Jones, and it was supposed one lay at one of their houses, and the other at the other's. Crampton further said that he would make oath that Goffe and Whalley had openly spoken, at the head of a company in the field a-training, that if they had but two hundred friends that would stand by them they would not care for Old or New England. These words were confirmed by several others.

Upon receiving this information from Crampton, Kellond and Kirke returned to Leete and asked for horses with aid and power to search out and apprehend Whalley and Goffe. The deputy-governor provided the horses for them but refused to issue any warrant or give any order whatever, and said he could do nothing until he had spoken to Matthew Gilbert of New Haven and the rest of the magistrates. Upon this, they told him they would go to New Haven and stay there until they heard from him. Crampton, however, was keeping his eyes open and informed them, before they "took horse," that there was an Indian of the town missing, who, he said, was sent to give notice of their coming to New Haven. There was another suspicious circumstance. In the words of their report: "But to our certaine knowledge one John Megges [Meigs] was sent a horseback before us, and by his speedie and unexpected goeing so early before day was to give them an information, and the rather because by the delayes was us'd it was breake of day before wee got to horse, soe hee got there before us." They asked Leete to examine

Meigs as to the business which required his going to New Haven so early, but Leete said he did not know anything about it and refused. Leaving Guilford at sunrise, Kellond and Kirke soon covered the eighteen miles to New Haven and arrived there Monday morning, May 13.

Whether the mysterious Indian, or the energetic John Meigs, or some messenger going from Hartford to New Haven the day that Kellond and Kirke went to Guilford had given warning, certain it is that Whalley and Goffe on May 13, the day the pursuers reached New Haven, moved from the mill into the woods. Meeting William Jones with farmer Richard Sperry and one Burrill, they were conducted "to a place called hatchet-harbour, where they lay two nights, until a cave or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence hill," which is supposed to be what is now known in New Haven as West Rock.

Deputy-Governor Leete followed Kellond and Kirke to New Haven and arrived there two hours later than the royalists. He stopped on his way at Branford and brought with him Jasper Crane, the magistrate there, who afterwards became one of the principal settlers of Newark, New Jersey. Leete met them in the court chamber. They again told him their information, and said that they had cause to believe Whalley and Goffe were concealed in New Haven, and asked his assistance and aid for their apprehension. He answered he did not believe they were there. They asked him to empower them or others to make the arrest; he replied that he could not nor would not make them magistrates. They then said they would personally adventure in the search and arrest in two houses where they had reason to think Whalley and Goffe were hid, if he would consent and enable them, to which Leete answered that he neither could nor would do any-

thing until the freemen were met together. The remainder of the conversation is best told in the words of their report to Governor Endecott:

To which wee set before him the danger of that delay and their inevitable escape, and how much the honour and service of his Majestie was despised and trampled on by him, and that wee supposed by his unwillingness to assist in the apprehension, hee was willing they should escape: After which hee left us and went to severall of the magistrates and were together five or six hours in consultation, and upon breakeing up of their counsell, They tould us, they would not nor could not doe any thing untill they had called a generall court of the freemen: Whereupon wee represented to them your Honours and Governour Winthrops warrants as presidents, who upon the receite of his Majesties pleasure and order concerning the said persons, stood not upon such niceties and formallities, but endeavoured to make all expedition in seizing on them, if to bee found in their government, and allso how your honour had recommended this grand affaire to him, and how much the honour and justice of his Majestie was concerned, and how ill his sacred Majestie would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abettings of such traitors and regicides as they were, and askt him whether he would honour and obey the king or noe in this affaire, and sett before him the daunger which by law is incurred by any one that conceales or abetts traytors; to which the Deputie Leete answered, we honour his Majestie, but wee have tender consciences.⁴

To which wee replied, that wee believed that he knew where they were, and onely pretended tenderness of conscience for a refusall: Upon which they drew into consultation againe, and after two or three houres spent, in the evening the Deputie and Magistrates came to us at the head of the staires in the ordinarie, and takes one of us by the hand and wisht he had binn a plowman and had never binn in the office, since he found it soe weightie.

⁴ By this Leete meant that the warrant was directed to a General Governor, and by admitting such an officer's existence, they would be unfaithful to the people, who had committed all their authority to them under oath.

To which wee tould them, that for their respect to two traytors they would doe themselves injurie and possibly ruine themselves and the whole collony of Newhaven, and still continuing to presse them to their duty and loyaltie to his Majestie, and whether they would owne his Majestie or noe, it was answered, they would first knowe whether his Majestie would owne them.

Hutchinson reports that Kellond and Kirke did make a diligent search at New Haven, and that they offered great rewards to English and Indians for information by which the regicides could be secured. But it was fruitless and they left with their guide to continue the search at Manhattan.

Three days after the royal searchers left New Haven, the general court met there on May 17 to decide what should be done about Whalley and Goffe. Its record of what had happened differs from the report of Kellond and Kirke. Governor Leete declared to the court that immediately upon the receipt of the copy of the king's order and Governor Endecott's letter, he granted his letter to the magistrate of New Haven, Matthew Gilbert, by the advice and concurrence of the deputies there to make present and diligent search throughout the town for Whalley and Goffe, and that Kellond and Kirke carried these letters, but did not find the magistrate at home. (This brings the Indian and John Meigs to mind.) Leete said that, having brought the Branford magistrate, Jasper Crane, with him, when he got to New Haven he sent for the New Haven magistrate, Gilbert, and the Milford magistrate, Robert Treat, and the deputies of the New Haven court. While waiting for the magistrates, he advised with the deputies and, after a short debate with them, was writing a warrant for search for the two "Colonells," when the magistrates appeared, and "upon

further consideration, (the case being weighty,) it was resolved to call the general court, for the effectuall carrying on of the worke."

The deputy-governor further informed the court that he and the magistrates told Kellond and Kirke that they were far from hindering the search and were sorry that it so fell out and were resolved to pursue the matter, so that an answer should be prepared against their return from the Dutch. The general court all declared that they did not know that Whalley and Goffe were in the colony, or had been for divers weeks past, and both magistrates and deputies wished a search had been sooner made, and now ordered that the magistrates take care and send forth warrant that a speedy, diligent search be made throughout the jurisdiction, in pursuance of his majesty's command, and that from the several plantations a return be made and recorded. The record further contains this remarkable entry: "And whereas there have been rumors of their [Whalley and Goffe] late being here at New-haven, it hath been enquired into & several persons examined, but could finde no trueth in those reports, & for anything yet doth appeare, are but unjust suspicions & groundles reports against the place, to raise ill surmises & reproaches." Having the authority of the general court, Leete, on the same day, signed a warrant for search in the town of Milford, which has been preserved. In their letter to Massachusetts, the general court asserted, on August 1, that the non-attendance to his majesty's warrant "was not done out of any mind to slight or disowne his majesties authourity, &c. in the least, nor out of favour to the Collonells, nor did it hinder the efect of their apprehending, they being gone before the warrant came into our colony, as is since fully prooved; but only there was a gainesaying of the gentlemen's earnestnes, who retarded

their own business to wait upon ours without commission."

In the meantime the regicides were living in the cave at West Rock, where they stayed from May 15 to June 11. In very tempestuous weather they went to the nearby house of Richard Sperry, Mrs. Stephen Goodyear's farmer, who with Jones and Burrill had conducted them from the mill into the woods, and who must have supplied them with food.

III

WORRY over conduct usually comes after rather than before or during the doubtful act. The little New Haven colony soon felt that something very awkward had happened. As early as April 1, John Wakeman and William Gibbard of New Haven had objected to being nominated for magistrates and, although elected on May 29, they refused to take the oath. Another elected magistrate, Benjamin Fenn of Milford, explained in court, before taking the oath, that he would do so, "according to the laws of this Jurisdiction, but in case any business from without should present, he conceived that he should give no offence if he did not attend to it," and he wanted this understood. Lieutenant John Nash of New Haven tried hard to get out of serving as deputy to the general court, and John Davenport, Jr., son of the minister, when chosen for deputy to the New Haven court, declared that he was unwilling to accept any public employment. But on the same date, Deputy-Governor Leete, who had been acting governor, was elected governor, and Matthew Gilbert of New Haven was elected deputy-governor, and both accepted the offices.

On June 11, the regicides left the cave on West Rock. The Reverend John Davenport, who probably knew, said they went into another colony. As they would have had

to go only fourteen miles to Stratford, or a night's ride to the River towns, to get into Connecticut colony, this is quite possible. At any rate, they decided to relieve their kind friends of embarrassment and to surrender themselves. Hutchinson, who of course got it from Goffe, wrote:

Mr. Davenport was threatened with being called to an account, for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed. They had engaged to surrender rather than the country or any particular persons should suffer upon their account; and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generously resolved to go to New-haven, and deliver themselves up to the authority there. The miseries they had suffered and were still exposed to, and the little chance they had of finally escaping, in a country where every stranger is immediately known to be such, would not have been sufficient to have induced them. They let the deputy governor, Mr. Leete, know where they were, but he took no measures to secure them; and the next day some persons came to them, to advise them not to surrender. Having publicly shewn themselves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them, and, the 24th of June, went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, sometimes venturing to a house near the cave, until the 19th of August.

Several others mention their appearing openly at New Haven where they came on Saturday, June 22, and stayed until Monday, the 24th, doubtless attending public worship on Sunday. Governor Endecott wrote that he was credibly informed, "that they came to surrender themselves, only desired a little time to be in private by themselves, before which pretended time was expired, they were by a youth met creeping through a field of corn [and] made their escape." Secretary Rawson of Massachusetts wrote Governor Leete on July 4, informing him that complaints had been made against New England, that Massachusetts was the only colony which had pro-

claimed the king, and, in behalf of the Massachusetts court, saying:

Further, I am required to signify to you as from them, that the non attendance with dilligence to execute the Kings majestys warrant for the apprehending of Colonel Whaley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these colonies and your owne particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflictive to them. And that in their understanding there remains no way to expiate the offence and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard but by apprehending the said persons, who as wee are informed are yett remaining in the colony and not above a fortnight since were seen there, all which will be against you. Sir, Your owne welfare, the welfare of your neighbours, bespeake your unwearied paines, to free yourselfe and neighbours.

On July 15, he added a postscript:

Sir, Since what I wrote, news and certaine intelligence is come hither of the two colonells being at New Haven from Saturday to Monday and publicly knowne, and however it is given out that they came to surrender themselves and pretended by Mr. Gilbert that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house nor endeavouring to secure them, but when it was too late to send to Totocut [Branford] &c. Sir, How this will be taken is not difficult to imagine, to be sure not well; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends? I am not willing to meddle with your hopes, but if it be a duty to obey such lawfull warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir, its my desire you may regaine your peace (and if you please to give mee notice when you will send the two colonells) tho' Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence within a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of their coming I shall not only endeavour but doe hereby engage to cause his stay a fortnight, nay 3 weekes, rather than they should not be sent, expecting your answer, remaine. . . .

Governor Leete thought this letter of enough importance to summon another general court, which met on August 1. The court, after much debate, ordered a reply to be sent to the Bay in which they said that they would own the king, and among other things about Whalley and Goffe, that they hoped upon humble acknowledgment to receive his majesty's pardon for what they had failed to do,

As alsoe that other and greater bewayled remissnes in one, in not secureing them till we came & knew their place, out of over-much beleife of their pretended reality to resigne up themselves, according to their promise to save the country harmelesse, which fayleing is soe much the more lamented, by how much the more we had used all dilligence to presse for such a delivery upon some of those that had shewed them former kindnesse, as had bene done other where [a pointed allusion to the entertainment by Massachusetts, now so eager for the arrest] when as none of the magistrates could otherwise doe anything in it, they being altogether ignorant where they were or how to come att them, nor truely doe they now, nor can we beleeve that they are hid any where in this colony, since that departure or defeatement. [They were at this time within six miles of New Haven.] But however the consequence prove, we must wholly rely on the mercy of God & the king, with promise to doe our endeavour to regaine them if opportunity serve.

But the most astonishing account of the transaction is from the Reverend John Davenport, who, we know, did most to conceal Whalley and Goffe. He became frightened and felt he ought to do something by way of apology and defense, so wrote to Colonel Thomas Temple, a prominent royalist at Boston. In this letter of August 19, 1661, he referred to his "Innocyency in Referance to the 2 Collonells to be shuch as might secure me From all feare of Danger & Further molestation from his Ma'tie in that Respecte," but was sensible of possible misrepresentations of his actions and intentions, so entreated Colonel Temple

to remember the true state of his case that he might speak "a good an Seasonable word of truth," when God should have brought him in safety to London, as occasion might offer in the king's court, and then gave his version of the affair as follows:

And not for myselfe alone doe I make this humble Request, But also on the Behalfe of this Poore Colloney & of our Govenor & majestrates, who wanted neither will nor Industery to have served his Ma'tie in apprehending ye 2 Collonells, but were Prevented & Hindered by gods overruilling Providence, which withheld them that they Could not Exciquete their true Purpose therein; And the same Providence Could have done ye same, in the Same Curcumstances, if they had bine in London, or in the Tower, The Case was thus, The Collones hearing that some who had Entertained them, at their Houses, were in Extreme danger, uppon that Accompt to Prevent the same, Came from another Colloney where they were, & had bine sometime, to N. H: Professing, that their true Intentions, in their Coming at that time was to yeld themselves to be apprehended, for the afforesaid Purpose & accordingly they staid 2 dayes. This was knowne in the Towne, The D. G. waited for the Comming of the Govenor & other majestrats to this towne on the 2d. day, which they allso did according to Former Aggrement, Imediately uppon their Coming together, they fell into a Consultation, being out of any Feare of that which Followed, Before they had Issued their Consultation which was not long, the Collonels were gon away, no man knowing how nor whether, Thereuppon a Diligent Search was Renewed, & many were sent Forth on Foote & horsebacke, to recover them in to their hands, But all in vaine. I belive if his Ma'tie Rightly understood the Curcumstances of this Event he would not be displeased with our majestrates, but to acquiesce in the Providence of the most high well Knowing that the way of man is not in himselfe, but god worketh all things according to the Counsaile of his owne will.

Davenport, however, was not alone in feeling fearful because of conduct regarding Whalley and Goffe in the

colony of New Haven. Governor Leete now became extremely worried about the affair. He "pursued" the Reverend John Norton of Boston, with whom he was previously unacquainted, and others with letters on the subject, "and yet not satisfied therewith, came to Boston to disburden his heart" to Norton. After conference, "no better Expedient under God presented it self" to them than for Norton to write to the Reverend Richard Baxter, who was then, and for a short time, one of the royal chaplains, to intercede for the distressed Leete. Norton accordingly wrote Baxter that Leete,

being conscious of indiscretion and some neglect (not to say how it came about) in relation to the expediting the Execution of the Warrant according to his Duty, sent from his Majesty for the apprehending of the two Colonels, is not without fear of some displeasure that may follow thereupon, and indeed hath almost ever since been a man depressed in his Spirit for the neglect wherewith he chargeth himself therein. His endeavours also since have been accordingly, and that in full degree, as besides his own Testimony, his Neighbours attest, they see not what he could have done more. Sir, If any report prejudicial to this Gentleman in this respect, come unto your Ear by your prudent Enquiry upon this Intimation, or otherwise: so far as the signification of the Premises unto his Majesty, or other eminent person may plead for him, or avert trouble towards him, I assure my self, you may report it as a real Truth.

This, or some letter of Leete, was noised abroad and gave an unfortunate impression to the friends of New England, for Robert Newman, formerly of New Haven but then in London, wrote to Deputy-Governor Gilbert on February 12, 1662:

I am sorry to see that yo^w should be soe much surprized with feares of what men can or may doe unto yo^w. The feare of an evill is oft times more than the evill feared. I heare of noe danger, nor doe I thinke any will attend yo^w for that matter. Had not W: L: wrote such a pittifull letter over, the Bussines

I thinke would have dyed. What it may doe to him I know not: they have greater matters than that to exercise there thoughts, &c.

IV

ON August 19, 1661, when the search for them was pretty well over, says Hutchinson, "they ventured to the house of one Tomkins, near Milford, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themselves known to several persons in whom they could confide, and each of them frequently prayed, and also exercised, as they term it, or preached at private meetings in their chamber." Tomkins was Micah, or Michael, Tomkins who afterwards became one of the settlers of Newark, New Jersey. His house was in the center of Milford, and the several persons were no doubt the Reverend Roger Newton, the minister, Robert Treat, afterwards governor of Connecticut, and Benjamin Fenn.⁵

When the commissioners of the United Colonies (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven) met at Plymouth on September 5, the subject of Whalley and Goffe came up, and the commissioners made a declaration reciting the king's order for their arrest, and continuing:

And whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable that the said persons may remaine hide in some parts of New-England, these are therfore seriously to advice and forewarne all persons whatsoever within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them, but that as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make knowne the same to some of the governours or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time doe their ut-

⁵ See above, p. 11.

most endeavour for their apprehending and securing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perill. And wee doe hereby declare that all such person or persons that since the publication of his Majsties order have wittingly or willingly entertained or harboured the aforesaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall doe the like, have and will incurre his Majesties highest displeasure, and is intimated in the said order, and will be accompted enemies to the publique peace and wellfaire of the united colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

The interesting thing about this declaration is the fact that Benjamin Fenn of Milford who was one of the two New Haven colony commissioners, the other being Governor Leete, openly dissented. On the margin of the Connecticut copy of the record of this meeting, are the following words: "Beniamin ffenn consenteth not to this declaration." Fenn was most surely a brave man. The upbraiding of Massachusetts, the anxiety of Davenport, and the alarm of Governor Leete had not made him quail. At this very time Whalley and Goffe were with his neighbor Tomkins in Milford; yet he dared to enter his opposition to this declaration. Governor Leete was among those who signed it.

While Whalley and Goffe were living at the house of Tomkins in Milford, as afterwards at Hadley, Goffe carried on quite a correspondence with his wife and with the Reverend William Hooke, whose wife was Whalley's sister, in England, and with several in America. In writing to his wife, Goffe signed his name as Walter Goldsmith and addressed her as his mother, and she, under the name of Frances Goldsmith, addressed him as her son; her first letter that has been preserved, however, is from a wife to her husband. The English letters, later at least, were sent under cover to the Reverend Increase Mather at Boston and by him safely forwarded to the fugitives. While they

were at Milford, Davenport seems to have sent them the letters, as well as many letters to himself giving the news from England. Since they had belonged to the council of state and to Cromwell's house of lords, and as major generals had ruled over a number of English counties, their acquaintance with English state affairs, both foreign and domestic, was large, and they were keenly interested in the progress of events in England. Besides, they listened to all the local news, and Hutchinson noted that Goffe's diary contained every little occurrence in the town, church, and particular families in the neighborhood. Goffe, in addition to writing his diary, busied himself by copying the letters to Davenport and others which were sent him and the news of doings in England, Europe, and New England. They heard through a letter of Governor Winthrop, then in London, that Endecott had sent over the report of Kellond and Kirke. They heard how the Puritans were scorned in England, and the painful news of the execution of four more of their fellow regicides.

Goffe recorded that Davenport came to them May 15, 1662, and showed them the king's speech. This proves that Davenport kept up his friendly communication with them. John Davenport, Jr., also sent them news of English affairs. The Reverend William Hooke, the former New Haven minister, wrote long letters of news to Davenport intended for Goffe, and also to Goffe. He wrote under the name of D. G., and the only letter in the correspondence which was intercepted was an unsigned one from him, dated February 25, 1662. The authorship was not discovered, but the writer, in a later letter, states that the secretary (presumably Sir William Morice) said it was as pernicious a letter against the government as had been written since his majesty came in. Hooke added dryly: "I dare say the Authers hart was honest & upright in

wrighting it. But I hartily desire he may never come into there hands." At Milford, Goffe received affectionate letters from his wife. The two fugitives read with pleasure reports that they had been killed with other regicides in Switzerland.

V

MANY complaints were made to Charles II against New England. In 1664, the king sent over four commissioners who were to reduce the Dutch at Manhattan, visit the New England colonies, and hear and determine all matters of complaint. The king also instructed these commissioners, as follows:

You shall make due enquiry, whether any persons who stand attainted here in Parliamt of High Treason, have transported themselves thither, & doe now inhabite or recyde or are sheltered there, and if any such persons are there, you shall cause them to be apprehended and to be put on shipboard and sent hither; to the end that they may be proceded wth according to law. And you shall likewise examine whether any such persons have been entertained & received there since our returne into England, & what is become of them, & by whom they were received and entertained there; to the end & for no other (for wee will not suffer the Act of Indempnity to be in any degree violated) that those persons may be taken the more notice of, & may hold themselves to take the more care for their future behaviour.

Two of these gentlemen arrived at Portsmouth July 20, and the other two at Boston, July 23, 1664. Milford was on the main highway from New England to New York.

As soon as Whalley and Goffe heard of the arrival of the royal commissioners, they left Milford and returned to their cave at West Rock. There they remained eight or ten days, when some Indians, while hunting, discovered the cave and bed. This report was spread abroad, and it was no longer safe for them to remain in their old hiding

place. At this time the newly-settled town of Hadley, Massachusetts, was one of the frontier towns of the northwestern part of New England and one of the most remote in that colony from Boston and from the sea-coast. There lived William Goodwin, associate of Davenport in the Hopkins trust. It was arranged, most likely by Davenport, that the regicides should go to the house of the Reverend John Russell, the minister in Hadley. On October 13, 1664, Whalley and Goffe left their cave for the last time and traveled by night nearly eighty miles to Hadley. The nights in October are long, and they could have covered the distance in two nights, especially if they stopped at some friendly home at Hartford, which is about half way between New Haven and Hadley. Some years later the Reverend John Whiting of Hartford wrote a letter of news to William Goodwin of Hadley, which was doubtless intended for the regicides. He, too, was subsequently concerned with Goffe in Hartford, and one wonders if the fugitives did not stop over the daytime at his house in Hartford, when they made their journey.

The fugitives lived carefully concealed in Russell's house in Hadley for the next ten years. While there they received February 10, 1665, a visit from their fellow regicide Colonel John Dixwell, who stayed with them for some time. In Hadley, Whalley died probably late in 1674 or early in 1675. King Philip's War broke out in 1675 and the Indians attacked Deerfield, Northfield, and Hatfield—all near Hadley, which became a sort of headquarters for English military operations and to which many different companies with their officers and men came. It is related that here occurred the appearance of the "Angel of Hadley," when a grave, elderly, unknown man (Goffe) suddenly appeared during an Indian attack and led the people to repulse the enemy and then as suddenly disappeared.

VI

WHETHER because Goffe had appeared in Hadley and been discovered there, or because the town with its visiting soldiers had become too popular for him, or for some other reason, he removed, doubtless by night, to Hartford, Connecticut, before September 8, 1676. On that date he wrote to Increase Mather, dating the letter at "Ebenezer," as he had his letters from Hadley. He acknowledged the receipt of the letters from England which Mather had enclosed to Mr. Whiting, the Hartford minister. He thanked Mather for his care in sending them, remarked how great a comfort it was to him to hear from his distant and dear relatives, and observed that through Mather's care all their letters had passed without any one miscarrying. He added in a postscript: "I was greatly behoulding to Mr. Noell for his assistance in my remove to this Town." This, therefore, was probably his first letter from Hartford, to which he had recently removed. He spoke of Mather's history of the war and said he much desired to see it, "for I find it very difficult to attain any sollid intelligence of what is done abroad." In this letter Goffe referred to his separation from his brethren and almost from all human society, yet he did not complain of God's dealings with him, but added that he was abundantly satisfied and felt that every circumstance of his affliction had been for his good. This letter is unsigned, but is in Goffe's handwriting and has Whalley's seal affixed.

At Hartford Goffe lived with Captain Thomas Bull, or his son, Jonathan Bull. On September 25, 1676, Samuel Nowell wrote to "his worthy friend Mr. Jonathan Bull of Hartford," but the letter was to Goffe. This letter began: "Hon^d Sr [young Jonathan Bull would not have been ad-

dressed as Honored Sir]. The day before the arrivall of this bearer, Mr. Bull [to whom the letter is addressed], I had written a letter to my worthy friend Mr. Whyting, & it was for your sake, in regard I did not know how to direct a few lines to you." He went on to give him some news of France, Holland, and the Swedes, and then continued:

As for ourselves in New Engld, we are fearing a Generall Governour. . . . I suppose you will judge it convenient to remove, if any such thing should happen, as that a Governour should be sent; allthough if this man [John Leverett] live who is Governour at Boston, I believe the country will oppose, but if his head be once laid I do question, whether he that shall come next will have spirit enough, or interest enough, to withstand the Authority of Old Engld. I shall endeavour to give you as timely notice as I can from thence of whatsoever shall happen [Nowell was about to go to England]. I resolve to see your relations, & so at present leave you under that Shaddow where you have been safe hithertoo.

At least once, while in Hartford, Goffe was recognized by unfriendly eyes. There was living at this time in Windsor, the next town north of Hartford, John London. Like Dennis Crampton, he had felt the smart of the law, for during King Philip's War he had been ordered to prison by the council presided over by Governor Leete, because of leaving the army without permission, slander-ing the officers, and reporting notorious lies to the detriment of the colony. London made an affidavit dated in New York on April 20, 1680, but it is uncertain in what year the events mentioned in it occurred. This affidavit was as follows:

John London of Winsor neare Hartford in the Colony of Conecticut in New England, aged about fifty yeares, deposeth That Joseph Bull Sen'r (commonly called Capt. Bull),⁶ of Hartford, hath for severall yeares past (& for ought hee knowes

⁶ Captain Thomas Bull; see above, p. 22.

still doth) kept privately Coll Goffe, at his owne house there, or his sons, hee goeing by the name of Mr Cooke; And that Whaley lived & dyed at Hadley in those parts, & was buryed in the buryeing place there. That being certified of the above Goffes aboade, in the month of May last, hee the deponent, together with Robert Howard of Winsor aforesd (who professeth phisick) went to the house of the said Bull, where they saw him & having formerly knowne him in England the deponent was well satisfyde that hee was the same man which sd Dr. Howard did also affirme to him, as hee had done afore, hee being the first discoverer of his being there unto him.

That the said Dr Howard did also informe him the deponent, that the Trade driven by sd Bull or his Children, in Goods or Merchandize, was on the behalfe of sd Goffe, & that Mr. James Richards of Hartford, brought over a good cargoe for the use of sd Goffe about two yeares agoe.

That the deponent being so assured of ye said Goffes aboade as before, in the same month of May, thinking it his duty, hee did call about & contrive which way to apprehend him, reasonably supposing by Mr Richards acting for him, being a member of the Independent Church & a principall Magistrate there, that the authority would not countenance him, but the discovery to them would rather tend to his Ruine. The deponent therefore thought it convenient to advise wth & haue assistance of some other persons to seize vpon & bring the said Goffe to this place & so disclosed the same to one Thomas Powell his neighbour, who promist to assist the deponent therein, but no sooner had the deponent discovered his knowledge & resolucon to the sd Powell, but hee privily went downe to Hartford upon a Saturday & gave informacon agnst him, to Major Talcott & Capt Allen. That hee the deponent was goeing away to New Yorke having his horse ready, on Monday following, but intended to surprize Coll. Goffe & carry him away with him. That the night following the sd Powell returned to Winsor with the Marshall Graves who about breake of day came to the depts house & knock't & called to him to arise.

The sd dept knowing the Marshallss voice askt' him what hee would have & what was the matter. The Marshall answered that the dept must gett up, for the Gent. at Hartford

had sent to speake with him: Whereupon the deponent arose & went with them to Hartford, where when they arrived, they went first to Major Talcotts, & from thence together to Capt Allens.

At the deponents coming there Capt Allen ask't him when hee went to New York. The dept replyed, hee did not know but if hee had any buisnesse to command him, & would pay him for it, hee was ready to goe presently Capt Allen said not hee but demanded him, if hee the dept had not appointed to goe thither on Monday, upon the depts saying hee knew nothing of it, Powell was call'd in then a paper was taken off the Table which Capt Allen said hee would reade to him, if hee would hear it. The deponent replyde that hee came to heare what they had to alleadge agst him having sent for him upon ye Sabbath day, fetching him out of his house, as a Traytor or Malefactor.

Then Capt Allen read the paper or charge given in agst the dept by Thom: Powell relating what the dept had sd unto him. Whereupon the dept put them upon the prooffe of it Powells charge being alleadged. The dept replyde hee was but a single Testimony, & likewise was an idle drunken fellow, & no heed to be given to what hee sd, & the deponent being in passion threatened the said Powell that if hee could not have his remedy at Law agst him hee would take his owne satisfaction.

Thereupon the deponent being dismiss' he returned home.

Not long after Majr Talcott & Capt Allen came to Windsor to seeke for other Informacon agst the dept but finding none lett the matter fall, yet charged the dept not to depart out of the County without a speciall Licence.

That at the same time when the sd Major Talcott & Capt Allen were then there the deponent told the sd Major Talcott & Capt Allen & others prest publickely, that hee the deponent knew that they kept & concealed Coll: Goffe amongst them, & that hee could when hee pleased lay his hand on his shoulder; To which they replyde the dept was mistaken, for Goffe was long since dead, & charged the dept to bee a Traytor to their Colony & deserved to bee hanged for conspiring agst them.

That afterwards the deponent made a ship to goe off to Boston under pretence of taking a horse to sell there, from thence hee

ship't himselfe for Maryland to his brother Major Ambrose London living at Annemessick, in Somersett County & there gave this Informacon upon oath to his sd brother, Collonell Stevenson, & Collonell Colburne, desiring it might bee sent into Engl'd, which they promis't. From thence the deponent came to the Whorekill, & so hither. And further saith not.

Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of New York, sent this information to Governor Leete at Hartford, who received it June 10, 1680, and after conference with Major John Talcott and Secretary John Allyn, the same day signed a warrant to the constables of Hartford, to search diligently in all places in the town for Goffe. The next day Leete replied to Andros "we are much abused by those falls reports, concerning the good people of this place" that the informers acted to "cast reproach upon ourselves of this place," and that, "After the search our people were amased that any such thing could be suspected at Hartford. But the father of lyes is our enemie & doth instigate his instruments to maligne this poore Colony." As already related Goffe had been in Hartford, at Captain Bull's. Letters to Increase Mather from Goffe dated June 12, 1677; August 30, 1678; October 23, 1678; and April 2, 1679—all presumably written from Hartford—have survived. The last three were signed T. D., that is T. Duffell, a name which Goffe seems to have assumed while in that town. The last letter in the Goffe papers is one to him from P. T. [no doubt Peter Tilton of Hadley] dated July 30, 1679. It is supposed that Goffe died soon after that date. Consequently, the authorities had no hesitation about ordering the search for him in June, 1680.

VII

IN 1673 Colonel John Dixwell, the third regicide in New England, appears on the records of New Haven under the

name of James Davids. There is as much mystery about his coming to New Haven as there is about his visit to Hadley in 1665. At New Haven he lived with an elderly childless couple named Ling, whose house was in a retired part of the town. Dixwell's granddaughter wrote to President Stiles that her grandmother told her that Colonel Dixwell was a single man when he came to America. Benjamin Ling died April 27, 1673, and on November 3 of that year, Colonel Dixwell married the widow Joanna Ling, who died within a month afterward. While living in New Haven, Dixwell was reserved and led a private life, though he attended public worship. William Jones⁷ of New Haven, who secreted Whalley and Goffe there a dozen years before, had lived some years between 1640 and 1650 at Westminster, and had known many noblemen and gentlemen during the sitting of the Long Parliament there, among whom he "particularly had certain knowledge of John Dixwell, Esq. and that the said Dixwell was a member of the said Parliament sitting in Westminster, and had in honorable esteem then." Jones deposed, after Dixwell's death, that when the gentleman called James Davids came to sojourn in New Haven, and he had become acquainted with him, he certainly knew him to be John Dixwell, whom he had seen and known in Westminster.

There is other evidence that a little time after Colonel Dixwell came to New Haven, his clothing, deportment, manifest good education, and accomplishments caused many to conjecture that he was no ordinary person and had some reason to conceal his name and character. This recluse appeared like a gentleman, and the people tried to guess who he was. The New Haven minister, Nicholas Street, Davenport's successor, probably knew his secret,

⁷ See above, pp. 5, 6, 7, and 11.

and in his will, dated April 14, 1674, provided that his "beloved friends" James Davids and Nicholas Augur should be assistants to his wife in the settlement of his estate. The next minister, James Pierpont, deposed that the mysterious stranger's

wisdom and great knowledge in the English Law, State policy and European affairs, made his conversation very valuable to said Deponent, and rendered said Gentleman honourable with all that knew him. Yet said Deponent observed this Gentleman studiously to avoid public observation and employment. After many conjectures who this Gentleman should be, the said Deponent presumed he was truly John Dixwell; which, on a fit occasion, suggesting to this Gentleman in private, he seemed conceding thereto, but obliged to secrecy in that matter.

Colonel Dixwell, then sixty-nine or seventy years of age, married at New Haven, on October 23, 1677, Miss Bathsheba How, who was about thirty-one years old, the ceremony being performed by James Bishop, an assistant. The New Haven records, which of course refer to him as James Davids, show that they had three children: Mary, born June 9, 1679; John, March 6, 1680-1; and Elizabeth, July 14, 1682. The last-named daughter died young. The other two children will be mentioned later.

Dixwell carried on a correspondence with relatives and friends in Europe as well as New England; some of it, beginning in 1676, has been preserved. His devoted niece, Elizabeth Westrowe (daughter of his brother Mark Dixwell), was his most frequent English writer. She used the feigned name of Eliza Boyes, or Boyse. He received a letter, also, from her son, Thomas Westrowe, and from John Dubois, dated at London, and letters from Francis Prince written from Amsterdam and London, and from Humphrey Davie, at Boston. Mrs. Westrowe sent her uncle remittances of money and supplies. Increase Mather acted as a sort of clearing-house for Dixwell's letters,

although some of his letters came from abroad by ship to New York, addressed "To Mr. James Davids, Merchant."

After Dixwell's children were born, he took what steps a man in his delicate position could take to put his wife and children in the way of securing his English estate, which does not seem to have been forfeited. In October, 1682, he executed deeds and other instruments to carry out this purpose. Like Whalley and Goffe, he always hoped for a favorable turn of affairs, because with them he never doubted that their cause was right. By one of these instruments Dixwell committed the education and guardianship of his children to the Westrowes, who were requested to send for them and his wife, in case of his death. He desired them to show her the same kindness they would show him. His "last and great request" was that they would bring up his children "in the knowledge and fear of God."

The New Haven church records show that "Mr. James Davids, alias John Dixwell" was admitted to church fellowship on December 29, 1685. The Reverend James Pierpont, therefore, learned the true name of his parishioner a year after he became pastor of the New Haven church. On October 31, 1687, at Hartford, Sir Edmund Andros assumed the government of the Connecticut colony, and the charter government was suspended. Andros then proceeded through the colony and visited New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. Colonel Dixwell thereupon sealed up certain of his papers—no doubt those before described, and took them to the Reverend James Pierpont. He asked Pierpont to keep them safely and not to suffer the seals to be broken till after Dixwell's death, and declared that it was not safe, under present changes, that those writings should be found in his hands. Those papers were found sealed after his death. Not only

did the leading men at New Haven know who Dixwell was, but some also in other parts of the colony, such as Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, appear to have known him.

During his last illness, the dropsy, Colonel Dixwell often sent for Mr. Pierpont, his pastor, and declared himself to be John Dixwell, as he did also to other friends. He died at New Haven, March 18, 1688-9, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried in the New Haven burial-ground, where his gravestone, marked "J. D. esq^r" and the date of his death and age may still be seen in the rear of the Center Church. Dixwell had been out of England for twenty-nine years when he died.

Colonel Dixwell signed his will only by the name of James Davids of New Haven, although it was dated the same day, May 7, 1688, as some instruments in his true name relating to his English property. By it he gave his house and lands in New Haven to his wife for life and, upon her death, to his son. He gave to James Pierpont Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the world*. He gave to his son all the rest of his books, his silver standish with which he used to write, his tweezers in a red tortoise-shell case, his sword, and his gun—"all which I desire may be carefully kept for him." He gave to his daughter Mary twelve pounds, and to his wife the rest of his estate in New England and made her sole executrix. He expressly provided that this will should not extend to anything belonging to him in old England. Finally, he requested his "loving friends," William Jones and Mrs. Jones of New Haven, in case his wife died before his friends in England had sent for his children, to take his children into their family and take care of them, until they were sent to England. Dixwell's estate in New Haven was inventoried at £276 12s. 6d., of which housing and homestead amounted to £65.

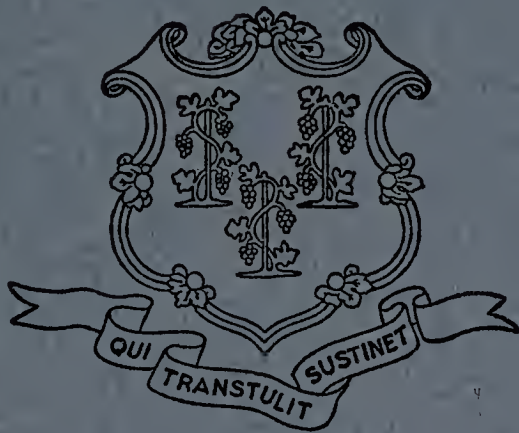
Dixwell left, besides his widow, a son John and a daughter Mary. The son became a goldsmith, settled in Boston, and went to England to recover his father's property, but was unsuccessful. His last male descendant died about 1764, but the line was later continued through females. The daughter Mary married John Collins, of Middletown, Connecticut, and had six children. After the marriage of her daughter, Mrs. Dixwell removed to Middletown, where she died December 27, 1729, aged 83 years. Her gravestone in the old burial-ground, near the railroad station, may still be seen. There must be many descendants of the regicide Dixwell in America.

The New England friends of the regicides worthily represented the Puritan devotion to principle. These colonists were under no personal obligation to them. Perhaps one man in New England, who protected them, had known them before they visited these shores and, with two exceptions, there is no evidence that any of these New Englanders had ever previously seen any one of the regicides. Yet these Massachusetts and Connecticut men knowingly risked punishment as traitors to shelter these persons because of their devotion to the high principles for which the strangers stood. Furthermore some have thought, though there is no direct evidence to that effect, that New Haven hospitality to the regicides cost that colony its independence through its merger with the Connecticut colony by the charter of Charles II in 1662.⁸

⁸ President Stiles collected many traditions and anecdotes about the regicides in Connecticut. Some of these could not have happened and some are stock stories of fugitives, so they have not been included in this account. That the regicides were at one time in Guilford rests only on traditions recorded by President Stiles over a century after their deaths.

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*Connecticut Newspapers in the
Eighteenth Century*

JARVIS MEANS MORSE

I

THE first printing press in Connecticut was set up at New London by Thomas Short in 1709, three quarters of a century after the founding of the river towns, but it was not until 1755 that James Parker founded at New Haven the *Connecticut gazette*, the first newspaper in the colony. Between that date and the close of the century no less than thirty-five other papers were inaugurated, eight of which enjoyed a career of some length.

Parker's *Gazette* was a modest affair printed on a half sheet of foolscap folded over so as to make four pages, each about six by ten inches in size. The front page of the initial issue, of April 12, was a prospectus promising subscribers that they would receive weekly the latest news, articles of an educational value, and advertising service at reasonable rates. There was not a great deal of news in this first issue—an item from London describing the cruel murder of somebody's wife, and another brief note from the same city recounting the fitting out of several naval vessels for the French war then beginning.

As a matter of pride in local history it would be gratifying to say that Parker had an intimate connection with Connecticut life. Such was hardly the case, for the editor of this first paper was a native of Woodbridge, New Jersey, who was in 1755 conducting an extensive printing business from headquarters in New York City. A very industrious man he was at that time, since the year 1755 witnessed the appearance of at least thirty-seven publications from his presses, twenty of these imprints being from New York, sixteen from New Haven, and one from Woodbridge. Apparently this assiduous printer never took up residence in Connecticut, or even visited the community for any extended period. The New Haven press was managed for him by John Holt. Parker was not exclusively a journalist for although he conducted two New York papers in addition to the *Connecticut gazette*, a survey of his other publications for 1755 reveals an output covering a wide variety of material: five almanacs, ten pamphlets on religious subjects, five works for college use, and fourteen other productions of a political or miscellaneous nature. Several of the latter are of considerable interest to students of colonial history, as may be judged from the titles: *The character and duty of soldiers*, *Some reflections on the law of bankruptcy*, and *Proposals to prevent scalping*.

When from his New York headquarters Parker began the Connecticut venture the outlook for his new paper was none too encouraging. Far from being the metropolis it is today, New Haven was then but a small town of about five thousand inhabitants. Perhaps a tenth of that number could be counted on as subscribers, but a clientele of only five hundred, paying each eight or nine shillings a year, could not provide the printer with an income so large as to arouse envy. From his New Haven supporters Parker hoped to obtain sufficient revenue to enable him to buy

paper and ink, incidentally English paper and English ink as those articles were not produced to any extent in the colonies. Some numbers of the *Gazette* could be sold outside of New Haven but those would be distributed under difficulties. There was no provision for the mailing of newspapers, though local post-riders could be induced by the payment of special fees to carry weekly journals in a separate bundle outside their small pouches. Not much reliance could be placed on income from advertising, as that important prop of modern journals did not attain generous proportions until the nineteenth century.

Lest these economic obstacles in the path of the printer seem to be so great as to make the *Gazette* a foolhardy undertaking, it must be admitted that other considerations afforded a more cheerful prospect. There was no rival paper in the field; the colony contained one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, many of them potential patrons of a new local industry; and finally the French and Indian War was under way so that everyone was anxious to learn the latest news as to how General Braddock was progressing in his campaign against Fort Duquesne or how much damage the enemy was inflicting around Lakes George and Champlain. The war greatly aided the *Gazette* during its infancy, and until 1763, in fact, the paper was largely a naval and military record to be perused by the public then and by historians today as an index to the advancement of British arms in the battle for empire. After Braddock's defeat in that fateful July encounter before Fort Duquesne, the *Gazette* was for several weeks devoted almost exclusively to accounts of skirmishes with the French and Indians in western Pennsylvania and New York.

John Holt remained in charge of the paper until 1760, when he moved to New York, leaving the office in charge

of Thomas Green, about whom more will be said presently. Public support of the *Gazette* declined so much after the close of the war that the paper had to be suspended in April, 1764, though for several months before that time the uncertain fortune of the publication was observable in its contracting size and in the appearance of issues containing but two pages instead of the usual four. The paper came to life again in July, 1765, under the management of Benjamin Mecom, who announced an annual subscription price of eight shillings eight pence, produce acceptable in lieu of cash. Mecom introduced an artistic note, though it was a costly luxury for the day, an illustration in the title depicting a hand holding a bunch of flowers. In August of the same year, the printer enlarged his sheet and brought out a new cut in the center of his title page, showing an eagle perched atop a globe. Unhappily Mecom was not so successful in making money as his renowned uncle, Benjamin Franklin, so that he felt obliged to give up the *Gazette* in February, 1768, with its 596th weekly issue, printing as his valedictory a pathetic appeal to those subscribers in arrears to pay up enough to make it possible for him to move his family out of town. New Haveners, he added, could get the news from another paper recently undertaken by Thomas and Samuel Green at the Old State House.

In parting company with the *Gazette* it should be noted that this first Connecticut paper had begun to give prominence to the kind of material which for the next generation was to make up the major fare of the press; that is, political articles on the relations between the colonies and Great Britain. The *Gazette* became in 1765 an outspoken champion of colonial rights. Through its files may be followed the activities of the Sons of Liberty, especially their intrigues to overthrow that unhappy stamp distributor,

Jared Ingersoll. The paper insisted that American problems should be dealt with by Americans and not by Englishmen in a parliament three thousand miles distant. It urged "Gentlemen of the College" [Yale] to make their own liquor so as to avoid paying the revenue tax on the imported product, superior as the latter article might be to home-brew. Though the *Gazette* urged these things, it must not be concluded that Parker or Holt or Mecom wrote stirring editorials on such matters. These early newspapers rarely contained editorials in the modern sense; editing was done by selection—the printers molding public opinion in accordance with their private inclinations by publishing the contributions of some correspondents and rejecting those of others.

If the *Gazette* seems to have been a rather unsuccessful venture the failure should not be placed wholly upon the printer. His craft labored under great difficulties. Few presses and no type were manufactured in America until the time of the Revolution, little good ink was to be had unless imported,¹ and the purely mechanical labor involved in printing the weekly issues of a journal was considerable. At least two impressions of each sheet had to be made, one for each side. It took a strong man to manipulate the old pull presses, while a boy apprentice stood by to do the inking with a deerskin ball filled with wool, nailed to the end of a stick, the whole process being a messy one which would fill a modern printer with horror. Beyond these mechanical handicaps were hazards of another sort, some of which have already been suggested. There was no system of news collection. The printer had to rely on whatever news reached him accidentally through

¹ Presses were made in Hartford in 1775. Abel Buell of Killingworth cast type from American matrices in 1769. Paper was manufactured at Norwich in 1766 and after.

letters sent by friends and on articles that he could clip from other papers. Otherwise, he filled his weekly columns with contributions on current topics, mostly political, submitted by would-be publicists who gloried in pen-names, such as Censor, Cato, Brutus, Plato, Historicus, and Friend to Liberty. Had it not been for the excitement of the Revolutionary period which followed hard on the heels of Connecticut's earliest venture, many another paper would have suffered an equally untimely demise.

The period of a generation or more following the year 1763 offered opportunity for the airing of grievances which transcended in interest mere news, so that four of the five papers founded after the *Gazette* and before 1783 became settled on a paying basis and defied for a long time the impediments of small circulation and delinquent subscribers. Political propaganda made up for a shortage of news, then the Revolutionary War provided news aplenty, and after that the newspaper press was able to subsist on rations of a more usual sort—the doings of state legislators, congressmen, and ministers, and on poems, anecdotes, and articles on how to raise better sheep or carrots. There was always some of that particular kind of news which appealed fully as much to eighteenth-century readers as to those of the twentieth; that is, news of the unusual or the criminal, and if New England furnished its editors with few whirlwinds, tornadoes, or floods, it could account for murders, seductions, and thefts. When such sensational items were altogether lacking for a week or so, the printer had to invent a tale of some politician's going fishing.

II

THE second Connecticut newspaper in order of founding was the *New-London summary, or the weekly advertiser*

which appeared in August, 1758, from the press of Timothy Green. The chronicler of early American printing runs the risk of becoming lost in the genealogical branches of this verdant family tree, as there were Greens publishing from Massachusetts to Maryland from the seventeenth century into the nineteenth. The Timothy who was responsible for the *Summary* was the son of another Timothy Green who had been a printer in New London since 1714, and who died shortly before his son ventured into the newspaper business. The *Summary*, like the early *Gazette*, was an unpretentious affair, a weekly, about eight by twelve inches in size, carrying two columns of print to the page. Again, in likeness to the *Gazette*, the New London paper was at first a war journal, with most of the space in its issues devoted to naval and military events in America or Europe. Such martial fare was occasionally lightened by a short poem or two and a scattering of advertisements, the latter type of material increasing considerably after 1759. In October of the latter year the printer brought out an extra edition announcing the capture of Quebec, an event which had taken place nearly a month previously but news of which had come to him by a roundabout route through Nova Scotia and Rhode Island.

Perhaps the *Summary* should be classed with that large group of early papers which had only an ephemeral existence, as it was discontinued in the autumn of 1763. In November of that year, however, another Timothy Green, nephew of its founder and brother of Thomas and Samuel who were later connected with the *Connecticut journal*, took charge of the printing office and brought out the *New London gazette*, one of the few papers to outlive the eighteenth century. This paper, which may properly be considered a continuation of the *Summary*, became by

1766 a most respectable appearing journal, printed on large sheets, with news from widely scattered sources and of greatly varying sorts—convicts being shipped from England to America, advertisements of absconding wives and apprentices, an eruption of Vesuvius, and so on. Green introduced a cut of a lion and a unicorn into the heading at this time, and a little later changed the name of the publication to the *Connecticut gazette*, the New Haven paper of that name having previously expired. Timothy Green withdrew in 1793 in favor of his son, Samuel, who continued in charge of the office until 1840. The latter was a moderately successful inventor who experimented with rotary presses and a ruling machine.

The *Summary* and its successor were strongly colonial papers espousing the cause of American control for American affairs. The latter was more outspoken against the Stamp Act of 1765 than the third local journal to put in appearance, the *Connecticut courier* at Hartford, which was willing to print Governor Fitch's defense of his conduct in temporizing with the crisis that act created. The New London paper also attacked the colonial vice-admiralty courts as being pernicious engines of oppression. After the Revolution, it became decidedly Federalist in tone, giving support to the administrations of Washington and Adams. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century was this conservative bias modified in favor of a more friendly tone toward policies of the Democratic party in the state or the nation.

III

THE next local paper, and in some respects the most noteworthy of all, was the *Connecticut courier*, founded in 1764 by another member of the Green family, Thomas in this instance. He was born in New London in 1735,

and as a boy learned the printing trade from his relatives. He went to New Haven in 1757 where he entered the shop of J. Parker and Company, then under the management of John Holt, and when the latter removed to New York in 1760 young Thomas was left in charge of the *Gazette*. He continued publication of the latter until 1764, when he decided to set up in business for himself. In casting about for a location, the town of Hartford seemed to offer a good opening as it was a sizable place of four thousand inhabitants, and one at a distance from the other printing offices in the colony. He moved thither with his family in the autumn of 1764, and installed his press in a second-floor flat over a barber shop, a situation which had almost as many advantages for the gathering of news as the other favorite sites of early papers, those near a post office or a tavern.

The prospectus of the *Courant* appeared October 29, 1764, on a full sheet of pot folio folded over so that a page was about eight by fourteen inches, with two printed columns to the page. The editor promised to make his paper both useful and entertaining, "not only as a Channel for News, but assisting to all Those who may have Occasion to make use of it as an Advertiser." The prospectus contained news items from Naples, Madrid, the Hague, and London, but this does not mean that Green had already at his command a far-flung network of correspondents. These items were culled from other papers, and in any case the place names at the head of colonial news articles are apt to be misleading. Under "Boston," for example, one would often find a subtitle somewhat as follows: "A letter from a respectable citizen of that place received from a friend on a journey to Pennsylvania, remarking upon the character of the Western Indians."

The first regular issue of the *Courant* appeared on Mon-

day, December 3, and was of the same dimensions and general appearance as the prospectus, but for some time thereafter subscribers became accustomed to receiving a paper of almost any size, color, or typeface, as these physical features were subject to sudden change without notice. Particularly during the war with Great Britain was the paper likely to issue forth from the press a dirty blue in color, with its cloudy pages further marred by broken type.

In the *Courant*, as in other papers of the time, strictly local news was rather scanty. The early issues of Green's journal seldom contained more than a quarter column relating to happenings in or near Hartford, and this small amount did not measurably increase except during sessions of the legislature, considerable space then being given to the proceedings of the lower house of the general assembly.

At the outset Green was not as bold an editor as his contemporaries in New Haven and New London. In 1764 he referred in very guarded phrases to the sugar act, one of the new measures of parliament designed to relieve the British national debt which had been doubled by the French war. He never printed an open editorial on colonial grievances, and only twice to the certain knowledge of the writer did he make any personal comments of an editorial sort, both times dealing with trivial subjects. Once, in a single sentence, he criticized prodigality of dress on the part of certain wealthy people, and on another occasion he voiced a mild rebuke of snobbishness.

Green remained with the Hartford venture but three years. Under his management the *Courant* made considerable progress in a business way since it acquired a fair amount of advertising, and hence an enlarged income. For some months, in fact, the phrase *and the weekly ad-*

vertiser was added to the title of the paper, but this extension was later dropped for the sake of brevity. In 1766, advertising occupied three or more columns per week, most of it, though not all, coming from Hartford merchants. Once in 1767 the Boston bookseller, John Mein, carried a two-page list of his offerings in the *Courant*. We should like to know who were the major contributors to the paper at this time, but such information is most difficult to obtain. It is a simple matter to find articles signed "A gentleman in Lebanon," "A visitor to Newport," or "A ragged sailor just come from Portsmouth," but with the exception of one or two travel accounts supplied by President Clap of Yale, satisfactory tags of identification are missing. Not until after the Revolution can contributors be definitely recognized, because writers of the earlier period did not wish to be known since many of their articles were regarded as treasonable by the British authorities.

Although Green went to New Haven in 1767 official notice of his removal was not given in the *Courant* until the following April. The founder kept up a financial connection with the paper until 1770 but the actual management devolved upon Ebenezer Watson, a native of Bethlehem who had married Hannah Bunce, a Hartford girl. He had previously worked with Green and, since later editors also served for a time under their predecessors before assuming independent control, the *Courant* enjoyed a continuity of administration lacking to most other papers of the time.

Watson was more outspoken than Green on the points at issue between America and Great Britain; in 1769, he not only published articles from contributors urging a boycott against British goods but endorsed that action by editorial comment. It was under his management that the

Courant became, as a recent writer has said, "recklessly critical of the English government."² Watson also improved the appearance of the paper by adding illustrations to the text; the first, a small cut showing a horse bounding over grassy fields and geese flying overhead, was used to adorn advertisements of anything from stolen cattle to runaway apprentices. On one occasion, he printed a large illustration showing a comet descending toward the earth, blazing a white way through an inky black sky.

During the war with England there was much besides newspaper work to keep the printer busy. Within a week after the encounters at Lexington and Concord, Watson took in large orders of an official nature—proclamations for the conservation of food, enlistment blanks, and legal forms dealing with Continental treasury notes and payable bonds. A year before the outbreak of hostilities, the king's arms had been dropped from the *Courant's* heading and, shortly thereafter, Watson shared zealously in the campaign to arouse public sentiment against anyone suspected of being loyal to the mother country. He printed stories showing how such undesirable folk were being driven out of other colonies by tarring and feathering, often with editorial hints as to what Connecticut patriots should do if occasion demanded. He also tried to aid the American cause by publishing directions for the home manufacture of saltpeter, but it is not likely that the ammunition supply of the Continental army was much increased thereby since the formulas required a tremendous expenditure of labor for very small returns.

The Revolution caused a paper shortage which made necessary a suspension of the *Courant* for about a month at the close of the year 1775 but, after that, Watson kept

² E. Wilder Spaulding, "The Connecticut courant," *New England quarterly*, 3:443-463, July, 1930.

his journal going regularly with the aid of a paper mill newly established in East Hartford. No local newspaper was seriously disrupted by the war, since Connecticut suffered less than did many other parts of the country from direct invasion by the enemy. During the eighteenth century information about happenings in distant cities could not be quickly obtained, war or no war. In 1765, news from London got into Connecticut papers about two months after the events occurred, Philadelphia items appeared two weeks late, and those from Boston or New York, four or five days late. News transmission was not appreciably accelerated until after 1800.

Watson died in September, 1777, leaving the printing office to his widow, who probably thus became the first woman editor in the country. She took into partnership, in 1778, George Goodwin, who was to have a long association with the *Courant* and, about a year later, she married Barzillai Hudson, who assisted the newspaper by supervising the office accounts and collecting bills. Hannah Hudson was an editor of positive views, who not only supported the Revolution but advocated all sorts of moral and religious movements. Under its woman manager the *Courant* blossomed forth with articles on temperance, cleanliness, and the happy effects of feminine society on men. In any event, the firm of Hudson & Goodwin, formally organized in March, 1779, made the *Courant* something more than a mere purveyor of political propaganda. Much space was devoted to scientific subjects, particularly to mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture. Nor was humor wholly wanting. The columns of the *Courant* were frequently enlivened with stories and anecdotes which are as amusing now as they were more than a century ago.

Information as to the size of the subscription list of the

Courant, as to that of other papers, is not easy to obtain since most office records seem to have disappeared. From such data as can be brought together from other sources it would appear that, in 1776, the paper had about six hundred subscribers, perhaps a few more. This estimate is arrived at by calculating the number of papers which could be printed in a given time, the number of hours it took to turn out a weekly edition being stated in the *Courant* itself. After the Revolution the weekly circulation seems to have increased rapidly. In 1794, the editors claimed three thousand subscribers and, in 1799, nearly five thousand; but these figures are open to some qualification since they appear in paragraphs booming the paper or "talking up the circulation" at the expense of rivals. Taking all things into consideration, the *Courant* probably had a circulation of about five hundred copies weekly during its early years, six hundred during the Revolution, and two thousand or more by the end of the century. The cost of annual subscriptions varied considerably, being six shillings cash in 1768; six shillings, half payable in country produce, in 1769; seven shillings in Hartford and nine elsewhere in 1770; eighteen shillings in 1778; six in 1786; and nine shillings in 1797. The abnormal jump in price for 1778 was probably due to the wartime depreciation of the currency. It is curious that, as late as 1797, the subscription price was still being quoted in terms of English money and that, for the whole period, the average price was fairly high as compared with present rates.

Although, for a number of years, the editors had to rely on miscellaneous and accidental sources for news, some evidence of a regular reporting service appeared after the Revolution. When the state was called upon, in 1787, to make its decision for or against the new federal constitution, a young Hartford lawyer, Enoch Perkins, supplied

the paper with first-hand accounts of the ratifying convention. Then, in 1790 and after, news items were periodically mailed to Hartford from Philadelphia and New York. It would be interesting to know whether these correspondents were paid for their services. Prominent local men also contributed articles which were printed over their names. Noah Webster was a prolific contributor in the last two decades of the century. In 1787, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth wrote at length on the federal constitution and, at other times, the now yellowed files of this venerable paper were enlivened by the names of other worthies—President Clap of Yale, Judge David Daggett, and Senators Chauncey Goodrich and Uriah Tracy.

Whereas the *Courant* began its career as a radical paper, after the Revolution a drift toward conservatism became noticeable. It vigorously supported the federal constitution in 1787; eleven issues of that year contained some fifty-five columns of arguments on the topic of strong government, a record only rivaled by the *Connecticut journal* and the *Middlesex gazette*. Since no paper in the state registered serious opposition to the constitution the changes in the editorial policy of the *Courant* may be more strikingly illustrated in connection with other topics. In 1765, the *Courant* lauded colonial opposition to the Stamp Act; in 1794 it pictured democracy as mob rule. Before the Revolution, it was often vitriolic in its criticism of high government officials but, after 1780, the chief editor, George Goodwin, tried to keep impetuous articles on politics out of the paper, a policy in which he was temporarily successful. Until about 1800, he generally suppressed partisan communications, and instead filled the *Courant* pages with literary productions—the poems of the Hartford Wits, lectures on modern history, and

lengthy extracts from the British *Annual register*. This praiseworthy restraint was later abandoned, however, when the *Courant* set its face against Thomas Jefferson and everything that democrat was supposed to represent. For a generation thereafter, this Hartford paper breathed forth fire and brimstone against all those who did not support the Congregational church, who wished to abolish the old Connecticut charter of 1662 in favor of a more modern state constitution, or who saw any good in democracy. Until 1818, this policy reflected the sentiment of a majority of voters in the state, but later the extreme conservatism of the *Courant* appealed only to the minority party in local politics.

Fortunately for its economic prosperity the paper had then become a prominent advertising medium so that the varying winds of political fortune had no detrimental effects upon its circulation. Advertising occupied nearly half the space in the weekly issues; the individual items were secured from at least forty towns outside Hartford. The *Courant* became a daily in 1837. Among existing newspapers, it claims the distinction of having maintained an unbroken continuity of management and the longest record of uninterrupted publication in the same town.

IV

FROM the founding of the *Courant* to the close of the eighteenth century, at least thirty-two other journals sprang up in Connecticut, but of this large number only six had more than an ephemeral existence. No paper begun in a small town was able to keep alive very long and several new enterprises in the cities were unable to survive for reasons that will be suggested later. Among the more lasting of these publications was the *Connecticut journal and New Haven post boy*, which followed closely

on the heels of the *Courant* and was also founded largely through the efforts of Thomas Green. While the latter was still connected with his Hartford paper, his brother, Samuel, moved from New London to New Haven to investigate the likelihood of establishing a good business in the college town and to verify hints, probably given him by Thomas, as to the shortcomings of Mecom who was publishing the *Gazette*. In October, 1767, the Greens combined to bring out the above-named paper, the title of which was later shortened to the *Connecticut journal*. Samuel died in 1799, after which Thomas continued the paper in conjunction with his son, Thomas, Jr.; the father eventually retired in 1809. After many other changes in management, the paper continues today as the New Haven *Journal-courier*, being hence a close rival of the *Courant* in length of continuous publication.

In its early days the *Journal* was of pot folio size with three columns of print to the page; it was published on Fridays, and carried a cut of a post-rider in its title. For some time it was a very newsy paper, having few advertisements but a large amount of reading material on murders, arsons, and other crimes committed in Europe and America. Although established some time after the close of the French and Indian War, the *Journal* files are still of interest to historians of that struggle since some of its early issues carried lists of French and Spanish vessels taken or destroyed by the British navy. When Mecom's *Gazette* was discontinued in 1768, the Greens evidently bought out their rival's equipment since the latter's stock illustrations and some of his type then made their appearance in the *Journal*. Advertising also increased in the new publication after Mecom left the city.

Politically speaking the *Journal* was not as radical as any of the four earlier papers already considered. At the

coming of the Revolution, its editors braved patriotic disapproval by publishing articles in defense of Jared Ingersoll and of several others whose conduct betrayed sympathy with the British control of the colonies. In 1776, the *Journal* printed the speeches of George III to parliament, and editorially deprecated the American love of liberty which led some to believe that the Revolution should mean a releasing of debtors from all their financial obligations. As late as 1781, President Ezra Stiles of Yale complained that the *Journal* was a Tory paper, but Thomas Green could not have been a very obnoxious loyalist since he was not molested during the war, and was generally eulogized, at his death in 1812, as a man of benevolence and one worthy of public esteem. His shortcomings as a patriot seem rather trivial when viewed by present-day readers of the *Journal*. He never openly criticized any American activities but would in a subtle way throw into obscurity some of the events now considered landmarks in national history. In 1776, for example, the Greens gave no prominence to the Declaration of Independence, but printed that famous statement of American rights on the back page of their paper, surrounded by advertisements of West India rum, coffee, and pepper. Possibly this covert disapproval of patriotic activity resulted in a temporary curtailment of circulation, as the *Journal* had to appear at times during the war in an edition of two pages instead of four. Local advertising kept it alive, however, and any unseemly brevity in news of the patriot cause was offset by items such as the following: "To be sold (For no fault, but want of Employment,) A likely Negro Wench, about thirty years of age, Inquire of the Printers."

The next successful enterprise following that of the Greens appeared in October, 1773, as the *Norwich packet*

and the *Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island weekly advertiser*. In addition to its pretentious title, this paper boasted a new font of long-primer type and a large title-cut of a ship or packet. It sold for six shillings eight pence a year. Happily the name was later shortened to simply the *Norwich packet*. It was first edited by Alexander and James Robertson and John Trumbull.³ The Robertsons were Scotsmen, formerly of New York, who attempted the very difficult task of trying to preserve a detached and neutral point of view in face of the impending war. Because of their impartiality they were accused of Toryism, and public censure caused their return to New York in 1776, after which year Trumbull alone kept up the paper until his death in 1802. It was continued for some years longer by his widow and then by his sons as the *Connecticut centinel*.

V

No other newspaper was begun in the state for ten years following the appearance of the *Packet* but, upon the close of the Revolution, new journals were founded in rapid succession, most of which were destined to disappear, however, after a brief existence. Eight papers were begun in the decade of the 80's, only two of which, the *American mercury* of Hartford and the *Middlesex gazette* of Middletown, were still active a generation later. One other, the *Litchfield Weekly monitor*, lasted till 1807, but the remaining journals had an average life of two years and may be briefly dismissed. The *Freeman's chronicle, or the American advertiser*, begun in Hartford in September,

³ Reported to have been born in Cambridge or Charlestown, Massachusetts, about 1752. Consequently, he was not closely related to either of his more famous Connecticut contemporaries, John Trumbull the artist and John Trumbull the author.

1783, expired in July of the following year, and though the more successful *Mercury* appeared almost immediately thereafter in the same city the two had no evident connection with each other. The *New Haven gazette*, begun in 1784 by Josiah Meigs, Daniel Bowen, and Eleutheros Dana, was issued for less than two years under its original management. The firm was dissolved in February, 1786, whereupon Bowen edited the *New Haven chronicle* for a few months, while Meigs and Dana brought out another journal, the *New Haven gazette and Connecticut magazine*, the last number of which appeared in the summer of 1789. One more short-lived paper, the *Fairfield gazette*, was published from the summer of 1786 to the fall of 1789.

The *American mercury*, established at Hartford in July, 1784, by Joel Barlow and Elisha Babcock, had a more protracted career, for although the more literary of its editors, Barlow, retired in about a year, succeeding managers continued the paper to 1833. The *Mercury* merits attention as one of the most interesting of the early journals since it acquired a contemporary reputation for individuality and positiveness of opinion. Its editors seldom hesitated to disapprove of what other people, especially other newspaper men, were doing.

Upon its first appearance the *Mercury* was a conservative organ, but within a short time it became the champion of Jeffersonianism, or of the Tolerationist party, as the Connecticut faction of the national movement was usually called. The latter designation arose from the fact that most of its constituents were non-Congregationalists, whose major object was to secure legal equality for all religious sects, a goal achieved in 1818. The issues of the *Mercury*, from 1799 onward, showed this opposition party in the process of formation. In 1801, the paper approved President Jefferson's removal of a Federalist,

Elizur Goodrich, from the collectorship at the port of New Haven, an action bitterly criticized by the *Courant*. Other numbers of the *Mercury* for that year possessed particular interest for the reports of banquets and other gatherings held by the Jeffersonians, and this paper was responsible for those choice references to Yale College as the "Presbyterian Manufactory" of narrow-minded clergymen, and to the head of the college as "Pope Dwight." The crusading *Mercury* also attacked property qualifications for suffrage; opposed the "stand-up" law, which required an open vote for assistants and hence deterred timid electors from supporting Toleration candidates; frowned on prayers offered at these same meetings by orthodox ministers; and criticized the current practice of allowing members of the upper house of the legislature to act as legal counsel before the supreme court of errors, a practice viewed by the Tolerationists as a violation of the American doctrine of the separation of governmental powers. These and other proposals for reform were reiterated in almost every weekly issue of the *Mercury* for eighteen years, until the framing of a new constitution secured most of the innovations demanded. Similar arguments were presented by several other papers, to be considered presently, while the older *Courant* was always arrayed on the opposite side of these questions. The *Mercury* was the state's leading reform paper until 1817, after which it was surpassed by the *Hartford Times*, founded by John M. Niles, a Democrat prominent not only in Connecticut but in the United States Senate where he served a number of years.

The first Litchfield paper, established in December, 1784, by Thomas Collier and William Copp, enjoyed a career of reasonable length. Its title varied a good deal from time to time, but the *Weekly monitor* will serve as a

convenient designation. For a year or more after its founding the *Monitor* carried a serial account of the Revolution, one which must have been a good corrective for the natural bias of American readers since it was largely made up of extracts from the British *Annual register*. The *Monitor* suffered intermittently for lack of adequate support, so that it was often published on a poor grade of bluish paper and printed in a variety of types, some of them much worn. For about a decade, it was a mildly Federalist paper but not one given to audacious statements on any political subject. Being published in a rural district, it gave considerable attention to agricultural topics and, for some time, carried in its title a medallion showing a farm scene, under which was the motto "Venerate the Plough." About 1793, the *Monitor* deserted the ranks of orthodox Federalism and permitted contributors to censure both the national and the local activities of the dominant party. Some particularly interesting articles were published for a subscriber who took refuge under the pseudonym of "The Grumbler," a signature which neatly expressed his distaste for Connecticut government as conducted at the time. This lapse was brief, and the *Monitor* soon returned to its Federalist faith, but it was discontinued in the summer of 1807.

Middletown's early venture in journalism was the *Middlesex gazette*, founded in November, 1785, with Moses Woodward as leading editor. This was, in appearance, an attractive paper of good size, priced at eight shillings a year. It not only carried the usual variety of news items culled from other journals, but devoted considerable space to literature, poetry, and articles on household problems, such as the versatility of domestic servants. Being situated in a flourishing river port, the

Gazette benefited from a large bulk of advertising. It was a Federalist paper, very critical of Jefferson and the democratic movement, but such considerations never crowded out of its columns other subjects of a broader social nature. In 1787, for instance, it featured articles on the evils of liquor by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a noteworthy champion of the early temperance movement in this country. With a bewildering number of changes in ownership the *Gazette* was continued till 1834.

VI

FROM 1790 to the close of the century, no less than twenty-two other newspapers appeared in the state, but only two of this large number, the *Windham herald* and the *Norwich courier*, were continued for more than a few years. The others can claim but scant attention. In Danbury, Nathan Douglas and Edwards Ely published the *Farmer's journal*, 1790-1793; after which, the former edited for seven years the *Republican journal*, while Ely undertook for three years the *Farmer's chronicle*. In New Haven appeared another *Gazette* which expired in six months. The *Norwich Weekly register*, a rival of the *Packet*, was published from 1791 to 1795. Another brief venture was the *Hartford gazette*, 1794-1795, a semiweekly edited by Prince Storrs and Lazarus Booth. The latter then moved to Newfield (Bridgeport), where he printed the *American telegraphe* till 1804. In 1795 also appeared, though only for a few months, the *New London advertiser*. The following year, Apollos Kinsley in Hartford brought out the *New star* for one issue. His major purpose was to experiment with a new press which inked its own type without the assistance of two operators and which was reputedly capable of turning out two thousand sheets an hour.

The other fleeting enterprises of the time were the

following: the New Haven *Federal gazetteer*, 1796-1797; the New London *Weekly oracle*, 1796-1801; the Suffield *Impartial herald*, 1797-1799; the Stonington *Journal of the times*, later called the *Impartial journal*, 1798-1804; the *Sun of liberty*, published for a few months in Danbury and then in Norwalk in 1800, and in New Haven the following year, after which the peripatetic editor, Samuel Morse, went to Georgia. This list of papers begun before 1801 was concluded with the New Haven *Messenger*, the Sharon *Rural gazette*, and another Danbury *Farmer's journal*, all which had ceased publication by the fall of 1803.

From the foregoing group have been omitted three journals worthy of more extended notice. One of these first appeared in August, 1792, as *The phenix; or, Windham herald*, the first part of its title being graphically represented by an illustration of that fabled bird arising from the flames of an active bonfire. The *Herald* was an attractively printed paper much like the *Middlesex gazette* in general character. It carried news items emanating from all parts of America and from the countries of Europe, and in addition many articles somewhat philosophical in nature, such as "The character of an honest lawyer," "On suavity," "Statistics on life expectancy," and "On the proper length for women's skirts." It is difficult to assign a political label to the *Herald* as the editor, John Byrne, kept out of partisan controversies. This paper was discontinued in 1816.

Another of the more permanent journals was the *Courier*, founded in 1796 at Norwich by Thomas Hubbard, who with his brother-in-law, Ebenezer Bushnell, had previously edited the *Weekly register* in that town. It may be said that the *Courier* has continued to the present day, though it is now known by the title of a competing paper, the *Morning bulletin*, with which it was

merged in 1860. In its early years the *Courier* was a Federalist paper, though not so partisan as to be objectionable to open-minded readers. In its January issues for 1799, there did appear very brief paragraphs approving the notorious Sedition Law which caused so much controversy in national politics at that time. During the same year the *Courier* published less contentious but much more informing articles on the fitting out of new vessels for the American navy then engaged in its brief but successful conflict with France.

The last of the late eighteenth-century papers to be considered, and by all means the most interesting, was the *Bee*, published in New London by Charles Holt from 1797 to 1802. This editor was an ardent Anti-Federalist who made his paper the most active opposition journal in the state. So piercing were some of its criticisms, in fact, that Holt ran afoul of the above-mentioned sedition law and was sent to jail for a time in 1800. The *Bee* was an attractive paper in general appearance, which sold at the reasonable rate of a dollar and a half a year. The editor made it easy for residents in other states to subscribe by having agents in distant cities, such as Philadelphia and Richmond.

In spite of all the opprobrious epithets cast at the *Bee* by its Federalist rivals, a modern reader cannot but feel that it presented a sane and moderate view of contemporary politics. Holt was, for instance, opposed to militarism, but instead of hurling lurid phrases at officials in high station he made his point by printing, in March, 1800, speeches by important congressmen who were also against a large standing army. About the same time, he endeavored to convince local Federalists that there was some good in the Jeffersonian party by publishing serially a biography of that prominent politician, later to be a

great secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin. Also in 1800 the *Bee* had much to say about liberty of the press, a real issue in view of Holt's subsequent punishment for libel. He had considerable advance warning of the latter event, so that one finds in issues of the preceding February rather amusing notices that the paper would have to be suspended "for a length of time not to be determined by the editor."

Holt was brought into court in April, 1800, to answer for seditious utterances of the previous May in which he criticized the army recruiting service. A perusal of the articles in question discloses the impolitic nature of his pen on occasions. He asked if recruits to the new army being raised to repel a possible French invasion were to be taught to live in adultery like their general, Hamilton. President John Adams and Timothy Dwight of Yale were also referred to in uncomplimentary terms, but it was the slur against Hamilton which chiefly aroused the Federalists, many of whom were not then aware of that gentleman's indiscretions with the notorious Mrs. Reynolds. Under normal conditions such editorial comments would hardly have resulted in conviction for libel, but with the advantage held by the prosecution through the sedition law the *Bee* was suspended from April to August while Holt served his jail sentence. Upon its revival the paper continued in nearly as bold a fashion as before. The editor's policy, if indiscreet, was at least frank; he stated that he would not withhold any necessary information from the people, even though it should prove to be most disagreeable to some individuals, and should the climate of Connecticut become too severe he would remove to a more hospitable place. The atmosphere apparently did become too inclement shortly after, so that in 1802 Holt removed to Hudson, New York.

During its brief career the *Bee* imparted more information per issue on political matters of the day than could be found in any other Connecticut journal. It seldom descended to unpleasant personalities, preferring to laud deserving men than to revile vulnerable ones. If its columns lacked the variety of articles on manners, poetry, and music found elsewhere, they were free from unnecessary details of violence and crime. In short, the *Bee* was too fair a paper to have been fully appreciated at a time when political feelings were so heated as to prevent a calm appraisal of one's rivals.

VII

IN conclusion, some general features of the early press may be reviewed. The short life of many journals is an outstanding fact. Omitting the *Norwich Courier* and the *Windham Herald* from the list of enterprises begun after 1790, the average span of a newspaper's existence for the latter part of the period under consideration is found to have been less than three years, and a similar conclusion holds true for the earlier undertakings. Why this high mortality? Two reasons have been suggested: journals could not flourish in small communities due to limited advertising and the difficulty of distributing papers at a distance from the publisher's door. With an exception or two, it may be said that all newspapers founded in small towns, those of less than three thousand inhabitants, failed for reasons largely economic. Similar obstacles dogged the footsteps of many editors in larger centers. If one scans a list of all Connecticut journals in order of their founding, it immediately becomes evident that the first paper established in a city was usually the one to succeed. Until cities became much larger than they were in the late eighteenth century they could not support

more than one newspaper. There is a special reason, not economic in character, for the failure of a good many enterprises which appeared after 1790; too many of the latter were founded solely for political purposes. An enthusiastic Federalist or Anti-Federalist would plunge into the newspaper business in order to glorify his party, and with the changing fortunes of partisanship such papers fell by the wayside.

Usually, it was financial hardships that separated weak journals from the survivors. A hasty reading of almost any newspaper will reveal frequent pleas for the payment of subscriptions in arrears. Produce had to be accepted in lieu of cash and no printer, furthermore, could support himself wholly by his newspaper. Every one was a job printer; some were also postmasters or storekeepers. To the credit of these enterprising journalists, who had such a difficult time making both ends meet, be it said that the number of newspapers in the state increased much faster than the supporting population. At the founding of the *Courant*, for example, there were three papers for a population of about 165,000, whereas in 1800 there were thirteen papers for 251,000 people.

The broad generalization given above as to the insecurity of journals founded for political purposes must be modified in one important particular. Although it is true that much printing after 1790 which revolved about partisan issues proved to be evanescent in appeal, it must not be concluded that propaganda papers were invariably unsuccessful. All the early Connecticut journals, especially those founded before 1783, thrived on political agitation which, since it was of a revolutionary sort and dealt with the fundamental rights of Americans as against the pretensions of Great Britain, had a lasting interest for readers of every age and every social class. In this

field the newspapers made a significant contribution to the trend of the time, since they acted as promoters of revolution, the molders of public opinion in the American cause. Historians may make reservations respecting the merits of the dispute between the colonies and Great Britain, but most Connecticut editors saw only one side to the question. Colonial papers created symbols of a tyranny more appalling in imagination than in fact. When the *Courant*, for example, published in 1765 the following little ditty,

“What greater pleasure can there be
Than to see a Stamp Man hanging on a tree.”

it was building up an impression that all officers of the British government were criminals who should be summarily executed. We know that they were not such monsters, but our qualification is only of academic importance. Newspapers made the colonists believe that everything British was tyrannical and, contrariwise, that the greatest good could be secured for America by liberty. To some liberty meant only separation from England; to others it meant freedom from taxes, even those laid in America; to still others it suggested free trade; and perhaps to some it signified license. By combining such diverse interests the press made its great contribution to the Revolution—a temporary unity of action.

Who made up the reading public of the eighteenth century? To a considerable extent the press was given serious attention by the same people then as now, by ministers, teachers, judges, lawyers, and public officials. During the Revolution newspapers were read avidly by all classes, as illustrated by the following anecdote. When in June, 1775, a rumor of the battle of Bunker Hill reached the small town of Danbury, one of the inhabitants sent

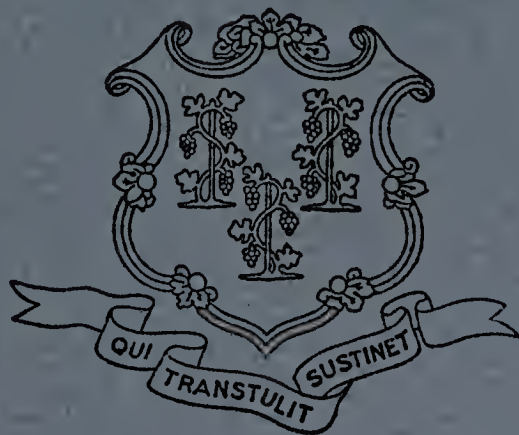
off posthaste a lad of thirteen to borrow the *Courant* from a regular subscriber in New Milford, some sixteen miles distant. On his return trip the boy stopped frequently by the roadside to recite the news to excited groups who had heard of his errand. Twenty-five years later there were sufficient papers in the state to make unnecessary this passing on of news by word of mouth. A total circulation of twenty thousand weekly of Connecticut papers would not seem an extravagant estimate for the year 1800. To this extensive clientele the press offered a moderate amount of news and a large quantity of theories, opinions, and propaganda. The readers, undistracted by modern forms of amusement, gave serious regard to the fact and fancy put forth in the weekly newspaper. The power of the press over public opinion was possibly greater in 1800 than it is today.

Bibliographical Note

THE chief source of information about the newspaper press in Connecticut, 1755-1800, is the papers themselves, satisfactory files of which may be obtained in the Connecticut Historical Society, the Yale University Library, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. Data concerning the various Connecticut papers and their existing files will be found in Clarence S. Brigham, *Bibliography of American newspapers* (American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, new series, vol. 23, pp. 247-403, Worcester, 1913). There are only a few secondary works relating to this subject, of which the following are the most helpful: Albert C. Bates, "Thomas Green" and "Fighting the Revolution with printer's ink in Connecticut," in the New Haven Colony Historical Society *Papers*, vols. 8 and 9 respectively. Victor H. Paltsits, "John Holt—Printer and Postmaster" (New York Public Library *Bulletin*, September, 1920) includes some information about James Parker and the founding of the *Connecticut gazette*. A particularly good article is that by E. Wilder Spaulding, "The Connecticut courant" (*New England quarterly*, 3: 443-463, July, 1930). Sketches of Thomas Green, Joel Barlow, and John Holt appear in the *Dictionary of American biography*. A great many suggestive hints about the early newspaper business in general may be found in a recent publication of The Grolier Club, by Lawrence C. Wroth, *The colonial printer* (New York, 1931).

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Slavery in Connecticut

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Slavery in Connecticut

RALPH FOSTER WELD

I

THERE is nothing remarkable in the fact that the English Puritans who founded Connecticut held Indians and negroes in bondage. In this respect, as in others, they accepted the standards of the age in which they lived. If biblical sanctions seemed to them more necessary than to other colonists, they found sufficient justification for slavery in Scripture. As the chosen people in a new Canaan it was easy for them to identify the Indians with the heathen whom the Hebrew law permitted to be enslaved; and that the negro was divinely ordained to be a servant was scarcely questioned. Moreover, the division of society into sharply differentiated classes was accepted by the settlers of Connecticut as belonging to the natural order of things. Such distinctions were a part of their heritage; they found them in the relation of man to God, subject to ruler, wife to husband, child to parent, and servant to master. Caste governed the allotment of seats in the meeting house. It was reflected in titles and modes of address. "Mister" was the mark of a gentleman and was jealously withheld from the "goodman." From the humble

servant to the clergy and magistrates, the social order was marked by modes of address which indicated the degree of respect due the different divisions of society. Slavery as it developed in Connecticut in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, was a natural outcome of the heritage, customs, and religion of the people of the colony.

Indian slavery had its start after the Pequot War, when Massachusetts and the river colony divided prisoners. Subsequent troubles with the Indians, or threats of trouble, brought about arrangements, naturally enough entered into and obviously without the deliberate intent to engraft a new and unnatural labor system into the social fabric, which nevertheless had the effect of establishing slavery. In 1643, when danger threatened from the Narragansetts, the articles which formed the bond of union of the New England Confederation contained a provision for the equitable division of booty; that is, "lands, goods, or *persons*," in case of successful war. This arrangement clearly implied slavery as the natural lot of the captive. Provision for the rendition of fugitive "servants" was also made. In 1646, the Confederation authorized the seizure and enslavement of Indians from native villages giving sanctuary to fugitives "either to serve or to be shipped out and exchanged for negroes, as the cause will justly bear." This action of the Confederation was repeated in the Connecticut Code of 1650, and thus both Indian and negro slavery were sanctioned by the law of the colony. In 1650, the New Englanders, in their treaty with the neighboring Dutch, found it expedient to repeat the provisions of their Articles of Confederation in respect to fugitives.

Enslavement of Indian captives remained the accepted practice throughout the century. At the time of King

Philip's War the general court authorized the transportation of fugitive Indian slaves, if retaken. In 1690, Connecticut made an agreement with Massachusetts, Plymouth, and New York to divide anticipated "plunder and *captives*" in the then expected war with the Indians.

Experience proved that Indians were not satisfactory slaves. They were not docile, and the record of laws and treaties for the recovery of runaways testifies to their restlessness. The time came, early in the eighteenth century, when Connecticut authorities found it necessary to take measures against their importation. Sullen Tuscarora captives, fresh from defeat in South Carolina, were being shipped out by that colony. The Connecticut general court took alarm and forbade the bringing in of Indians on penalty of the forfeiture of the slaves thus imported. A fifty-pound fine was prescribed to be exacted from the guilty shipmaster. This took place in 1715. It did not indicate moral condemnation of the slave trade, but rather a desire to keep uncontrollable and troublesome savages out of the colony.

The crushing of the Indian tribes of New England, the scattering and deportation of their remnants, and the suppression of the trade in Indian captives put a limit to the possible growth of Indian slavery. Thereafter it steadily decreased through death and emancipation. The custom of holding men in bondage in Connecticut would, therefore, have come to a natural end in the early years of the eighteenth century had it not been for the importation of negroes.

II

THERE are records which indicate the presence of negro slaves very early in the history of the colony, but throughout the seventeenth century their number was negligible.

In the eighteenth century, there was a gradual increase until about 1750, and then a more rapid growth until the eve of the Revolution. According to a census taken in 1774 there were 191,392 whites, 5,085 negroes, and 1,363 Indians in Connecticut. Apparently, therefore, the slaves constituted between one fortieth and one thirtieth of the population. It is not likely that the slaves at any time seriously threatened the security of the poorer white element, and yet slavery must have worked somewhat to the disadvantage of that part of the population. From the outbreak of the War for Independence the number decreased.

This development in Connecticut during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century coincided with a corresponding growth of slavery throughout the British colonies, and may be traced to several circumstances. The British government had discovered an extraordinary source of commercial profit in the slave trade. Monopoly privileges had been granted to the Royal African Company in 1672, and by the Asiento of 1713 England obtained the exclusive right to carry negro slaves to Spanish America. In 1697, parliament passed an act permitting private merchants to engage in the trade, and by 1750 the final dissolution of the monopoly threw this lucrative commerce open to all adventurers. The result was an enormous increase in the number of slaves brought over annually after the middle of the eighteenth century.

Connecticut shipmasters took little active part in the direct African trade; nevertheless, they had a share in the traffic, carrying corn meal, staves, and horses to the West Indies, where they took on cargoes of slaves. Some of these cargoes were brought to Connecticut; but the Connecticut shipmaster of the period was primarily a coastal peddler, and so it is likely that he brought home, as a rule,

only what he could not dispose of elsewhere. While half a dozen small ports in the colony sent vessels out to engage in coastal trade, commercial enterprise was relatively unimportant, and Connecticut remained throughout the colonial period a self-contained agricultural province. Massachusetts, and still more Rhode Island, engaged in the great three-cornered negro, molasses, and rum traffic which contributed so largely to New England's prosperity before the Revolution. Newport's commercial importance rested chiefly on the slave trade, and from that great market negroes were distributed throughout the North. It is, therefore, to the brisk commerce carried on by the neighboring colonies that the increase in Connecticut's slave population must be largely attributed.

Relatively unimportant as was its share in the total slave trade, Connecticut must yet bear its measure of responsibility. There were sea captains who engaged in it, slave dealers who bought and sold negroes, and public auction sales. Connecticut reproduced, on a small scale, the features of the system as found elsewhere.

So far as the relationship between master and slave was concerned, colonial Connecticut did not appear at a disadvantage, relatively speaking. In accordance with the precepts of the Mosaic code, slaves were usually considered as members of the household, in the relationship of children whom the master was required to care for and protect. Although servants for life, and willed to descendants as chattels, they yet possessed advantages and even such legal rights as were connected with property. Moral behavior, as befitted the servants of a God-fearing people, was encouraged. The responsibility for Christianizing them and for baptizing their infants and nurturing them in the fear of the Lord was seriously regarded. When asked to give advice on the subject of bringing up slaves

as Christians, the general court solemnly affirmed such to be the master's duty. It seemed to pious masters an act of great virtue to take benighted heathen from the dark land of their birth, to transport them to a Christian land, and to convert them, thus ensuring their souls' salvation. Among such masters were counted many of the clergy, who were accustomed to own one or two slaves as house servants. It is evident that during the first half of the eighteenth century the rightfulness of slavery was scarcely questioned, but the responsibility of the master toward his servant was doubtless often pondered. Yet, slaves ran away from their masters and were advertised for in the newspapers. Not all masters were pious, nor were all slaves fond of their owners or content with their lot. Even in its gentlest form slavery invited callousness. For example, the good people of Torrington, as also those of other towns, admitted negro slaves to worship, but kept them safely out of sight of their white fellow Christians behind a high boarding in the gallery.

Although a master seldom owned more than two slaves, some few wealthy owners possessed a greater number; but there was never in Connecticut a labor system analogous to that of the Narragansett planters in Rhode Island. When Colonel Samuel Browne settled the present town of Salem about 1720, he was said to have brought in more than sixty families of slaves to clear and work the land, but this case was probably unique. Among the families possessing more than the average number of slaves may be mentioned the Wolcotts of Windsor. In 1761, Captain John Perkins of Norwich died in possession of fifteen negroes. Fowler, in his *Historical status of the negro in Connecticut*, cited as slave owners such clergymen as John Davenport of New Haven, Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, Joseph Eliot of Guilford, Jared Eliot of Killing-

worth, Nathaniel Chauncey of Durham, Noadiah Russell of Middletown, and William Worthington of Saybrook.

III

THE simple agricultural economy of Connecticut in the eighteenth century determined the character of slavery in the colony. In the nature of things the system was relatively mild. Slaves performed household tasks, or if they worked in the field they labored side by side with their masters. Timothy Dwight attempted a picture of slavery in Connecticut, in the vein of Goldsmith's *Deserted village*, in his poem *Greenfield Hill*, published in 1794. He contrasted the lot of the fortunate slave he knew, who whistled as he drove the "cumbrous wain," with the scourged and branded bondman of other regions. Dwight was a partial witness in all that concerned Connecticut, and no doubt the description may be criticized on the score of provincial complacency; yet he was no friend of slavery when he wrote thus of the Connecticut negro:

. . . kindly fed, and clad, and treated, he
Slides on, thro' life, with more than common glee.
For here mild manners good to all impart,
And stamp with infamy th' unfeeling heart;
Here law, from vengeful rage, the slave defends,
And here the gospel peace on earth extends.

He toils, 'tis true; but shares his master's toil;
With him, he feeds the herd, and trims the soil;
Helps to sustain the house, with clothes, and food,
And takes his portion of the common good.

Dwight did not let this idyllic picture of slavery in a favored land pass without giving the reader another aspect of the system. After all, the slave could not be truly virtuous, for moral choices were denied him:

. . . shut from honour's paths he turns to shame,
And filches the small good, he cannot claim.
To sour, and stupid, sinks his active mind;
Finds joys in drink, he cannot elsewhere find;
Rule disobeys; of half his labor cheats;
In some safe cot, the pilfer'd turkey eats;
Rides hard, by night, the steed, his art purloins;
Serene from conscience' bar himself essoins;
Sees from himself his sole redress must flow,
And makes revenge the balsam of his woe.

In endeavoring to understand the status of the slave in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it must be remembered that white men, as well as Indians and Africans, were obliged to submit to enforced labor. The Connecticut law provided that debtors without estate should "satisfy the debt by service"; and similar treatment was accorded idlers, to pay costs of prosecution. Slaves, like indentured servants, possessed the privilege of suing masters for unjust treatment. The law protected their right to life and property. They were servants for life, not for a period of years; yet the Connecticut slaves were not helpless chattels of masters invested with absolute power. Their status was not unlike that of indentured servants except for the duration of the service, which made of the indentured servant a prospective freeman and master, and left the slave a bondman forever.

A vivid picture of the state of slavery at the very beginning of the eighteenth century is given in the diary of Madam Sarah Kemble Knight, a keen and observant Boston woman, who journeyed through Connecticut in the winter of 1704-1705. She wrote:

There are great plenty of oysters all along the sea side as farr as I Rode in the Collony and those verry good. And they Generally lived very well and comfortably in their families. But too Indulgent (especially ye farmers) to their Slaves, suffering

too great familiarity from them, permitting ym to sit at Table and eat with them (as they say to save time) and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand. They told me that there was a farmer lived near the Town where I lodged who had some difference with his slave concerning something the Master had promised him and did not punctually perform: wch caused some hard words between them; But at length they put the matter to arbitration and Bound themselves to stand to the award as such as they named—wch done, the Arbitrators Having heard the Allegations of both parties order the master to pay 40s to black face, and acknowledge his fault, and so the matter ended; the poor master very honestly standing to the award.

Connecticut's black code was begun in 1690 by the passage of acts directed against the wandering of slaves outside the towns to which they belonged. Slaves so wandering without a pass from their owners or from someone in authority were deemed runaways, and might be seized and brought back to their masters. Even a free negro without identification could be taken before a magistrate, and was obliged to pay the costs of the action. In 1703, innkeepers were forbidden to serve intoxicants to slaves without the special permission of their masters. This prohibition, however, extended to sons, apprentices, and servants as well as to slaves. A law of 1708 dealt with theft. Those obtaining purloined property from slaves must return the property plus double its value, failing which they must undergo the lash; and the slaves caught in theft were to be given "not exceeding Thirty Stripes." Whipping was also prescribed for negroes who were turbulent and quarrelsome in public. As the number of slaves increased the code became more repressive. In 1723 ten stripes were prescribed for a slave out-of-doors after nine in the evening without an order from his master; and in 1730 it was provided that a slave, guilty of using

language that would be actionable if used by a freeman, should be whipped and sold to defray the costs, if they were not paid by the master.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century problems of emancipation began to concern the lawmakers, as is evidenced by the action of the legislature in providing that former owners must be responsible for the maintenance of freed slaves who should be in want. This responsibility was made more definite in 1711, when the selectmen were required to care for such emancipated slaves in case the masters failed to do so, and then to bring suit against the former owners to recoup the loss sustained by the town. These laws indicate a determination on the part of the authorities to prevent manumission being used as a means of avoiding responsibility for slaves who had outlived their usefulness, rather than any special tenderness for the emancipated slaves. It should be noted, however, that there were mitigating features to be found in the code even in its harshest period. For instance, slaves were permitted to offer evidence and to make pleas in their own defense. The code was virtually complete by 1730.

It is apparent that slavery was entrenched and protected in the eighteenth century, upheld by law and sanctioned by public opinion. Yet there were a few voices raised against it. Among the Puritans of New England Judge Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts was almost alone in his generation; but the Quaker conscience was deeply and permanently stirred, and the Friends, in Rhode Island as well as in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, bore an increasingly determined and effective witness against the system. Elihu Coleman, a Nantucket Quaker, published an anti-slavery tract in 1737. By 1758, the opposition of this sect reached the point of forbidding its members to purchase slaves or to engage in the trade, and at the outbreak of

the Revolution slave ownership among them was prohibited. The enlightened and humane Quaker viewpoint was best expressed in the writings of John Woolman, who demonstrated the anti-Christian character of the system in words devoid of bitterness and censoriousness. Woolman preached against slavery in Rhode Island in the middle of the century; and the Quakers of that colony started a campaign against the trade and in behalf of abolition in 1774. This religious sect was thus the first in New England to take organized action as a body of Christians. The Quaker agitation touched Connecticut only indirectly, but in time its influence was to be felt.

IV

LESS sensitive to humanitarian promptings, the Puritan conscience did not awaken until the Revolutionary period; but, when opposition to British measures led to the proclamation of John Locke's theories of natural right by great popular leaders such as James Otis, and when these theories were reiterated from the pulpits of New England and scattered widely in pamphlet form, searchings of the heart respecting the righteousness of slavery naturally followed. The more sensitive and intelligent of the clergy could not insist on the right of man to freedom, and at the same time condone slavery; and the fresh Revolutionary breeze swept from the minds of such men as Ezra Stiles the notion that enslavement of the erstwhile heathen was a blessing in disguise. Appeals for emancipation began to be made in the pulpit and in the press.

Theory was reinforced, it must be admitted, by conditions. It had begun to be realized that slaves were unprofitable and a threat to free white labor. The awakening to this economic truth was not peculiar to Connecticut; the failure of the system was widely recognized except in

the far Southern colonies, where it seemed necessary to existence. Moreover, the slave trade had been pursued so zealously that the market was glutted; but it was still one of the favored interests of mercantilism, and colonial protests brought forth the assertion of the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, that "we cannot allow the colonies . . . to discourage . . . a trade so beneficial to the nation."

Enlightened self-interest, then, led many of the colonies to ban the slave trade when the Revolutionary movement reached the point of economic warfare, as well as to join in the non-importation agreement of the First Continental Congress respecting slavery. The leading colony in this movement in congress was not one of the New England group. It was Virginia, where Revolutionary doctrine flourished, and where the unprofitableness of slavery was widely recognized. Connecticut did not take an advanced position, but was simply in line with colonial sentiment when its legislature passed the act of October, 1774, providing that:

no Indian, Negro, or Molatto Slave, shall, at any Time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony, by Sea or Land, from any Place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left, or sold within this Colony.

A fine of one hundred pounds per slave was laid for violation of this act. In the same year Virginia and North Carolina were declaring against the importation of slaves from Africa, the West Indies, or any other part of the world, and by 1778 the trade was under the ban of the law throughout the Middle and Eastern states.

The action of Connecticut in ending the slave trade, like that of the other colonies and of congress, was obviously a product of several motives, among which a

newly-developed humanitarian idealism, a recognition of the unprofitableness of the system, and the desire to coerce the mother country may be discerned.

The scarcity of slaves in the far South caused a renewal of the traffic after the war, but the New England states passed new laws forbidding their citizens to engage in the trade, and providing for the ending of slavery in their territories. The Connecticut laws of 1784 and 1788 registered the state's determination to hasten a process which had already set in. The provision of the act of 1784, which stands as the high-water mark of Connecticut's anti-slavery legislation in the eighteenth century, was as follows:

Whereas sound policy requires that abolition of slavery should be effected as soon as may be, consistant with the right of individuals, and the public safety and welfare. Therefore, Be it enacted, That no negro or molatto child, that shall after the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, be born within this State, shall be held in servitude, longer than until they arrive to the age of twenty-five years, notwithstanding the mother or parent of such child was held in servitude at the time of its birth; but such child, at the age aforesaid, shall be free: any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

In 1797, the age of manumission was placed at twenty-one instead of twenty-five. Thus did Connecticut, in its characteristic manner, seek to wipe the stain of slavery from its soil, and at the same time to avoid confiscation of property. Gradual rather than complete emancipation seemed a safe and sane policy, and was certainly in keeping with the conservative temper so noticeable throughout the state's history.

Emancipation had been greatly accelerated by the war through the use of slaves as substitutes for white men in the Continental army. This was not only authorized by

the general assembly in 1777, but masters were released from liability for the support of slaves freed because of military service. There was a negro company of the Connecticut Line commanded by David Humphreys.

By this time there was little or no likelihood that slavery could have survived in Connecticut, or elsewhere in the North, in any case; but there was danger of the continuance of the sea-borne slave traffic. For many years after this period, New Englanders openly or surreptitiously engaged in the trade. The Rhode Island Quakers were leaders in the fight against it. They worked for a prohibitory law in their own state, and after its enactment were influential in securing the passage of the act of 1788 in Connecticut. This law provided a fine of fifty pounds for each African taken on board a vessel by a Connecticut citizen, and a penalty of five hundred pounds for every vessel engaged in the trade. It also exacted one hundred pounds for forcibly removing a free negro, mulatto, or Indian from the state.

From the time of the passage of these acts, it was recognized that whatever there was left of slavery in Connecticut remained as the vestige of a discredited system. The actual number of slaves in the state had steadily decreased since 1774. Half of the negro population had become free: the first United States census in 1790 recorded 2,759 slaves and 2,801 free negroes in Connecticut.

V

It was natural that the people of Connecticut should assume that what had happened in their state was likely to happen elsewhere, and that it was therefore mischievous to put undue pressure on states where slavery was more deeply intrenched. It might well seem the part of wisdom, in view of the experience of the Middle and Eastern

states, to give each of the remaining slave states ample time to rid itself of the system in its own way.

This appeared to be the view of the matter that influenced the Connecticut representatives, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, and William Samuel Johnson, in the Federal Convention of 1787. When the proposal to tax the importation of slaves, in order to discourage the traffic, was pressed by Luther Martin of Maryland and supported by George Mason of Virginia and John Dickinson of Delaware, who all denounced slavery in the strongest terms, the Connecticut delegates were conciliatory. They wished to appease the representatives from Georgia and South Carolina, who defended slavery and the slave trade with vigor. Sherman had no thought of approving the traffic when he asserted that "it was better to let the Southern States import slaves than to part with those States." He merely expressed an opinion, which must have been widely shared in Connecticut, that slavery was an evil bound to disappear, but which must be endured for a time for the sake of a more effective federal union. Ellsworth emphasized the same point of view in declaring that the "morality and wisdom" of slavery are matters for the states to decide for themselves. Ellsworth, in his desire to compromise, almost went out of his way to support the Southern view. This accommodating spirit of compromise, the level-headed, middle-of-the-road view, the spirit that refuses to become excited over abstract principle, but takes advantage of what seems to be the common-sense realities of the situation, found expression in Sherman's observation "that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several states would probably by degrees complete it." Connecticut was represented on the committee which compromised the matter by William Samuel

Johnson. Luther Martin, also a member of that committee, wrote this significant passage: "I found the *Eastern* States, notwithstanding their *aversion to slavery*, were very willing to indulge the Southern States at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave trade, provided the Southern States would, in their turn, gratify *them*, by laying no restriction on navigation acts. . . ." The compromise guaranteed the preservation of the trade until 1808, but permitted a tax not to exceed ten dollars for each slave imported.

In view of later events, the moderate position taken by the Connecticut delegates may seem to indicate a lack of statesmanlike prescience. Viewing the situation as it appeared at the time to these men, however, there is much to be said for their judgment. They were anxious to cement the Union. Slavery was condemned from all quarters except from the far South. No one at that time could foresee the cotton kingdom of the next century. Moderate men might indeed be excused for deprecating agitation which might endanger the Union at its birth, and for looking forward hopefully to the gradual end of the evil. That there was in the attitude of the Connecticut representatives, however, a certain lack of idealism and a certain spirit of canny Yankee bargaining, it would be idle to deny. At any rate, the view of Connecticut was the view of the convention, for it was the one that prevailed.

As it happened, Georgia and South Carolina, both, within the decade following the adoption of the Constitution, passed laws forbidding the importation of slaves. The wave of terror that spread through the slave states at the news of the Haitian uprising and massacre contributed to this action. The demand for slaves again proved irresistible, however, and South Carolina legalized the African trade in 1803. During the early years under the Constitu-

tion all the states strengthened their laws against importation. In 1792, Connecticut amended the act of 1788. This new act dealt in detail with the transportation of slaves from the state for sale outside the state, and also specifically forbade the importation and sale of Indians.

VI

MANY influences combine to make up public opinion, and no picture of the state in the 1790's would be complete without a reference to the bold and earnest group of early abolitionists that bore an honorable part in laying the foundations of antislavery sentiment. This organized movement, flaring for a few years and then subsiding, must be viewed against the background of the natural social conservatism of the mass of the citizenry. New England Puritans now joined hands with the Quakers, bringing to the cause the denunciatory zeal of converts. Jonathan Edwards, Jr., then pastor of a New Haven church, undoubtedly had in mind the slave owners of his own state as well as those of other states when he spoke these words before the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society in 1791, in as bold tones as Garrison's forty years later: "To hold a man in a state of slavery who has a right to his liberty, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing, and is a greater sin in the sight of God than concubinage or fornication." The Connecticut Society was established in 1790. It sent representatives to the antislavery conventions which met at Philadelphia in 1794 and 1795. In the latter year Edwards prepared the convention's address to South Carolina, reminding the people of that state of the "numerous class of men, existing among you, deprived of their natural rights and forcibly held in bondage," imploring the state to better their lot, and pointing out the debasing effect of the slave

trade on "our citizens," who have become accustomed to contemplate "these people only through the medium of avarice or prejudice."

Prominent in the society's membership were President Ezra Stiles of Yale College, who was its president, Uriah Tracy, twice a delegate to the Philadelphia antislavery conventions, Simeon Baldwin, Theodore Dwight, Chauncey Goodrich, and Ezekiel Williams. One of its first acts was to send a petition to congress which condemned the "whole system of African slavery" in the name of a "large majority of the citizens" of the state, and prayed congress to "prevent, as much as possible, the horrors of the slave-trade, . . . prohibit the citizens of the United States from carrying on the trade, . . . prohibit foreigners from fitting out vessels . . . in the United States for transporting persons from Africa, . . . and alleviate the sufferings of those who are now in slavery, and check the further progress of this inhuman commerce." In 1794 Theodore Dwight delivered an address before the Society at Hartford, which was later published. But neither bold addresses nor earnest petitions deeply affected public opinion at the time. They doubtless contributed to the legal ending of the slave trade, but the theoretical attachment to human rights which the haranguing and pamphleteering of the Revolutionary period had engendered found faint expression during the first third of the nineteenth century. The organized antislavery movement faded out into a quieter and less disturbing manifestation—the colonization movement—which found support in quarters immune to radical antislavery sentiment.

VII

ZEAL for natural right was supplanted in this period by other enthusiasms. The rise of the cotton kingdom, the

growing spirit of nationalism after the War of 1812, and the tremendous geographical and economic expansion of the country contributed to an attitude of tolerance toward slavery. The slave trade became very active between 1820 and 1850, and there is little doubt that Connecticut shipmasters violated the laws of both state and nation in order to share in its gains. Such traders were regarded with aversion, and their activities were discussed in whispers; but the right of the Southern states to conduct their domestic concerns as they saw fit was openly defended by many of the solid citizens of Connecticut. Yet it must be remembered that the excitement over Missouri indicated that the people of Connecticut were deeply concerned lest slavery should spread beyond the borders of the Southern states. Like other Northerners, they could view its presence there with some complacency; but they could not tolerate its spread.

The project of the American Colonization Society to transport free negroes to Africa seemed to many well-intentioned people the most hopeful path to the eventual solution of the problem throughout the nation. It did not assail the motives of slave owners, and it conveyed the impression that the negro was being helped. Religious leaders opposed schemes for negro education on the ground that they would interfere with colonization. Education implied eventual equality, whereas colonization seemed to point toward a future when the country would be entirely rid of the race problem. This state of mind contributed a moral sanction to the determined opposition which met proposals to establish in the state schools for negroes.

Such an institution was projected by a convention of free negroes at Philadelphia in 1831. New Haven seemed to these negroes an ideal community for this enterprise.

The inhabitants of that city thought otherwise, and at the mayor's call met and resolved "that we will resist the establishment of the proposed college by every lawful means," registering themselves as opposed to meddling in the affairs of other states through encouraging emancipation or negro education. It is possible that the scheme would never have materialized in any case, but the action taken by the citizens of New Haven was sufficient to discourage it.

VIII

ANOTHER educational venture which would seem at this distance to be very harmless soon had the whole state by the ears. This affair marked the emergence of the great abolition movement, which was destined to disturb the current of the state's life and thought for many years. The precipitating agency was the Quaker conscience. Operating in a Puritan community it produced a reaction of surprising violence. In this episode, as in the case of the opposition to the New Haven school, the action of some, at least, of the citizens concerned seems to have been predicated upon the belief that the seminary would injure the colonization movement.

Prudence Crandall, a Quakeress, conducted a girls' boarding school at Canterbury. She received into her establishment a colored girl who belonged to the local church and who had attended the district school. Although the girl was a "day scholar" only, this innovation was deeply resented, probably because it carried with it an implication of racial equality. Miss Crandall had been reading Garrison's *Liberator*, and determined to challenge the community's prejudice in a radical way. Encouraged by abolitionist leaders, she opened a school for colored girls only, and brought down upon herself the angry con-

demnation of the town meeting. A committee was appointed to bring her to a more reasonable frame of mind. One of the leaders in this proceeding was Andrew T. Judson, who was shortly afterwards appointed United States district judge. The intrepid young woman was not to be deterred by a resolution, and went ahead with her project. In the spring of 1833, she received colored pupils from the neighboring states, ten to twenty in all; and the outraged community felt obliged to take counsel as to the measures necessary to remove the offensive institution from the village green.

A second town meeting condemned the school as a "rendezvous . . . designed by its projectors . . . to promulgate their disgusting doctrines of amalgamation and their pernicious sentiments of subverting the Union." A petition to the general assembly was drawn up "deprecating the evil consequences of bringing from other states and towns, people of color for any purpose, and more especially for the purpose of disseminating the principles and doctrines opposed to the benevolent colonizing system." The petition found support in other towns, and the legislature was induced to enact a statute designed to outlaw Miss Crandall's school. She defied the unjust law as calmly as she had defied the resolution of the town meeting. The next step for the aroused town authorities was an appeal to the courts. In June, 1833, Miss Crandall was arrested.

Throughout the affair she was advised by officers of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Samuel J. May, a clergyman who in this same year helped to organize both the New Haven and the American antislavery societies, was pastor of the Unitarian church in the neighboring town of Brooklyn. He counseled the young woman in every step she took. Financial aid for her defense in the

courts was obtained from Arthur Tappan, an abolitionist merchant of New York City, who also provided funds to establish a paper to exploit the case in the interest of "the cause of the whole oppressed race." This paper, the *Unionist*, was edited by Charles C. Burleigh of Plainfield.

The case was shrewdly exploited by the abolitionists for the furtherance of their cause. Their tactical skill appeared in their decision to decline to furnish bail. This threw on the prosecution the responsibility for lodging Miss Crandall in a cell that had been occupied by felons. Since her offense was the possession of an unusually sensitive conscience and the courage to obey its dictates, in the long run, public sympathy was bound to be touched. After one night of imprisonment, bail bonds were produced; but one night was amply sufficient for the desired effect, and the picture of a young Quakeress in a cell must have been worth more to the abolitionist cause than many pages of argument.

The case was carried through the courts of the state. Miss Crandall's lawyers fought the constitutionality of the law. Finally, a year after her arrest, after one jury had disagreed and another had brought in a verdict against her, the supreme court of errors decided in her favor on the ground of "insufficiency of evidence," avoiding the question of constitutionality. The state's sober second thought is revealed in the repeal of the law within five years.

After failure in the courts, the exasperated citizens of Canterbury resorted to violence. In September, a night attack on her house rendered it uninhabitable, and Miss Crandall at last gave way. May, writing of the final event in his *Memoirs*, said: "I felt ashamed of Connecticut, ashamed of my State, ashamed of my country, ashamed of my color."

Whatever may have been the feeling of individual

citizens, the town of Canterbury was not ashamed, if its official record may be believed. It put a period to the episode by resolving "that the Government of the United States, the nation with all its institutions, of right belong to the white man, who now possess them; . . . that our appeal to the Legislature of our own State, in a case of such peculiar mischief, was not only due to ourselves, but to the obligations devolving upon us under the Constitution. To have been silent would have been participating in the wrongs intended. . . . We rejoice that the appeal was not in vain."

IX

IN the Crandall case, abolitionists contended against advocates of colonization and against others who were moved by a spirit of social conservatism or by racial prejudice. This case furnished the antislavery group with a convenient springboard to launch their agitation in the state. It was natural that many sober-minded people looked upon them as trouble makers. A New Haven town meeting in the year 1835, which was dignified by the presence of Noah Webster as one of its officers, indicated the attitude of the average solid citizen. Responding to resolutions from Charleston, South Carolina, which condemned abolitionist propaganda, this gathering heartily seconded the Charleston resolutions and quoted with approval a report rendered by a congressional committee forty-five years before, to the effect that congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the states. This conservative body also quoted from an old letter written by Oliver Wolcott. "I wish," Wolcott had written, "that Congress would prefer the white people of this country to the black. After they have taken care of the former, they may amuse themselves with the other people." Coloniza-

tion was commended by the same gathering in another resolution.

During the same year a meeting at Hartford condemned the abolitionist literature as "inflammatory" and a danger to the "confederacy." In Middletown, Willbur Fisk, Wesleyan's first president, shared this opinion. He favored "freedom to the slave," but the methods of the "ultra-abolitionists" were offensive to him. The general annoyance which the agitators caused at the time brought rebuke upon them from the Norwich town meeting, which denied them the use of the town hall, and from the ministers of Litchfield county, who denounced the Quakeress, Abby Kelley, then drawing people to the antislavery cause in that part of the state, as "that woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetess to teach and seduce my servants."

The movement spread, however, in the years following the Crandall case, and with it discussion that rose to violent pitch, followed at times by actions which suited the words. It differed from the antislavery movement of the 1790's in its insistence on immediate and absolute abolition of slavery. In Guilford the church split over the issue. The Farmington church was torn by dissension. The Litchfield County Anti-Slavery Society was greeted by mob violence when the first attempt to organize was made, but prospered and became a vigorous propagandizing agency in spite of all opposition. In 1836 the state organization launched an organ, the *Christian freeman*. By that year the movement had attained sufficient vigor to issue many pamphlets on slavery.

It is apparent that sentiment in Connecticut during the first third of the nineteenth century was in general opposed to agitating the slavery issue; it was not favorable to the establishment of negro schools; but it was in

sympathy with non-contentious expressions of good-will toward the negro, such as the colonization idea. At the same time, the people of the state had no wish to perpetuate the system within their borders. This is shown in a clear light in the disposition of cases involving negroes that came before the courts.

Again and again, from the Revolution until the legal end of slavery in the state, the Connecticut judiciary by its decisions indicated its repugnance toward the system. The judges were inclined to interpret the law liberally, and preferred to give freedom the benefit of the doubt. When a certain master claimed a slave who had served with the owner's consent through the Revolution, the court held that service in the Continental army amounted to manumission. In another case, a negro was declared free on the basis of a mere verbal promise of his mistress, given years before, in spite of the fact that he had subsequently been sold. Timothy Caesar, owned by a citizen of Mansfield, was declared not a slave on the ground that his mother, an Indian, was a free woman. A case decided in 1817 had an important bearing on the law of 1784.¹ At the age of twenty-five, Fanny Libbett had been given her freedom under the terms of that law. The town of Windsor later sued the town of Hartford for her support. In its decision the court held that she had never been a slave, but that her status had been that of an apprentice, as she was born after the passage of the act. Another support case, in 1839, brought out the declaration that an emancipated slave was "entitled to all the rights . . . of other free citizens," including the important right to acquire "a new place of settlement."

One of the most significant cases involving the law of

¹ It is not clear why this action was based on the law of 1784, rather than on the law of 1797 which had amended it. See p. 13, above.

slavery was that of *Nancy Jackson vs. Bulloch*. The decision, which was a close one, was rendered by the state supreme court in 1837. Suit was brought in behalf of a slave born in Georgia against her owner, J. S. Bulloch of that state, who had taken up a temporary residence in Hartford for the sake of his children's schooling. Bulloch spent the winter months in Georgia, leaving Nancy in Hartford with his family. The court declared her free, giving her the benefit of every doubtful point in the law. It was contended that the statutes of 1774 and 1784 "were designed to terminate slavery in Connecticut. . . . The former was intended to weaken the system; the latter to destroy it." The act of 1774 had provided that no slave could be "left" in the state. Bulloch's winter residence in Georgia gave the court an opportunity to apply the term "left" to Nancy. As for the law of 1784,² with its provision that all slaves "born within the State" should be free at twenty-five years of age, it was held that citizens of other states could not claim privileges denied citizens of Connecticut. The court not only bent the law to serve the purposes of freedom; it took high ground against slavery as a system and asserted natural human right, declaring "that every human being has a right to liberty, as well as to life and property, and to enjoy the fruit of his own labor; that slavery is contrary to the principles of natural right and to the great law of love; that it is founded on injustice and fraud and can be supported only by the provisions of positive law." With this noble and sweeping declaration of the state's highest court slavery all but came to an end in Connecticut.

² See footnote 1.

X

THIS important case was soon followed by a strange and thrilling episode which engaged the sympathies of many people of the state in behalf of a band of captive negroes. In the spring of 1839, a slaver, the *Amistad*, took a cargo of slaves from Africa to Havana, in violation of the Spanish law. There, more than two score were bought by two Cubans, who re-embarked on the *Amistad* with them, and sailed for Puerto Principe. Among the captives was an organizing genius whom we know as Joseph Cinquez. Under his leadership, the Africans took over the ship, killed the captain, and forced the two Cubans to navigate the vessel for them, proposing to sail back to Africa. The two white men steered eastward by day, and by night brought the ship back toward the American coast. After weeks of this sort of thing, the ship anchored off the eastern end of Long Island. A United States brig took charge of the vessel, and conveyed it to New London, where a hearing was conducted on board the ship before United States District Judge Andrew T. Judson, who had figured prominently in the prosecution of Prudence Crandall. This occurred in the latter part of August, 1839. The negroes were taken to New Haven and there lodged in jail. Claims and counterclaims for the vessel and its cargo were made. Both the Spanish minister and the American state department seemed more bent on delivering the Africans up to the vengeance of the Cuban courts than on inquiring into the legality of their status.

The cause of the negroes was taken up by a group of antislavery men in New York, who employed counsel and prepared to fight the case through to a finish. The following January, Judge Judson, presiding over the district court at New Haven, declared that the point that

the negroes were not subjects of Spain but native Africans was clearly proved, and that they should be transported to Africa. Forsyth, Van Buren's secretary of state, eager to please the proslavery interest, ordered the district attorney to appeal the case. Justice Thompson, presiding over the circuit court, affirmed the decision, leaving the final disposition of the prisoners to the supreme court of the United States.

John Quincy Adams was now brought into the case. In November, 1840, he went to New Haven, made the acquaintance of the prisoners, and conferred with their attorney, Roger Sherman Baldwin, later governor of the state. His sympathies were thoroughly aroused by their predicament, and he devoted himself to their cause without reservation.

A few years before, the people of a small Connecticut community had roused themselves to frenzy because of the presence of a few unwanted negro girls from neighboring states. The plight of the *Amistad* captives evoked emotions of quite another sort. They were visited, fed, and clothed. They were given instruction in English and taught to read and write. The opportunity for Christianization was utilized so effectively that from this band of negroes there later developed a Christian mission in their native district. The very ringleader of the prosecution of Prudence Crandall, Judge Judson, declared that they were free men and should be returned to Africa.

When the case was heard before the supreme court in February, 1841, John Quincy Adams and Roger Sherman Baldwin appeared in the prisoners' behalf. The two counselors felt that they were pitting themselves against great odds. According to Adams, "an immense array of power—the Executive Administration, instigated by the minister of a foreign nation, has been brought to bear in

this case on the side of injustice." Justice, supported by undeniable facts and able reasoning, was of weight in the federal courts if not in the executive department. The opinion of the court, pronounced by Justice Story, affirmed the decision of the circuit court except that part of it which delivered the negroes to the custody of the president to be transported to Africa. They were declared free unconditionally, were taken by their friends to Farmington, Connecticut, and in November they sailed for Africa.

XI

FROM this time until the Civil War, antislavery sentiment mounted in the state, and at each succeeding crisis Connecticut took a more advanced position in behalf of freedom. The general assembly, in resolutions adopted in 1838, took its stand for the right of petition, then denied by the slave power in congress, and against the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the annexation of Texas. Moreover, the state, by this time, was so thoroughly opposed in sentiment to the pretensions of the Southern states that, at the same session of the legislature, an act obstructing the operation of the United States fugitive slave law of 1793 was passed. This law gave the accused negro the right of trial by jury, and obliged the claimant to pay costs and damages in case of failure to prove his claim. During the 1840's, the antislavery vote steadily mounted from less than two hundred for Birney in 1840 to five thousand for Van Buren in 1848. In 1844, the general assembly put another obstacle in the way of slave owners seeking their property in Connecticut by passing an act forbidding judges or other officers of the state to issue warrants for the arrest or detention of fugitives.

The formal end of slavery in Connecticut, strangely enough, was not consummated until 1848. In that year

the legislature passed the final act against the system, providing that no person should thereafter be held in slavery in the state, and that no slave might be brought into Connecticut. At this time the number of slaves had dwindled to a dozen or so elderly negroes, and the act humanely protected these helpless people by providing that emancipated slaves must be supported by their masters. It is obvious that this law was not essential to the extinction of slavery in the state, but Connecticut, having now removed the evil forever from its own jurisdiction, could more consistently oppose acts of the Federal Government and of other states offensive to the sentiment of its people.

In the 1850's, sentiment turned more and more decisively to the antislavery side. In 1854, the anti-Nebraska candidate for governor received nearly twenty thousand votes. Two years later, Frémont captured the state, which was also to give its vote to Lincoln in 1860. The federal fugitive slave act of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 had borne fruit in a new political alignment in Connecticut, as elsewhere in the North. Like other Northern states, Connecticut gave emphatic utterance to its conviction in its "personal liberty" act of 1854. There were still conservatives, such as the Reverend Nathaniel W. Taylor, who urged patience and sought to present the Southern point of view in a favorable light; but the state was now committed to a definitely antislavery bias and sympathized with the declaration of John Boyd, that "desperate diseases require desperate remedies." The act was, in fact, a bold defiance of the Federal Government, and although defended by David C. Sanford and William T. Minor³ as constitutional, it effectually nullified the

³ Boyd was president *pro tempore* of the state senate; Sanford and Minor were state senators; Sanford was soon chosen judge of the superior court, and Minor was shortly elected governor.

fugitive slave law by providing a five-thousand-dollar fine and five years imprisonment for falsely representing a free person to be a slave and by requiring the testimony of two credible witnesses, or its equivalent, to prove a claim to a negro.

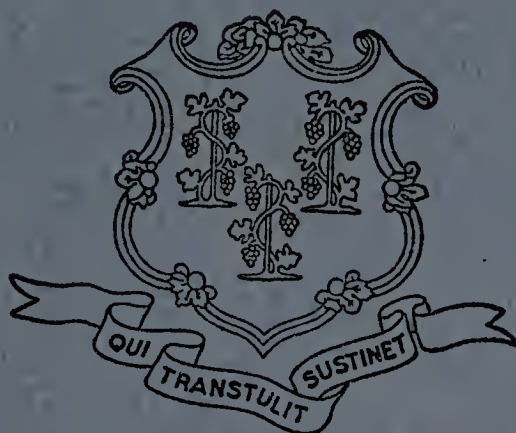
The final act passed by the legislature on the subject of slavery was directed against the Dred Scott decision. This law, adopted in 1857, declared that any slave not a fugitive from another state, "coming into this State, or being therein, shall forthwith become and be free." Henceforth the views and actions of Connecticut with reference to slavery were no longer concerns of state interest, but became completely absorbed in national issues and federal policy.

In the course of a century a complete revolution had occurred in the sentiment of the people of Connecticut. An atmosphere tolerant of slavery had by degrees been changed to an atmosphere wholly intolerant of the system. Its economic unprofitableness, the liberal philosophy of the Revolutionary period, and the growth of humanitarian idealism contributed to the change; but these factors alone cannot be held wholly accountable. The western world as a whole had advanced in its thinking in regard to slavery, and Connecticut moved with the general progress of civilization. It is to the credit of the state that even at the height of slavery, at a time when common opinion sanctioned it, the system as it existed in Connecticut took a mild form, that slaves were protected by the law, and that masters were conscientiously concerned respecting the welfare of their bondmen.

Bibliographical Note

THIS brief account of slavery in Connecticut is based chiefly on two works: Bernard C. Steiner, *History of slavery in Connecticut* (Johns Hopkins University studies, vol. 11, pp. 371-454, Baltimore, 1893); and William C. Fowler, *The historical status of the negro in Connecticut* ([Dawson's] *Historical magazine*, third series, vol. 3, January, 1874-April, 1875, later reprinted). Mention should be made also of Lorenzo J. Greene, "Slave-holding New England and its awakening" (*Journal of negro history*, vol. 13, pp. 492-533, October, 1928); and of William E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African slave-trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Harvard historical studies, vol. 1, New York, 1896).

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Mother Towns of Connecticut*

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*Farmington, One of the
Mother Towns of Connecticut*

QUINCY BLAKELY

I

IN 1639, about three or four years after the settlement of Hartford, some of its inhabitants, with others from Windsor and Wethersfield, petitioned the general court for "some enlargement of accommodation." Manifestly it was not overcrowding which led to this action so much as it was that desire to possess more land which was so widely characteristic of the early settlers and continued to be so throughout the entire settlement of America. Undoubtedly some of the Hartford men had pushed through the pass between the mountains to the west and had seen the beautiful valley of the Tunxis spread out before them with its broad and fertile meadows, and had marked it as a goodly land in which to settle. At any rate the court ordered on January 16, 1640, that a committee should "as soone as with any conveniency may be, view those parts of Vnxus Sepus which may be suitable for those purposes and make report of their doings to the Court wch is adiorned for that end

to the 20th of Febr. att 10 of the clocke in the morning." At that meeting the committee was unprepared to report, because the weather had been unsuitable for making the required trip of inspection. Some time soon this must have been accomplished and a favorable report made, for at the session of the court on June 15, 1640, the matter was again brought up and referred to the particular court with the order to "conclude the conditions for the planting of Tunxis," and the settlement was begun.

The territory set apart for this settlement was that occupied by the Tunxis Indians, a small tribe tributary to the Suckiaugs, from whose chief, Sunckquasson, the land had been acquired. The purchase was afterward confirmed by the Tunxis Indians themselves, to their complete satisfaction, in two agreements, one in 1650 and one in 1673, with added terms of purchase. For more than a century the Indians continued to live in Farmington with headquarters at the bend of the Farmington river still known as Indian Neck, and the friendly relations established at the beginning were always maintained. Some provision was made for their schooling, seats were set apart for them in the meeting house, and the names of some are on the ancient church roll. As the forests were cut down and game became scarce, most of the tribe moved, first to Stockbridge and afterward to Brothertown, New York. A few remained in Farmington until in 1820 the last survivor died. A monument in their memory stands in the Farmington cemetery, on a spot which probably was once their burying ground, overlooking the river where they kept their canoes and the region beyond where were their hunting grounds.

How many settlers came from Hartford to the Tunxis valley that first year of 1640 is not known, nor how rapidly their numbers increased, but by 1645 there were

enough to apply to the general court for incorporation as a town, which application was granted on December 1, 1645, and the name was changed to Farmington.

The boundaries of the township in the beginning extended from Simsbury—then called Massaco—on the north, to what is now Wallingford on the south, and from Hartford and Wethersfield on the east to the present Harwinton and Waterbury on the west. The site of the original settlement in 1640 was where the village of Farmington now is. When the first settlers came they followed the path through the notch of the mountains where the road runs today, until they came to the river. Then according to the customary procedure they laid out the main street, on each side of which their houses were to be built. House lots of five acres each were surveyed and apportioned from the point where the street began, as far south as the original meeting house lot, just below Hatters Lane. These lots were narrow, rectangular in shape, extending from the mountain to the river, and divided by the main street. The lots below this point were of varying size. As new settlers came they either purchased lots or were granted them as a gift by the town. It was not long before the settlers wanted more land than was contained in their home lots. Accordingly the proprietors—as those were called who had contributed the money for the purchase of the land from the Indians and to whom the first lots had been apportioned—joined in dividing among themselves some of the outlying land into lots of varying size proportionate to the amount of money which each had put in. The meadows west of the river were so divided and the whole was enclosed by a strong fence and deep ditch—remains of the latter may still be traced. No fences separated the different lots and after the crops were gathered the whole section was used for common

pasturage, the town voting annually as to what day in the fall it should be opened for such use and on what day in the spring all flocks and herds must be removed.

What organization existed for the conduct of common affairs before the incorporation of the town in 1645 other than that of the proprietors is not known. This group, made up of the original landowners and of those to whom they sold land, exerted a very large and somewhat arbitrary control in the settlement. The fact that some of these proprietors did not take up their land in person, but continued to live in the older and larger communities was a source of irritation and occasional dispute in Farmington as in other Connecticut towns. In 1672 the proprietors numbered eighty-four, and in that year, although the general court in 1639 had provided that the towns should have the power to dispose of all undivided lands within their boundaries, the proprietors assumed this right. They of course constituted a large majority of the voters of the town and there appears to have been no opposition to the procedure which was in accord with the following plan. A tract of land about eight miles from north to south and four miles from east to west, which included the village and the meadows across the river, was set off as "reserved land," and such part of this as had not been taken up, they agreed should be reserved for uses of the town, "for town commons, home lots, pastures and pitches, convenient for all the inhabitants," to be under the control of the town and apportioned as the town should determine. All land of the township outside the boundaries of this reserved tract, the eighty-four proprietors then divided among themselves in proportion to the amount of property which each one was assessed for taxation—with a double portion for Samuel Hooker, the minister of the church—and various other increases

according to the estate and standing of the proprietors. Each one had allotments in the different sections of the town, the method of division being most intricate.

This was largely a paper transaction at first, as the surveys were not completed until 1728 when many of the proprietors were dead, but these surveys constitute the basis of all the titles to land within the towns that have come out of the original township of Farmington. In 1685 on application to the general court a patent was granted confirming in legal phrase, to the proprietors of the town, the tract originally granted in 1645. The object of this proceeding was to give the town a title that would stand the test of English law, in order to prevent Sir Edmund Andros from seizing ungranted lands and controlling their distribution. As events turned out, such patent was not needed, since Andros during the brief period of his administration never attempted to meddle with the lands of Connecticut as he did with those of Massachusetts. The proprietors did not, however, as a group continue to exercise political control in town affairs, and references to them grow less and less frequent, though as individuals they were long the leading and most influential citizens of the town.

When the settlement was incorporated as a town in 1645 the article of incorporation given by the general court provided that "the said plantation are to attend the generall Orders formerly made by this Court, settled by the Committee to whom the same was referred, and other occations, as the rest of the Plantations uppon the River doe. . . . They also are to have the like libertyes as the other Townes uppon the River, for making Orders among themselves, provided they alter not any fundamental agreements settled by the said Committee, hitherto attended." The town therefore was given its place with

Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, the three original towns of the Connecticut colony, with like powers and privileges.

The Fundamental Orders which these three towns had adopted in January, 1639, and which with some amendment were embodied in the charter granted by Charles II in 1662, made certain general provisions relative to town organization. More explicit definitions of the powers and duties of the towns were contained in an act of the general court adopted in October of the same year, 1639. These included the authority already referred to, to dispose of the undivided lands within the town boundaries, to make regulations concerning the traffic in commodities among themselves, to choose their own officers, to make such orders as might be for the benefit of their own town so far as they were not repugnant to any law established by the court, and to impose penalties for the breach of the same. Each town was authorized by this act to choose annually "3, 5 or 7 of their cheefe Inhabitants" to be townsmen, or as they were later called, selectmen. These were to be, as they have continued to be, the chief officials of the town. The act required that each town should choose a "Town Clerke or Register" who should keep the land records, also records of deaths of those possessed of any estate and the inventory of the same. The most distinctive feature of the town organization was the town meeting, at which the right to vote belonged to all admitted inhabitants who had been or in the future should be admitted as inhabitants of the town by a majority vote of the town meeting. As a rule all who applied, if they were believed to be "honest and of good conversation," were admitted. There was no requirement of church membership as a condition of suffrage in Farmington or in any of the towns of the Connecticut colony, though there was

the requirement that all taking part in affairs should be Trinitarians.

The early records of Farmington, as in the case of many towns, are very meager and incomplete. The "Ould Book," covering the first forty years evidently became worn out and in time fell to pieces and was destroyed. A new book was started in 1682 into which entries of the old book that were deemed of most importance were copied. A fully recorded meeting held in 1683 indicates what officials the town had and the business which occupied them. The officials elected annually included a constable—a functionary treated with great respect and obeyed implicitly—three townsmen, four fence viewers, two surveyors of highway, two chimney viewers (officials who were indispensable in the early years, as the chimneys were made of wood lined with clay), six rate makers, a brander and recorder of horses. A significant vote passed at this meeting was that the North Lane have a school and a committee of three was elected to serve with the selectmen in procuring a schoolmaster. A number of further votes at this meeting granted lots to newcomers from the reserved lands which the eighty-four proprietors had left in the control of the town after the grand division of 1672.

The record of this typical meeting shows the town functioning as a free and independent community, governing itself in local matters without outside interference, a member of the enlarging group of towns united under the Charter which had been granted for their legal protection and their orderly development. Each year the town sent its representatives to the general court or general assembly, as it came to be called, which passed legislation relating to the matters of common concern over which it had been accorded the supreme authority.

In a few years enough settlers had come and were sufficiently established to be able to plan for a church. On October 13, 1652, "seven godly men" met and without direction or aid of any ecclesiastical authority over them, organized themselves into the First Church of Christ in Farmington, and chose Roger Newton, one of their own number, to be their minister. It was probably some years before the people felt able to build a meeting house, the first reference to one being in 1672. Services were held in different homes, but finally the rude structure of logs was erected which was to be the place of meeting not only for worship but for the conduct of the town's business and, moreover, it could be used as a fort to which they might flee in time of danger. There was no bell to call the people together until 1731, so for more than seventy-five years that function was performed by a drummer, going about the village summoning the people by beat of drum. An armed guard of eight men stood by the door until all the people were in, then came inside and sat near the door to be ready in case of need. The first minister, Roger Newton, was a young man who had been educated at Harvard and also had studied under Thomas Hooker, whose daughter he married. He remained in Farmington but five years. His successor was Samuel Hooker, the son of Thomas Hooker, who came in 1661 and remained for thirty-six years, until his death in 1697. He was followed, after an interim of nine years, by Samuel Whitman who had an even longer pastorate of forty-five years. The influence of these three men during that first century was plainly very great. The minister was not only the spiritual leader with an authority accorded him because of his position, but he was also the best educated man in the community, with the authority that learning gives.

Next to the church, in the interest and concern of

Farmington as of all the other towns, ranked the school. Because of the incompleteness of the records for the first forty years, the date of the first school is not known, but as far back as the records go it appears that the support of the school was annually provided for by the town. In 1682 it was "voted that the town should give ten pounds toward the maintenance of a school for the year and there was chosen a committee for to agree with a man to teach the children as shall be sent." In 1685 the vote was "to give thirty pounds for a man to teach school for one year, provided they can have a man so accomplished as to teach children to read and write and to teach the grammar and also to step into the pulpit to be helpful there in time of exigency." The records continue to show a concern for the schools and provision for their maintenance. Thus in a very simple, elemental way through church and school these pioneers laid the foundation of an intelligent, self-respecting, worthy life, upon which they built not alone for that day but for the years to follow.

It is difficult at present to imagine the isolation of the life of those early years. One heard of what was happening in the world outside only through someone coming from that outside world, or through an occasional letter brought in the same way. The first newspaper of continuous life to be published in New England was the *Boston news letter*, established in 1704. When at rare intervals a copy of this paper reached the village it must have been an event. It was sixty years later that the *Connecticut courant* was established in Hartford as a weekly paper and even this, with its meager gathering of news, could not be had regularly, as there were no means by which it could be sent. If one wanted to communicate with anyone outside the town, the only way was by going oneself on foot, or on horseback, or by sending a messenger. A post office was

not established in Farmington until 1799—one hundred and fifty-nine years after the town's settlement. For over a hundred years heavy farm wagons and ox carts were the only vehicles that went over the rough roads. When Timothy Pitkin, the minister of the church, went to New Haven in 1753 to marry the daughter of President Clap of Yale, he brought his bride home in what was called "a sort of phaeton or four-wheeled carriage." It was the first carriage that had been seen in the town. Travel under these conditions was not easy. When Parson Wadsworth of the First Church in Hartford rode to Farmington to see his friends and relations, he made such entries as this in his diary (1737-1747): "Went to Farmington and by the good hand of my God upon me I returned home safe." It was not until the post office was established in 1799 that a stage drawn by two horses began running from Hartford, bringing mail. Soon after this other lines were started, but during all the earlier period travel had been so difficult that people for the most part stayed at home.

Being thus isolated from the rest of the world Farmington folk of necessity lived almost a self-contained life, thrown on their own resources, their own ingenuity and industry. Their primary needs of food, clothing, and shelter they were able to meet without great difficulty, but with hard and confining toil. They raised their wheat and corn, their oats and barley, and at an early date they had a grist mill to grind their grain. They had cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowl for meat, with an abundance of game in the woods and fish in the streams. For clothing they raised flax and their sheep furnished them wool. A spinning wheel was in every home and every housewife knew how to spin. Not all had looms or knew how to use them, but some had become proficient in the art of weaving and there were enough to furnish sufficient cloth of

linen and wool to supply the needs of the small community. This cloth the resourceful housewives were able to fashion into clothes. As desire grew for better-fitting garments with more of style and comfort, at least one professional tailor, Thomas Porter by name, had established himself as early as 1697. In addition to wool and flax they also had the skins of animals which they used to great advantage in making fur and leather garments for winter. Hides also furnished them with leather for boots and shoes.

As for houses, the first were built of logs, though simple frame houses were erected at an early date. A sawmill had been set up by 1650 on the brook which flows down Diamond Glen. The oldest dwelling in the village, still used and in a fine state of preservation, is that known as the Whitman house on High Street, which was built about 1660. It has a second story overhang with four drops or pendants. It has never been painted but has the effective gray coloring which time and weather have given it. A second example of the early architecture is the one long known as the Chauncey Deming house, opposite the church, built in 1747. These are fine examples of the building skill of those early settlers. Doubtless most of the houses of that first hundred years were of a much plainer and cruder type. How little money the people had and how difficult it was to take on any added expense is indicated by the fact that when in 1709 it was voted to build a new meeting house to take the place of the log structure first built, it took five years to complete the small plain building.

With such scanty means and with the hard labor required to secure even the bare necessities of life, the people had little time or opportunity for recreation. Such as the young people of Farmington and other towns had

in those early years was of their own making and so their initiative and resourcefulness were developed. The early records show that wrestling was much in vogue, and in this the Indian boys joined the settlers. Ball games were also popular and presumably at the games, on holidays and election days, there were plenty of interested spectators of both sexes. There was not time or place or opportunity for much formal social activity, and the restrictions placed about the young are evidenced by the establishment of the curfew, probably as early as 1731, when a bell was first secured and hung in the cupola of the small meeting house. Perhaps the chief gathering for pleasure, for a long time, was furnished by the singing school which was largely attended and afforded a popular pastime for old and young, although of course the primary intent was to improve the singing at church.

The chief community interest was in the church. Except for holidays, election days, and training days, the only gathering of all the people was at the church services on Sunday. It was through the seating in church that one's status in the community was registered, the rank being determined by a seating committee made up of leading citizens, elected by the society, who according to a vote of the society in 1716, "shall have respect to age, office and estate, so far as it tendeth to make a man respectable and to everything else which hath the same tendency." One imagines that some of the jealousies and bitter feelings and dissensions which were all too frequent in the church, were the result of this arbitrary and undemocratic method of telling people where they should sit. Yet all went to church. If one failed in so doing he was a marked and conspicuous figure and was made to feel very plainly the disapprobation of the community. For example, Seth North, who disregarded this sentiment

and regularly absented himself from church, was always referred to as "Sinner North." To most people, going to church was not only a matter of conviction but of desire. It not only answered their need of worship, but it furnished the chief opportunity for social intercourse.

One cannot understand these early settlers of Farmington—and of all New England—without taking into account the central place which the church occupied in their lives. It alone kept their isolation from being intolerable. But not even that kept them from some of the unfortunate consequences which almost inevitably attend life lived in narrow confines, with the constant repetition of small concerns and irritations, without any of the relief which outside contacts give. It is not strange that the records of those years should contain so many accounts of petty quarrels brought before the church for settlement and discipline, and so many instances of the failure of members to agree among themselves in matters affecting the common welfare. In 1673, following dissensions within the church, which are described at length in the records of the years 1668 to 1673, twenty-six citizens of Farmington petitioned the general court for the establishment of a plantation at Mattatuck, now Waterbury, and so because they could not live together peaceably, the small community was divided and a considerable number went off to live in a new settlement. Another marked instance of their failure to live harmoniously was their inability to unite in securing a successor to Samuel Hooker, the second minister of the church, after his death in 1697. For nine years they were unable to come to any agreement until finally, incredible as it seems, they applied to the general court to appoint a committee from the parishes of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield to secure a minister for them. A committee of six was ap-

pointed, two from each parish, with the result that Samuel Whitman was secured, who ably served the church for forty-five years.

The wonder, however, is not that these men and women were sometimes narrow and petty and intolerant, but that living in such complete isolation, with so few interests, under such stern and hard conditions, with so little to lighten life, so little that was inspiriting, they should yet maintain such integrity, such high purpose and ambition, and should pass on undiminished the traditions and the dreams, the hopes and the faith with which they had come to this new land.

II

By the beginning of its second hundred years Farmington's population had increased to such an extent that new settlements were started in different parts of the large township on land which the eighty-four proprietors had divided among themselves in 1672, and which was gradually surveyed and set off. One of the first of these settlements was in a region to the southeast, pleasantly referred to as "the Great Swamp," though the actual place of settlement was called Christian Lane. On this spot, which was so far removed from any other settlement that there was fear of attack from roving Indians, was erected the Seymour Fort, named after the leader of the group. This was an enclosure or palisade within which were constructed the cabins of the settlers. In 1705, though there were only fourteen families in the little community, the distance from the church in Farmington was so great that the general assembly allowed it to be set off as the Great Swamp Society, to have a minister, and to take the name of Kensington. By 1754 the number of inhabitants had so increased and enlarged their borders, that the parish

of Kensington was divided and a part of it was included in the new society of New Britain. In 1772 Kensington was again divided and the third parish was called Worthington. Ultimately out of the land included in these three parishes, with some rearrangement of boundaries, the towns of New Britain and Berlin were established.

A second group had gone into the southern part of the town, where Southington is now. The region had been divided into lots in 1722 and about 1724 permission was given to form an ecclesiastical society. This was incorporated as a town in 1779. The early settlers here also, because of their remoteness, feared possible attack from Indians and constructed a rude fort and fortified some of their dwellings.

The next region to be occupied was that known as "the Western Woods." For nearly a century the western area of Farmington had been an unbroken forest. It was a full century before anyone settled within the present boundaries of Burlington, but the region to the south, which is now Bristol, had been surveyed by the proprietors in 1721 and divided into five tiers of lots a mile in width, including highways fifteen rods wide. The settlement was begun in 1727 by six families. These people attended church in Farmington until 1742 when they were given what were called winter privileges. This meant that during the rigorous winter months they were permitted to have services among themselves. In 1744 they were incorporated as a society under the name of New Cambridge, which was five miles square. The first settlement in what is now Burlington was in 1740. It was set off as a society in 1774 and was named West Britain. In 1785 West Britain and New Cambridge were united and incorporated as the town of Bristol, but in 1806 West Britain was separated and received the name of Burlington.

Settlement toward the north increased gradually through the region called Nod or Nod's Land, until about 1750 the society of Northington was set off. A church was formed in 1751 but not until 1830 was the town incorporated and the name changed to Avon. An ecclesiastical society was formed in Plainville in 1839 and the town was incorporated in 1869. In Unionville a society was established in 1839. Unionville, however, has remained a part of the township of Farmington as an incorporated borough.

In this way Farmington, like other large townships of Connecticut, as the population expanded, was divided into church parishes which later became towns. The members of the different parishes met by themselves to vote on church and school matters, but all assembled at the Farmington meeting house to transact town business. Thus Farmington became a center for a number of growing settlements. Even after these settlements became towns their inhabitants came often to the mother town because of their friends and associations and also for trade at the stores and the little shops where were manufactured shoes and hats and clothes and the utensils used in the homes and on the farms.

Farmington in consequence became prosperous. The shops increased their output, the stores began to import more goods, and the people came to enjoy more of the conveniences and luxuries of life. The rigors of the earlier days were diminished and living became easier and more comfortable. Evidence of increasing prosperity is to be seen in the better houses which were being built. Farmington was fortunate at this time in having Judah Woodruff as the village carpenter. To him and to Colonel Fisher Gay is the chief credit due for the present meeting house built in 1771. These two men, as a committee of the society, went to Boston to select the lumber for the build-



© Samuel Chamberlain. Courtesy of "The American Scene."

CONGREGATIONAL MEETING HOUSE, FARMINGTON

BUILT 1771





WHITMAN HOUSE, HIGH STREET, FARMINGTON
BUILT ABOUT 1660

ing that they might get that which was perfect, and anyone who looks about the church today can see how well they chose. The handmade cedar shingles on its roof lasted one hundred and twenty-eight years. Judah Woodruff was the architect as well as builder of the church and the result of his labor has won the admiration of all who appreciate the beautiful in colonial church architecture. The spire in particular has been accorded by many the distinction of being the most beautiful in New England. There are about a dozen houses still standing and in excellent condition which were designed and built by this master workman in the period just preceding and following the Revolution. These houses, while not as elaborate or as fine as some which followed, have given character and dignity to the village and still show the marked progress in its development at that time.

Changes in the life and character of the people were also taking place. Undoubtedly Farmington had felt the influence of the quickened religious activity known as the Great Awakening¹ which extended throughout New England. This had begun with the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in Northampton and later its central figure was George Whitfield, the eloquent and stirring young preacher who had come from England in 1740. Samuel Whitman, then the minister in Farmington, was evidently suspicious of Whitfield's emotionalism and unconventional methods and held aloof, but Timothy Pitkin, who succeeded Mr. Whitman in 1752, was most cordial to the movement and brought Whitfield to Farmington. There is no record of any tangible results of this, but it is plain that there was developing a broader culture with wider contacts, interests, and activities.

¹ See Mary H. Mitchell, *The Great Awakening and other revivals in the religious life of Connecticut* (Pamphlet XXVI in this series).

There is evidence too of a new sense of unity among the colonies in their common adventure and in their hopes and ambitions for this land which had become their home, and a readiness to do their part toward securing the rights and liberties of all. When the news came to Farmington in June, 1774, of the act of parliament blocking the port of Boston, a meeting of citizens, which filled the meeting house to overflowing, passed vigorous resolutions which condemned the act and called for determined resistance. In addition to the resolutions, a committee of thirty-four of the leading citizens was appointed to collect and send provisions for the relief of the people of Boston. That was the spirit of Farmington as the Revolution began. At the first summons, a company was raised by Fisher Gay, who afterwards became colonel of a regiment of Connecticut troops which served under Washington. Three companies from Farmington were in action against Burgoyne and nearly all the able-bodied men of the village saw service at one time or another.

One of the picturesque incidents of the war years, which was long remembered and which has recently been commemorated, was the coming to Farmington of General Rochambeau with his army of six thousand brilliantly uniformed French soldiers. Four detachments on four successive days marched into the town and camped for the night on the plain just south of the village. Great numbers visited the camp and many were the stories told of Farmington young ladies dancing in the moonlight with French officers. That was in June, 1781. In October of the following year the army returned over the same course, this time in two divisions so that the encampment was for two nights instead of four. Thus twice did Farmington, as well as other towns along the route, have the

experience of a visit from the French general and his army.

When the war was over and normal pursuits of peace were resumed, the prosperity already begun was quickened and the next quarter century marked the height of Farmington's industrial and commercial activity. The amount of production in the little shops scattered through the village was astonishing. According to Governor Treadwell's figures, in a single year, 1802-03, there were manufactured in the town 15,000 yards of linen, the yarn for which was spun in the homes; 2,500 hats; leather in four establishments; tinware in five shops, 200 boxes of tin plate; potash in three establishments, 15 tons; and muskets, four hundred stands. There was an extensive manufacture of Japan ware, and clocks were made in at least three shops. More stores were built, until at one time there were at least twelve. Some of the enterprising merchants not only imported much but had their own ships. The signs of prosperity were on every hand. As President Porter described it, "the old meeting house began to rustle with silks, and to be gay with ribbons. The lawyers wore silk and velvet breeches: broadcloth took the place of homespun for coat and overcoat." Much more attention was given to the pleasures of life. People began to entertain more lavishly. Private houses were built with ballrooms: the Wadsworth house and the James Lewis Cowles house, still standing though modified in structure, are examples of these. Pianos began to be heard in many homes and with gayer music than had been before familiar. Some of the older generation were apprehensive of the trend things were taking. Even so wise a man as Governor Treadwell deplored the increasing prosperity because he feared its softening effect. He regretted the changes in dress and in the manner of living and the greater social activity. "The young ladies," he

lamented, "are changing their spinning wheels for pianofortes and forming their manners at the dancing school rather than in the school of industry."

Those who were anxious regarding the effect of the greater prosperity might well have had their fears somewhat allayed by the evidences of a quickened intellectual life. As early as 1785 a public library was started and the few books which it contained were diligently read. When the Library Association was reorganized in 1795 and a catalogue of books made there were three hundred and eighty volumes valued at \$644.29. It was an interesting collection, some history, some biography, some poetry, and a few volumes of fiction. No drama, not even Shakespeare, was admitted until twenty years later. There were more books of religion and theology than any other. The people had them because they liked them. In the years immediately following there was an extraordinary interest in libraries, and the zeal in promoting them was so great that in 1802 there were seven in operation in the village. Such manifest appreciation of library privileges and such acquirement of the library habit were perhaps a prophecy of the present fine library building erected in 1917.

Another result of the growing prosperity after the Revolution was the improvement of the schools of the town and the increasing desire for further education than these afforded. Up to 1766 there had been only the two schools in the village. The first to be started outside was at East Farms. In 1773 the town was divided into twelve districts and in 1809 Governor Treadwell reported that each had a good schoolhouse. Already some of the boys had gone away to school and college. Indeed, the first student to be graduated at the Collegiate School, which later became Yale College, was John Hart of Farmington,

and that was in 1703, but at the end of the century there was a more general interest in higher education not only for the boys but for the girls. In 1792 Miss Sally Pierce established a school for girls at Litchfield which had a distinguished patronage. A number of girls from Farmington were sent there during the following years until in 1816 the Farmington Academy was opened. The Academy was established and the building erected by an association of men with whom the ecclesiastical society co-operated, thus securing a lecture room for the church as well as providing rooms for the Academy. The school was carried on with success for some twenty years and then discontinued on the establishment of a higher public school.

As already noted the present meeting house was built in the early part of the period of increasing prosperity. Some changes have been made in the interior to meet the needs of the passing years, but the essential architectural features remain unchanged. The church organization itself, which began with the town, continued the tradition of those first years in its great influence on the developing life of the community. Timothy Pitkin, under whose ministry the present meeting house was built, was a man who, in addition to earnest piety, had great culture and grace by which he brought a refining influence into the somewhat rough and rugged life of the people. It was said of him that "he taught the people manners." Noah Porter, whose pastorate of sixty years extended into the modern period and was the longest of all and the most notable, through his influence and that of his distinguished family, left a marked and lasting impression on the life of the town. It was in the early part of his pastorate, in September, 1810, that an event of far-reaching influence took place in Farmington. It was the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

—the first foreign missionary society on this continent. The commissioners, nine in number, had been appointed in June. Their coming to Farmington for their first meeting was due to the fact that their most distinguished member was Governor Treadwell of Farmington. The meeting was held at the home of the young minister. Governor Treadwell was elected president of the society which for a century and a quarter has carried on its notable service reaching round the world.

Toward the close of the second hundred years of Farmington's history there began to be freer and easier intercourse with the outside world. Better roads had been built. The Talcott Mountain Turnpike Company was chartered in 1798 and a road built from Hartford through Farmington to New Hartford. At the same session of the general assembly, the Hartford and New Haven Turnpike Company was chartered which constructed a road from Hartford through Farmington to New Haven. Toll gates were placed at intervals and toll collected, ranging from twenty-five cents for a four-wheeled pleasure vehicle to four cents for a man on horseback. To encourage attendance at church no charges were made on Sundays. The roads were free also for funeral processions, soldiers going to training, freemen going to town meeting, and farmers going to mill. In 1799 a stage carrying mail began weekly trips from Hartford to Farmington. During the next few years various stage lines were started. One ran from Hartford to New Haven three times a week; one between New Haven and Northampton, at first three times a week and later every day. A line was established also between Boston and New York. All these passed through Farmington.

In 1822, when the Erie Canal was being constructed, the idea of a canal between New Haven and Northampton

was proposed. The enthusiasm of its promoters saw the canal extending not only to Northampton, but later on into New Hampshire and Vermont as far as Lake Memphremagog, through which connection would be possible with the St. Lawrence in Canada. A meeting of citizens of seventeen towns on the proposed line of the canal was held at Farmington on January 29, 1822, with the Honorable Timothy Pitkin, Jr., as chairman. In April the town of Farmington voted its approval of the plan, and in May, 1822, the Farmington Canal Company was chartered, with General George Cowles of Farmington one of the six charter commissioners. The financing of the undertaking was not so easy but finally on July 4, 1825, the ceremony of beginning the excavation of the canal took place in Granby. It was a gala day, with over two thousand people present. The work of digging the canal as far as the Massachusetts state line occupied three years. The launching of the first boat at Farmington on June 20, 1828, was another gala occasion. On November 12, 1828, the first boat to come through from New Haven, a freight boat, arrived at Farmington at noon, and shortly after, the *Weatogue*, a packet boat, arrived from the north with a company of men and women bound for New Haven. Again there was celebrating, the canal was in full operation! It was soon to be superseded by faster and more efficient means of transportation, but it was a great advance, and the enthusiasm over it was justified. In a way it typified the progress which had been made in that period of development. It was a slow mode of travel but it marked the beginning of a new era in transportation, and foreshadowed the great possibilities which have since been realized. It was a slow way of moving freight across the country but it excelled any method devised before, and gave promise of a vast increase in the business of

transportation. It indicated a larger enterprise, larger investments, a greater volume of trade, greater wealth, a freer and more comfortable life. It pictures to us a very deliberate way of doing things, a very leisurely life—a condition which was soon to come to an end.

III

FOR a few years the canal did considerable business but one misfortune after another occurred, including unprecedented floods and droughts, which caused great damage and consequent financial embarrassment. The chief cause of its being given up, however, was the coming of the railroad. The great era of railroad building was just beginning and its far-reaching effect was felt even in the Farmington valley. The first railroad in the United States had been built in 1830. The road from New Haven to Hartford was completed in 1839. The charter for a road from New Haven to Northampton was secured in 1846. As soon as the railroad was completed as far as Plainville, navigation on the canal ceased and the canal itself was abandoned. The modern period, characterized by such speed as men had not dreamed of, had begun.

The history of the railroad running through the Farmington valley and its gradual giving up of passenger service in these later years since the advent of the automobile, is too recent to be narrated; also that of the trolley, which had its years of great acclaim and great usefulness, but has now gone the way of most trolleys. The line from Hartford to Unionville was opened in 1893. It was discontinued in 1933 and a bus line took its place. In 1903 came the first automobile owned in Farmington.

Along with the greater facilities of transportation had come the development of machinery and the beginning of

mass production. Factories and mills took the place of the little shops. In many small towns one or two mills were built which absorbed the industries of the inhabitants. Unionville, the other borough of the township of Farmington, has developed and carried on a large and varied manufacturing industry, but in the village of Farmington the closing of the shops marked the end of its manufacturing. Not only did manufacturing cease, but with the centering of business in the cities and the building of ever larger and finer stores in Hartford, Farmington's stores carrying general merchandise have one after another been given up until now the last one has gone. Accordingly Farmington, like a few other towns which have no large local industries and which are near large cities, has become more and more a residential suburb.

The activity of the town during the last hundred years by which it has become most widely known has been its private schools. After the Academy was discontinued in 1835, Simeon Hart who had been its principal, opened a school for boys in his own home on Main Street, which he carried on until his death in 1853. A monument in the village cemetery erected by his pupils, of whom there had been more than a thousand, bears witness to the regard they had for him. Edward Hart, nephew of Simeon, who taught in his uncle's school, later carried on a school for boys on High Street. For a few years prior to his death in 1876, he had a number of Japanese boys as pupils, of whom some were sent by the Japanese government, and some afterward came to great distinction in their native land. Another school, known as the Old Red College, on Mountain Road, was conducted by Edward Hooker who died in 1846. Its students were boys from Southern states who were here prepared for college.

Largest and most important of all was the School for

Girls established by Sarah Porter in 1843. This school has been owned and carried on by members of the Porter family all through the years and is still a large part of the village life and, more than anything else, has brought fame and distinction to Farmington. Miss Porter was a direct descendant of Robert Porter, one of the original settlers of the town. Her father was Noah Porter, minister of the First Church for sixty years. Her brother was President Porter of Yale, the most distinguished scholar who has gone out from the village. A woman of rare personality, with deeply unselfish interest in her pupils, with understanding sympathy and unwearying devotion, she made an impression on them which could never be effaced. She began her school in an upper room of what was known as the Stone Store, with a number of young women of the town as day pupils and a few others as boarders. In the year 1850 she took over the brick building which had been built as a hotel to accommodate the guests who were expected—though in vain—by way of the Farmington Canal. This structure has always been the main building of the school and to it has been added house after house, until the school has reached its present size.

Farmington's public schools during this century have shared in the progressive changes which have been made in Connecticut schools. The twelve districts into which the town was divided in 1773 were one after another consolidated until there are only two remaining—one at Farmington Center and one at Unionville. To these large and well-equipped schools several busses bring the children from the surrounding sections. The Center School at Farmington now has an enrolment of about four hundred. A high school was started in Unionville in the early eighties for pupils of the entire town. The fine new build-

ing situated between the two boroughs was erected by the town in 1928.

In addition to the Congregational Church, which in its two hundred and eighty-three years has had only thirteen ministers, a Methodist Church was organized and a meeting house built in 1835. When the building burned in 1897 the church was disbanded. A mission of the Episcopal Church was started in 1873, services being held for about twenty-three years in a room over the store then at the corner of Main Street and Mill Lane. In 1898 the present church was built and in 1902 the mission was organized as St. James Parish. St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church for many years occupied the building now used as a market, but in 1921 the present edifice of native stone was erected, and a resident priest was installed.

The altruistic sentiment of the town, especially as related to the colored race, was aroused by an unusual episode which occurred in 1841. It was during the summer of that year, following the decision of the supreme court in the famous case of the *Amistad* negroes, giving them their liberty. Much interest had been aroused in their behalf and money raised to send them back to Africa, but pending the completion of arrangements it was decided to send them to Farmington for the summer, and hither they came, a company of thirty-seven Africans, only a comparatively short time out of their native wilds, set free in a peaceful New England village. Stories of cannibalism were plentiful and some people were greatly perturbed over the possible consequence of their presence, but it was soon dispelled. They proved themselves gentle, friendly souls. They were quartered in "barracks" still standing at the rear of Miss Amy Vorce's house. A school was maintained for them and seats were provided at church services which they attended in a body. They

went freely about the town making friends both of children and adults, none of whom could ever forget this singular and memorable visitation of summer guests. Eventually they were sent back to Africa and a mission was established for them. Another outcome of this strange case was the formation of the American Missionary Association which has rendered so great an educational service in the South. The interest in these negroes and the near tragedy of their lives no doubt added to the sympathy felt for the slaves in the South which was concretely expressed by some of Farmington's well-known citizens in making their homes stations of the Underground Railway by which so many slaves journeyed to Canada and freedom.

When the Civil War began the cause of the North found strong support in Farmington. There is no record on this occasion of such eloquently phrased resolutions as were passed by the town at the beginning of the Revolution, but the call for volunteers met instant and loyal response, and the repeated calls in the years which followed were so fully met that no draft was ever taken in Farmington. In all there were three hundred and sixty who entered the service from the town (which included Unionville and, at that time, Plainville). All were mustered by Winthrop Wadsworth, first selectman, and Samuel D. Hills, first constable, in the dining-room of the Wadsworth home, after which they reported to the training grounds in Hartford. In the Farmington cemetery is a monument on which are the names of twenty-one of the soldiers from the village of Farmington who gave their lives in that war.

In 1917, those who were drafted from Farmington for the World War showed the same spirit of loyalty and devotion. At home, a like support was given through the

activities of the Home Guard, the Red Cross, the Canning Kitchen, and the different committees by which the community sought to do its part.

Thus from the historic past Farmington has emerged with a heritage which awakens a feeling of pride and gratitude. Some of the events in its life have been peculiar to itself. The memory of them is cherished by its citizens as giving a special distinction to the town and a touch of romance to its history, but the largest and most fundamental part of the experience of Farmington has been typical of that of the other early towns—from the simplicity and isolation of the first century down to the complex and full life of the present—in the quiet years of peace with their steady development and progress, and in the tense years of war with their tragedies and losses. The greatest heritage of Farmington, as of the other Connecticut towns, is in the long line of men and women who from the beginning, by their courage and their faith, their ideals and their steadfast labors, have wrought enduringly and have made their town so goodly a place in which to live.

Bibliographical Note

IN view of the impossibility of recounting in this series the local history of the many towns of Connecticut, the Committee has selected Farmington as a town whose long record might be narrated in a way to exhibit many elements characteristic of the organization and life of Connecticut towns.

Fuller accounts of various phases of Farmington history were given by Julius Gay (1834–1918) in numerous historical addresses which have been collected as *Farmington papers* (Hartford, 1929), edited by Alice K. O'Connor.

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The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission will issue, during the next few years, a series of small Pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt is to be made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention being to issue Pamphlets at any time and upon any subject that seems to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

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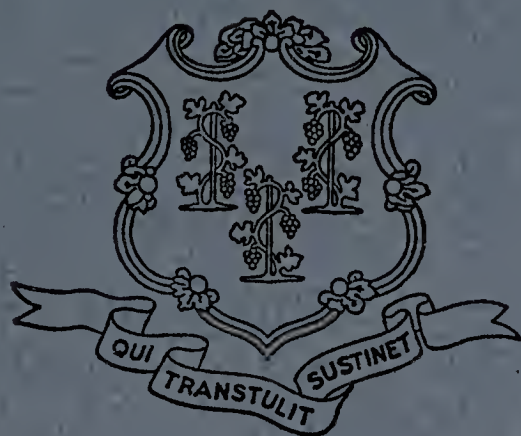
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COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Yale Law School:
The Founders and the Founders'
Collection

(DOUBLE NUMBER)

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TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

*Yale Law School:
The Founders and the Founders'
Collection*

FREDERICK C. HICKS¹

I

EXCEPT for manuscript papers, the oldest extant mementos of the early history of the Yale Law School are law books. Professors and students of those days are long since dead; the buildings in which classes are known to have been held have been torn down; but some of the books used by the earliest of its students remain. Curiously enough, these books were not owned by the school until the year 1846, twenty-two years after the names of law students were first listed in the Yale College catalogue, and three years after the degree of Bachelor of Laws was first conferred here. They are books which formerly belonged individually to Seth P. Staples, Samuel J. Hitchcock, and David Daggett, the first, second, and third instructors associated with the private school out of which the Yale Law School

¹ In assembling the material for this sketch, the author has had the invaluable help of Miss Elizabeth Forgeus, Assistant Law Librarian. New matter used is drawn largely from the manuscript papers of Staples, Hitchcock, and Daggett.

grew, and they served, in succession, as the law library of both the earlier and the later school.

The segregation of the residue of these books, to form the Yale Law Library Founders' Collection, after more than a century of the school's life, is a belated tribute to these three men, and an event of interest to all Yale men in law, particularly those who are in sympathy with the objects of the Committee on Law Library Patrons of the Yale Law School Association. In the year when Connecticut is celebrating its tercentenary, it is not inappropriate that the school should pay homage to the men and the books that are responsible for its own beginning.

Of the original group of books, only a portion has been salvaged. If henceforth we treat them with reverence, the contrast with their former experiences will be great. They bear the scars of use and misuse, and reflect the lean years through which the law library itself more than once has passed. They have been patched, mended, bound, and rebound until their appearance is pathetic. Now withdrawn from active service, they will nevertheless serve as memorials, not only of their original owners, whose autographs they bear, but also of generations of perspiring students by whom they have been thumbed over, praised, and reviled. Every graduate of the school whose achievements we would emulate has probably given them, by use, an added odor of sanctity.

There is an intimate connection between the careers of the three Founders. All were Yale graduates. Daggett, the oldest, studied law in the New Haven office of Charles Chauncey. Staples studied with Daggett, and Hitchcock with Staples. Daggett, according to the prevailing custom, took into his office a few law apprentices, among whom were Jirah Isham, Elisha Stearnes, and Staples. He did not, however, treat them as a law class. Staples,

on his part, soon after the year 1800, met groups of students, much as Tapping Reeve was doing in the Litchfield Law School. Staples was familiar with Reeve's methods, and it is nearly certain that he supplemented his studies with Daggett by a short course in Reeve's school. Hitchcock, in 1820, became Staples' law partner and his associate in the conduct of his school. When Staples dropped out, and the school was loosely associated with Yale College, in 1824, Daggett joined Hitchcock to carry on the law classes. Daggett was then sixty years old, and Hitchcock was thirty-eight.

The limitation of the Founders' Collection to the books owned by these three men should not be understood as failure to give credit to their successors, who on several occasions saved the school from dissolution; nor as unwillingness to recognize the fact that Elizur Goodrich was the first professor of law in Yale College. To this office he was appointed in 1801, in accordance with the plan devised by President Dwight of adding professional studies to the academic courses. Mr. Goodrich, however, had no connection whatever with the Staples school, and his lectures to college students embraced only a general outline of the theory of law, with emphasis on the law of nature and of nations. Goodrich entered Yale College in 1775, and was "uninterruptedly connected with the institution, either as student, resident graduate, tutor, assistant to the Treasurer, Professor, member of the Corporation, or Secretary of that Board, for the space of seventy-one years." He studied law with his uncle, Charles Chauncey, was a member of the Connecticut legislature, a representative in Congress, collector of the Port of New Haven, judge of the Probate Court, and chief judge of the County Court. These public duties and the fact that "the funds of the College would not allow

the Corporation to give an adequate salary to their Professor" (it was \$200 per year) prevented him from making law teaching a major interest, and he resigned his professorship in 1810. During most of this period, the Staples classes were in all probability being held, but entirely separate from the College. The law professorship made vacant by the resignation of Goodrich was not filled until 1826, when David Daggett was appointed to it.

II

IN the year 1800, Isaac Beers, a New Haven bookseller, imported for Seth P. Staples "a very complete law library, one of the best at that time in New England." This was the first in a series of events which led up to the establishment of the Yale Law School. It is appropriate that books, rather than buildings, or even teachers, should be thought of as the germ of the school, for throughout its early history, as will later be shown, there is constant emphasis on books as the *sine qua non* of a law school. Ten of the volumes in this first shipment to Staples have been identified in the Yale Law Library.

Seth Perkins Staples was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, on August 31, 1776. He was the third child of the Reverend John Staples (Princeton, 1765), pastor of the Congregational Church in Westminster Society. His mother was Susanna, sister of Enoch Perkins, who graduated from Yale College in 1781. The son entered Yale in 1793 and graduated in 1797, in the same class with Lyman Beecher (father of Henry Ward Beecher), United States Supreme Court Justice Henry Baldwin, and United States Senator Horatio Seymour. In 1801, he was the Phi Beta Kappa orator at the College and received the M.A. degree.

Immediately after his graduation, he began the study

of law in the New Haven office of David Daggett. Biographical sketches of Staples do not state that he attended the Litchfield Law School, nor does the published list of members of that school, beginning in 1798, contain his name. This negative evidence is not, however, conclusive, since other men, known to have attended the school, are missing also. That he was a student under Tapping Reeve in the fall of 1798 is suggested by a manuscript notebook of 983 pages, some of which are blank, which is now in the Yale Law Library. It is undoubtedly in the writing of Staples, and bears the inscription, "Lectures on Law by T. Reeve, Esq., one of the Judges of the S. Court in Connecticut. Sept. 10th, 1798." It was the method of instruction at Litchfield to read lectures which students carefully took down as nearly verbatim as possible. Seven sets of such lecture notebooks by other students are in the Yale Law Library. It is possible that Staples had access to someone else's notebook, and made a copy of it, but there is no reason to presume this. His notes are not as extensive as those of some other students, indicating perhaps that his stay was shorter; and at the end of the book is a section made up of his own comment on independent readings in criminal law.

If he did study in Reeve's school, he returned to the office of Daggett to complete his preparations for admission to the bar. This event took place in Litchfield, on September 21, 1799.

An incident connected with it is of interest because of the light which it throws on methods of bar examination, on the intense political feeling that existed, and on the close relationship between Staples and his preceptor, Daggett. Staples went by stage from New Haven to Litchfield, arriving on Monday evening, September 16, 1799. On Tuesday, he delivered to the bar his letters of

recommendation and his certificate of study signed by Daggett. That evening, Mr. Allen proposed that he be admitted to examination. Thereupon, General Tracy (probably United States Senator Uriah Tracy, who was a major general of militia) objected, because (in the words of Staples) "he had been informed that I was a great Democrat and a violent Disorganizer—that on that account I came to Litchfield to apply for examination, and as proof of this I was strongly opposed to the abolition of the ΦBK Society; & as damning proof Mr. Tutor Day was then in town who would furnish indubitable proof of the whole." Mr. J. C. Smith and several others spoke in opposition to General Tracy, but nevertheless permission to enter the examination was withheld. When these happenings were reported to Staples, who was not present at the meeting, he was "perfectly astonished." "But, it recurring to my mind," he wrote, "that Dr. Dwight had that evening arrived in town, I went immediately to him & stated what had passed in the bar meeting. He laughed very heartily & said he could help me out of that scrape very easily, & wrote me a very full certificate & told me that if Mr. Tracy or any other person wanted any further information either affecting my political or moral character & would call on him in the morning, he would give him or them the fullest satisfaction. Mr. Tutor Day was applied to by Mr. Tracy & others & stated in the fulest manner directly the contrary of every word Mr. Tracy had said." Next day at noon, the bar again took up the matter, but delayed decision because the presence of Mr. Tracy was desired, in order that he might be asked to disclose who was the author of the "vile calumny" against Staples. Mr. Tracy appeared before the bar that evening but refused to give the source of his information, although he said that he was now satisfied.

The above account is contained in a letter from Staples to Daggett written on September 20, 1799, with a postscript dated eight o'clock Saturday morning, September 21, in which he said that he was finally admitted to the examination, was questioned very closely by the Committee of Examiners during two evenings, and that at the opening of the Court on that very morning, he was to be sworn. Earlier in the letter, he wrote that "some give hints as if they thought" General Tracy "objected on account of the *good will* he bears my instructor" (Daggett), and in the postscript he wrote that "there is a secret in this business, which if I were not under injunctions of secrecy, I would tell you. The obligation of secrecy will not, however, preclude me from being at liberty to tell you a curious story when I see you, for I promised to observe no injunctions of secrecy that would involve me."

After the successful outcome of his trip to Litchfield, Staples immediately began the practice of law in New Haven, and in November of the same year he married Catharine, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Wales, Yale 1767, who was Livingston Professor of Divinity in the College. They had six children, three sons and three daughters.

While making his way as a lawyer, he found time to represent the town of New Haven in five sessions of the State legislature (1814-16), and he was a colonel of the militia. At a New Haven military muster on May 7, 1810, making a fine figure riding on a horse, he commanded an artillery company of one hundred men with four pieces of artillery.

In law, his success was rapid. It is said that he ranked with the leaders of the profession in New Haven, including such men as David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin,

Nathan Smith, William Bristol, and Charles Denison. In 1820, he formed a partnership with Samuel J. Hitchcock by means of which he maintained a connection with New Haven for many years after he moved to New York City in 1824.

A famous New Haven case in which he was counsel was that of the *Amistad* captives, African negroes kidnapped in 1839 by slave traders, sold by them in Cuba to Spanish subjects, shipped on the schooner *Amistad* which they took by force into their own hands, and captured in Long Island Sound when the schooner anchored there. Anti-slavery philanthropists engaged Staples, Theodore Sedgwick, and Roger Sherman Baldwin to represent the negroes, and they were eventually set free. The argument in the United States Supreme Court (15 Peters 518) was made by Baldwin and John Quincy Adams, in opposition to Attorney General Gilpin.

Staples was an expert in patent law, and was for many years counsel for Charles Goodyear in the series of cases over his patent for vulcanizing rubber. From 1837 to 1855 his name appears constantly in litigated cases along with those of Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Francis B. Cutting, Charles O'Connor, and James T. Brady. Staples' granddaughter, Mrs. Harriette S. S. Wheeler, possesses as a reminder of this litigation, a cane of vulcanized rubber with gold tip, given to Staples by Goodyear.

Staples' withdrawal from the law school which he had started in New Haven did not end his interest in teaching, for in 1828 he delivered lectures on commercial law at the Mercantile Library in New York City. In appreciation of this gratuitous service, the directors of the library presented to him a silver pitcher, appropriately engraved. His scholarly habit of mind is further attested by his ownership of a share in the New York Society Library,

and by the large law office library assembled by him in New York, which was sold at auction after his death. A copy of Bangs, Merwin and Company's auction catalogue for April 24-25, 1862, now in the Yale Law Library, lists 1,417 volumes of his law books, including not only the usual type of treatises and American law reports, but also many English law reports, long runs of American, English, and Canadian session laws, sets of legal periodicals, works on Roman and international law, and a special group on patents. Included in the sale are the essential furnishings of a frugal law office, pine wood bookcases, a library table, and two black-walnut office chairs.

He died in New York City on February 15, 1861, at the age of eighty-six, and was buried in the Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven.

III

THE story of the Staples law school, as has been said, begins with the importation of a shipment of English law books in 1800. To this first shipment he continued to add both English and American books, so that students deemed it a high privilege to study in his office. They came in sufficient numbers to warrant organization of regular classes. There is a tradition that these were at first held in his own house, before breakfast, and that the students often "assembled before he left his bed-chamber, and awaited 'patiently' his appearance." The earliest of Staples' several residences was at number 75 (now 155) Elm Street, the building known as the Graduates Club. If he did in fact hold classes there, it is an interesting coincidence that Hendrie Hall, where the Yale Law School was housed from 1895 to 1931, should have been located next door. At a later time, his house was on

Temple Street, on a site subsequently occupied by the house of Ezekiel G. Stoddard, eventually purchased for the use of the Sheffield Scientific School. And later still, he lived on Church Street, opposite the Green, on the site where the law chambers building now stands.

Without doubt Staples' law office was the center of his law school, serving as a library, classroom, and laboratory of practice. Where this office was prior to 1820, has not been discovered. Beginning with that date, when he formed a partnership with Hitchcock, it was located on Church Street near the corner of Court, where Staples leased from William Leffingwell a building of twenty-two feet frontage. The lease, dated November 11, 1820, was for twenty years, and stipulated that Leffingwell was not to build within ten feet of the line, and that he would deed the property to Staples, his heirs or assigns. This lease was, on October 28, 1831, assigned to Samuel J. Hitchcock, and in 1843, an heir of William Leffingwell deeded the property, but without the agreement not to build within ten feet of the line. The twenty-two feet frontage was between the sites later occupied by the City Hall and the Leffingwell building, the latter of which stood on the northeast corner of Church and Court Streets. The present Powell building occupies the site of these two buildings, running from the corner to the City Hall. In this little building, leased by Staples and later known as the Hitchcock building, the Staples law school and its successor in all probability remained until the year 1850 when the Leffingwell building (Heublein's) was completed.

Here, therefore, we should try to picture Staples and Hitchcock, as carrying on the school, surrounded by books, some of which are now in the Founders' Collection. We are helped to do this by a description of Staples,

written by a student who attended classes in this building in 1823-24.²

“Those who only saw him in the conflicts of the bar,” he said of Mr. Staples, “and heard his bitter sarcasms, could form no true estimate of his character. They saw nothing of his kindlier nature and social qualities, as exhibited in the office and the recitation room. As a teacher he exerted a magnetism over his students unsurpassed by any man I ever knew—a magnetism that drew his pupils into thorough study of first principles. No greater contrast could well exist than that presented by comparison of the formal law lectures of the Litchfield school and the off-hand comments and illustrations of Mr. Staples’ class room: Judge Gould read his able and finished lectures with a cold dignity to his students, each seated at his separate desk, intent on copying from his lips the principles laid down and the authorities referred to, embodying a system of law for future reference and use. In the New Haven school, at the time it was made a department of the college, the class recitations superseded in great measure the formal lecture. The student in his study drew the principles from the text book. In the recitation they were sifted, tested and illustrated. It was here that Mr. Staples was perhaps unrivaled as a teacher. His practice at the bar enabled him to illustrate principles and decisions from his own experience and observation, in such a manner as to fix them in the mind in a manner very different from the mere entry of them in a note book. Mr. Staples read few lectures, and they were not of a high order. It was as an off-hand commentator that he impressed *himself* as well as *the law* on the minds of his students.”

Who were the students whom Staples taught prior to 1820, and whom Staples and Hitchcock taught from 1820 to 1824? Who were the men who fingered the Staples books now in the Founders’ Collection?

In 1824, a tenuous connection between the Staples school and Yale College was made by printing the names

²Quoted by Theodore D. Woolsey in his *Historical Discourse* at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Department of Law, June 24, 1874.

of fourteen law students in the College catalogue. Who were the students who went before them?

From a reading of biographies, a few names have been gleaned of men who studied law in the office of Staples. They are

Samuel Johnson Hitchcock, Yale 1809

Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll, Yale 1808

Thomas Burr Osborne, Yale 1817

Thomas Clapp Perkins, Yale 1818

To this meagre list can now be added something more substantial. It is a list of students in the Staples law school from 1819 to 1824. Written by Staples, the list appears in the Cash and Receipt Book of the firm of Staples and Hitchcock for the period April, 1817 to August, 1827. The comments following some of the names are by Staples. Names preceded by an asterisk appear also in the list of law students printed in the College catalogue of 1824.

“LIST OF STUDENTS WHO HAVE ENTERED THE OFFICE”

1819

Edward Chapin (Admitted to Bar Nov. 29, 1821)

Samuel D. Hubbard (Admitted to Bar Nov. 29, 1821)

Hector Humphrey

Rufus Woodward

1820

Apollo D. Bates (June 28. County Court June term took the oath and left)

Horace Foot (Admitted to Bar at Middletown, Sept. 27, 1822)

James S. Huggins (Admitted to Bar Nov. 29, 1821)

Pollard McCormick

Horatio Miller (Admitted to Bar Nov. 29, 1821)

1821

John H. Brockway (Admitted to Bar Mar. 22, 1823)
 Asa Child of Woodstock (Admitted to Bar June 24, 1823)
 Walter Edwards of Hartford (Admitted to Bar, Hartford,
 Nov. 1822)
 Theodore Hinsdale of Winstead

1822

William Barnes of Tolland
 Asa Butts of Canterbury (Sickened with a decline and died
 2d year)
 Joel Hinman of Southbury
 Sam C. Jackson of Dorset, Vermont
 Oliver A. Shaw (Studied one year and went to Virginia)
 *Isaac Henry Townsend
 Ira L. Ufford of Huntington (Admitted to Bar Mar. 22, 1823)
 G. Fitch Wheeler of Huntington (Admitted to Bar Nov.
 County Court, 1823)

1823

Charles Atwood
 William Barnes of Tolland (Admitted to Bar Nov. County
 Court, 1823)
 *John Boyd of Winchester
 *Sherman Crosswell of New Haven
 Simeon F. Dixon of Enfield
 *Samuel Hayes of New Haven
 Charles F. Johnson
 John H. Lathrop, tutor
 *Henry E. Peck
 *Amasa G. Porter (Admitted to Bar June County Court, 1825)
 Edward Rockwell
 William Rockwell of Sharon
 *Aaron N. Skinner of Woodstock, Conn.
 Solomon Stoddard, tutor (Relinquished study and paid
 nothing)
 William G. Verplanck of Mount Pleasant, N. Y. (Broke his
 leg and never attended)
 *Daniel Whiting
 *Frederick R. Whittelsey of Southington

1824

*S. J. Andrews of Wallingford

*Linus Child of Woodstock

William Read of Sparta, Georgia (Returned to Georgia, Sept.
1825)

George B. Ripley of Norwich

*Wm. P. Skinner of Marietta, Ohio

*Isaac Webb

Although the above is a list of students "who entered the office," there is no doubt that they came not as apprentices but as paying pupils. They came, however, not at stated dates, as though for a fixed term, but whenever they could, to stay as long as they could. They paid for the time that they stayed. Many of them remained two years, a fact shown by Staples' notes, and not usually by the repetition of the name under the date of the second year. They paid in cash when they could; if not, by personal note. That all accounts for the years 1819 to 1824 were eventually cleared is shown in a list headed "Amount due Staples and Hitchcock on Book January 1, 1825." There, students' unpaid bills listed by name and amount are classified among "good" debts, and annotations subsequently made give the respective dates of final payment.

IV

THE moving spirit in the law school for a quarter of a century was Samuel J. Hitchcock. He became an instructor four years before Staples withdrew, and he continued actively in the work until his death in 1845, that is, from his thirty-fourth to his sixtieth year. It was Hitchcock who carried the chief burden of teaching, who built up the law library, who paid rent to Staples for the law building up to 1831, and after that himself owned the

lease, and who finally brought about the conferring of law degrees by Yale College. His career both in and out of the school is worthy of attention.

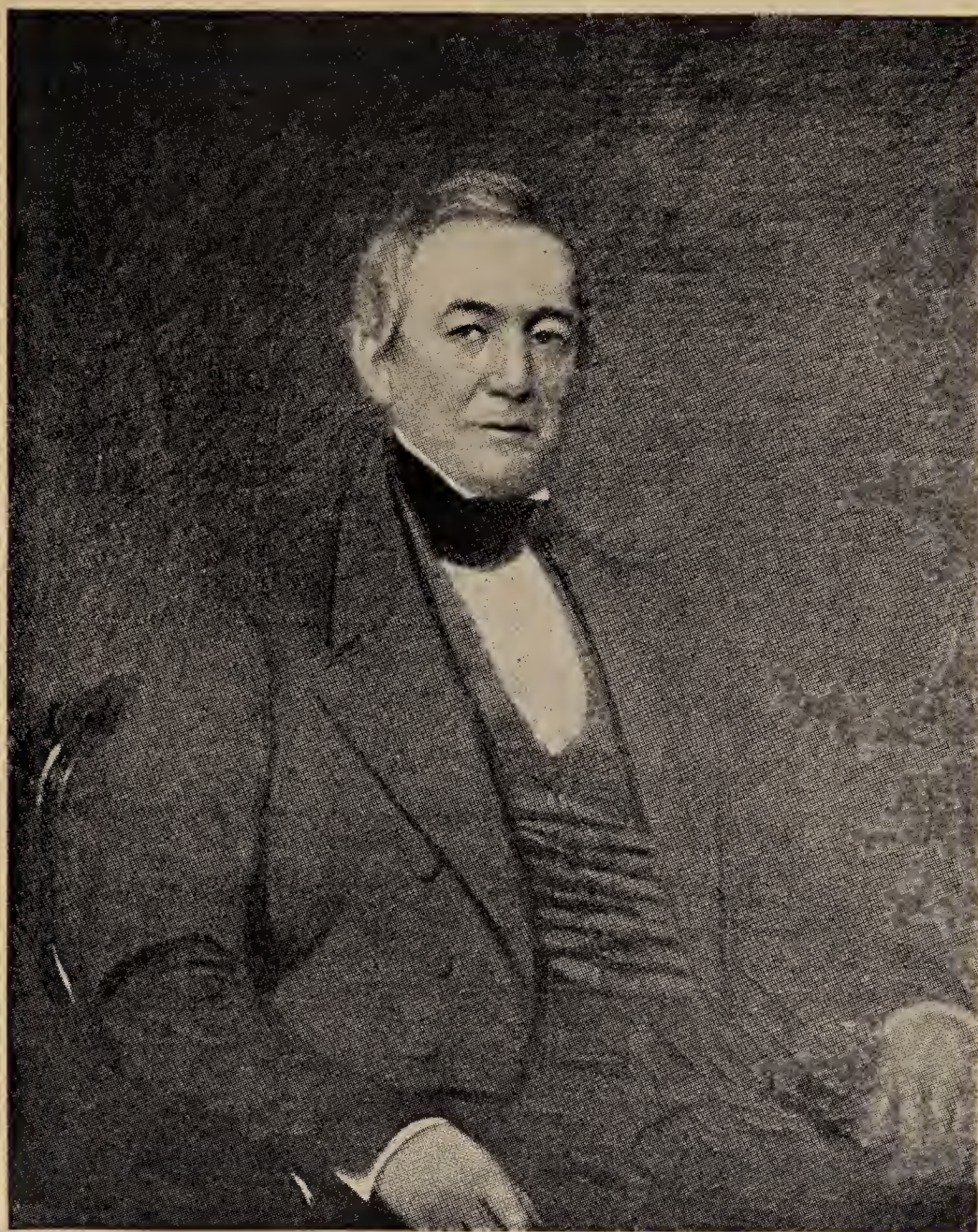
He was born on February 4, 1786, at Bethlehem, Connecticut, the eldest of the twelve children of Benjamin and Mary (Johnson) Hitchcock. It was impossible for the father to give his son educational advantages, and his first work was as a mechanic. The love of reading was, however, born in him. It is related that because the father could not "afford young Hitchcock lights to read by so late as he desired, he . . . accustomed himself to lie down in front of the fire with book in hand, and there gratify his insatiable love of knowledge by studying out the words and sentences from the imperfect light of the dying embers thus afforded. To this is attributed the weakness of his eyes, under which he greatly suffered for years." He attracted the attention of his pastor, the Reverend Azel Backus (Yale 1787), who fitted him to teach school, and eventually gratuitously prepared him to enter the Sophomore class at Yale. He graduated at the head of his class in 1809, appropriately delivering the valedictory oration on the *Wisdom of Aiming at High Attainments*.

For two years after his graduation he taught in the Fairfield Academy and then returned to New Haven to become a tutor in Yale College. At the Commencement exercises of 1812, he became a Master of Arts and delivered an oration on the influence of newspapers. He resigned his tutorship in 1815, the event being marked by a gift of money from a committee of his students. The presentation letter, dated July 20, 1815, concludes with the words, "while we lament your departure, we are consoled with the reflection that you have removed from a circumscribed into a more extensive sphere of action,

where your acquirements and goodness of heart will be more useful and conspicuous."

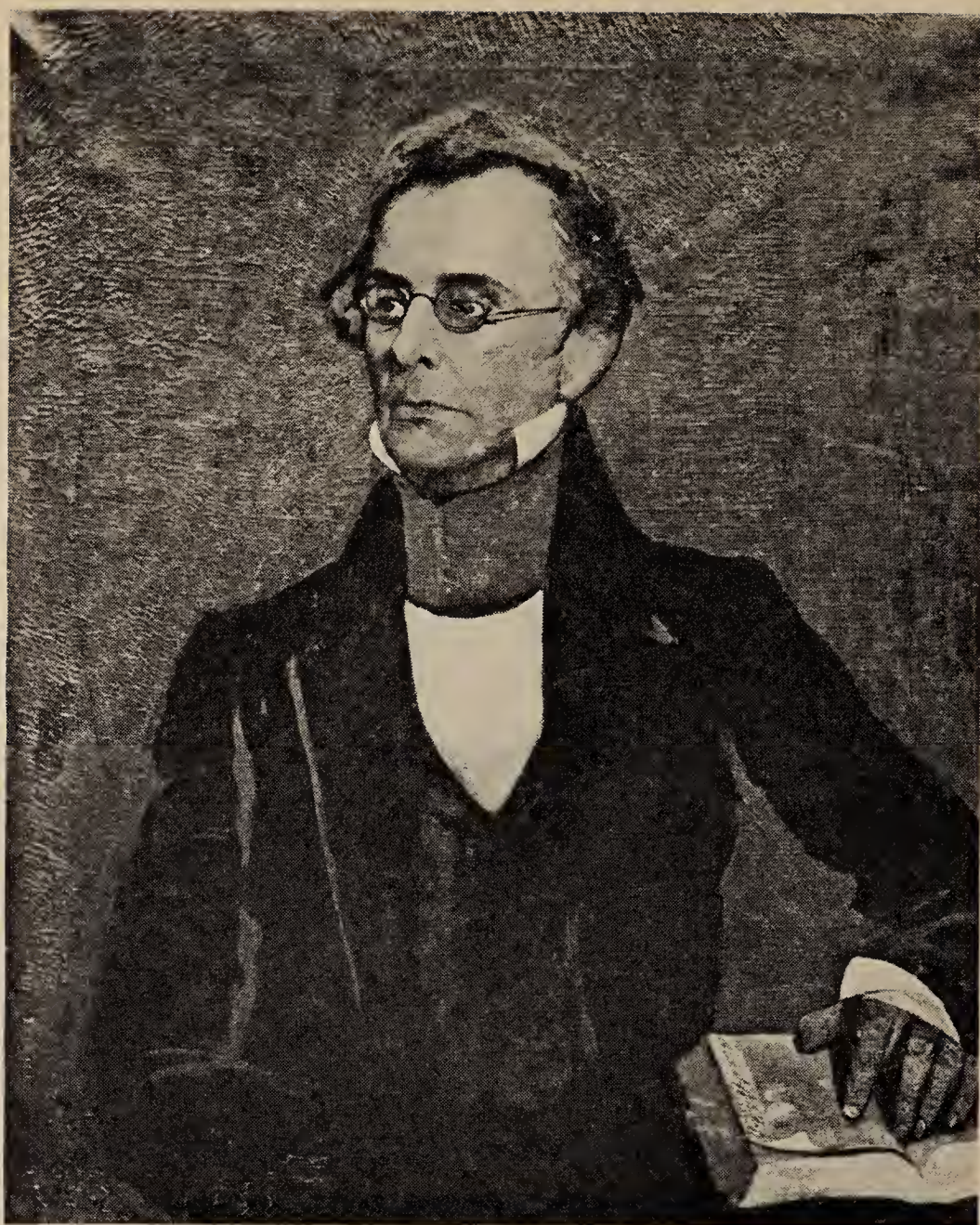
The sphere of action referred to was that of the law. While serving as tutor, he had also read law in the office of Seth P. Staples. On June 4, 1814, at a session of the New Haven County Court, he was admitted to the bar, the court having before it a certificate from Staples, and one from the bar examination committee consisting of Nathan Smith, Bennet Bronson, Cyrus Clark, Curtiss Hinman, Isaac M. Wales, and Ralph I. Ingersoll. At a later date, April 13, 1821, he was admitted to practice before the United States Circuit Court.

Beginning practice in New Haven in 1815, by 1818 he was ready to embark upon the sea of matrimony. One of the preliminaries to this event throws light on his character. The lady of his choice, Laura, the orphaned daughter of Simeon and Parnel Coan, of Guilford, returned his affection, but hesitated to name the day because, being unable to purchase her "furniture," she feared that she might be a burden to him. To overcome this obstacle, Hitchcock proposed to her uncle in a letter dated January 5, 1818, that they conspire together to practice a pious fraud upon her. The plan was that the uncle, Eliakim Fowler, should make a gift of \$300 to Laura, telling her that he knew she needed the money for the purpose above mentioned, and that he had always intended to assist her on the approach of that crisis which he had heard was coming upon her. Hitchcock engaged on his part to repay Fowler with interest at any time and in any way that the donor might point out. "If you will do this," wrote Hitchcock, "I am well convinced you will add exceedingly to her comfort and do much, more perhaps than you are aware of, toward making her a happy bride. . . . You will see, dear Sir, that if you can conveniently and



SETH P. STAPLES

From Jared B. Flagg's copy, in the Yale Law School, of a portrait by Samuel L. Waldo and William Jewett.



SAMUEL J. HITCHCOCK

From a portrait in the Yale Law School by Jared B. Flagg.



DAVID DAGGETT

From a silhouette made by Samuel Metford, July 5, 1842.



HITCHCOCK BUILDING

*(at the extreme lower left), first
home of the Law School.*



LEFFINGWELL BUILDING

*The second floor of the rear extension
was the Law School's second home.*

consistently comply with the above request, it must never be known to your niece that I made it,—or at least that the secret must not be divulged until some future period.” The letter closed with a request for a reply within ninety days. The answer must have been favorable, for the marriage took place on May 18, 1818.

As law partner of Staples, beginning in 1820, he divided his time between teaching and practice. An amusing incident connected with the latter is recorded in his “Waste-book,” as follows:

Feby. 26, 1821. Norman Munson called and demanded his Bill of fees of S. P. S. for serving writ, H. D. Sewall v. Miles Pickus, indorsed on writ in office as below:—

Travel to make service, 4 mi.	\$ 0.20
Travel to return, 13 mi.	0.60
Attachment	0.12
Committing, travel, 13 mi.	2.60
2 Keepers 24 hours	3.00
Necessary expenses for keepers, meat, drinks & Lodgings	3.42
Mittimus . . . . .	.50
	<hr/>
	\$10.44

Mr. Staples offered him fees as below:—

Trav. to serve, 4 mi.	\$ 0.20
Levy	0.12
Travel to commit, 13 mi.	2.60
Mittimus	0.25
	<hr/>
	\$3.17

But he demanded the whole and would not take the fees as offered. 4th May gratefully took \$3.17 in full.

In later years, Hitchcock’s law practice became extensive, and he took a prominent part in the life of the community. He was a judge of the New Haven County Court from 1838 to 1842, chief judge of the City Court, 1842 to 1844, and mayor of the city from 1839 to 1841.

For more than a decade (1833-45), he was a deacon of Center Church where he conducted a Bible class for young men. According to Professor Woolsey he was "one of the most decidedly religious men to be found in any department of life."

In developing means of transportation in the State, he played a prominent part for twenty years. From 1825 to 1840, he was concerned professionally with the affairs of the ill-fated Farmington canal. He was a director of the Hartford and New Haven Railroad and its president from 1837 to 1840. These were troubled years. The road, chartered in 1833, was not completed until 1839. The panic of 1837 found the Railroad's treasury completely exhausted, with subscriptions largely unpaid. The cause was not excessive salaries, for Hitchcock received only \$1,000 a year. To insure through-service from Hartford to New York City, the road was authorized in 1839 to charter, purchase, and hold steamboats. This development precipitated a rate war in which Commodore Vanderbilt took part. The steamboat fare from New Haven to New York dropped as low as twenty-five cents. In the next year newspaper articles charged official mismanagement of the road. Hitchcock, on July 21, 1840, and again on August 10, replied to the "libelous charges," "industriously circulated among the stockholders," "criminating the officers, and alledging culpable mismanagement." He called upon all stockholders to attend the coming meeting in September, and vote with a knowledge of the "motives and designs" of the accusers. The victory went, however, to the new party, which set about resuscitating the road. They found it useful, nevertheless, to employ Hitchcock professionally, for he was recognized as a specialist in railroad law. Moreover, this was not the end of his official connection with railroads. In

1844, he was one of the incorporators of the New York and New Haven Railroad Company, along with Joseph E. Sheffield, William A. Reynolds, Nathan Smith, and others. Launching the new company was difficult business. After the subscription books had been open ten days, there were only three New Haven subscribers, of whom Hitchcock was one. Sheffield and Hitchcock arranged for the first surveys of the route, and prepared a plan for negotiating the stock of the company through the Barings, in England. This latter project failed as a consequence of Hitchcock's death. A part of his last winter was spent in Albany seeking to obtain franchises for the proposed road to enter New York City.

At one time, Hitchcock lived in the house now occupied by the Graduates Club on Elm Street, where Staples had lived before him. At the time of his death, his residence stood next to the Tontine Hotel on Church Street, a house which he had built in 1827-28. He died of a "billious fever," after an illness of three weeks, on August 31, 1845, being then in his sixtieth year. The funeral service in Center Church was attended by the local bar association and the Common Council of the city, and he was buried in the Grove Street Cemetery. By his wife, Laura, he had two sons and three daughters. She died in 1832, and in 1834 he married Narcissa Perry, widow of Joseph Whittemore of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and daughter of Walter and Elizabeth Burr (Sturges) Perry, of Southport, Connecticut. They had one son. In his will, after providing for his surviving widow and children, he directed that the surplus of his estate should be used by the trustees, to the extent of \$1,000 per annum, "for the support of indigent pious young men preparing for the ministry in New Haven." Concerning this provision there was litigation as late as the year 1851.

V

IN 1824, when Hitchcock took control of the school, he had formidable rivals. Chancellor Kent was lecturing at Columbia College, the law school at Harvard had already begun to grant degrees, and the Litchfield Law School was in the competent hands of James Gould. In New Haven itself, a competing school was opened by Judge Asa Chapman. After graduation from Yale in 1792, studying at the Litchfield Law School, and being admitted to the bar in 1795, Chapman had settled in Newtown, Connecticut, where for many years, in connection with his practice, he instructed students in law. In the fall of 1824, he moved to New Haven and announced in the *Connecticut Journal* of November 11, that he would receive law students at an annual tuition of \$75. The failure of his health and his death in 1825 left the New Haven field free for Hitchcock.

Two fortunate circumstances gave prestige to Hitchcock's school—the listing of his students in the Yale College catalogue beginning in 1824, and Judge Daggett's willingness to join him as a law lecturer. The connection with Yale was further strengthened two years later when a statement descriptive of the law school was added to the list of students in the Yale catalogue, and when Daggett took on the separate duties of professor of law in the College. The first of the annual law-school announcements reads as follows:

The Law School is under the instruction of the Hon. David Daggett, a Judge of the Supreme Court in Connecticut, and Professor of Law, and Samuel J. Hitchcock, Esq., attorney and counsellor at law.

The students are required to peruse the most important elementary treatises, and are daily examined on the author

they are reading, and receive at the same time explanations and illustrations of the subject they are studying.

A course of lectures is delivered by the Professor of Law, on all the titles and subjects of the Common and Statute Law.

A moot court is holden once a week, or oftener, which employs the students in drawing pleadings and investigating and arguing questions of law.

The students are also called upon, from time to time, to draw declarations, pleadings, contracts, and other instruments, connected with the practice of law, and to do the most important duties of an attorney's clerk.

They are occasionally required to write disquisitions on some topic of law, and collect the authorities to support their opinions.

The students are furnished with the use of the elementary books, and have access, at all times, to the college libraries, and to a law library, comprising very important works both ancient and modern.

The terms for tuition and use of library are \$75 per annum. The course of study occupies two years, allowing eight weeks vacation each year. Students are however received for a shorter period.

The Professor of Law will also, for the present, occasionally deliver lectures to the Senior class in College, until arrangements are made for a systematic course to be permanently continued. (Yale College Catalogue, November, 1826.)

In this announcement the name of Judge Daggett is put first, since he was a vastly greater public figure than was Hitchcock. He was not, however, in charge of the school, which was, it will be noted, "under the instruction" of both men. In the catalogue of 1828-29, the word "instruction" was changed to "direction," but still the meaning conveyed is that there was joint responsibility. The same form was used after Isaac H. Townsend joined them in 1842, indicating responsibility divided among three men. There appears to be no doubt that Hitchcock for many years bore the weight both of administration

and teaching. The latter was carried on principally by means of textbook reading, lectures, and quizzes. The above announcement states that "students are furnished with the use of the elementary books." This means that Hitchcock provided students with individual copies of such books, without additional cost to them.

Concerning Hitchcock's quality as a teacher, fortunately we have the opinion of two of his pupils, quoted in Woolsey's *Historical Discourse*:

I was a great admirer of Judge Hitchcock (wrote the first). He was a model teacher. He was so clear, you could not fail to understand him fully; so copious in instruction and illustration, that he seemed to exhaust the subject, and you felt that he was master of the principles of law, and of their application and analogies; and yet so compact in style that he never used a word too much. As I had just come from Harvard, I often compared him with Judge Story, and was at a loss to decide which was the most admirable instructor. We recited to him in Cruise's Digest. It was called a book hard to understand, but under his teaching it was all clear and plain; and we wondered how it had got such a name. Recitations to him were for a full half-hour [with] lectures from him on the subjects we were studying.

Another gentleman, who studied law in the school in the years 1838 and 1839, wrote of him thus:

The mainstay of the school was Judge Hitchcock. Many of the students had studied one year at Cambridge, where the school was much larger, and where Judge Story was the great ornament; but they all gave the palm to Hitchcock over Greenleaf, able and learned as the latter was admitted to be. The introductory lecture of Judge Hitchcock always made a great impression. He dwelt upon the distinction between *reading* and *study*; upon the fact that they had not come there to win prizes in the shape of degrees; that a man might read

law forever, and not be a lawyer; he must study, and he might study much, but it would be to little purpose unless he accustomed himself to feel that he had the responsibility of some future client [in his hands] whose property or rights would depend upon the accuracy with which the books [he had studied] were comprehended. His running comments, as the recitation progressed, were remarkable, not so much for the matter as for the manner of putting them. There was a tinge of cynicism about him which gave much effect and pungency to his utterances. He had an intense horror of shams. The series of questions with which he tested the students' knowledge were what might be described as searching; they gave an interest to the pages of Cruise and Chitty, which the students, on previously reading them, had never suspected to exist.

The recitations in the first volume of Blackstone's Commentaries had a particular interest for those who did not intend to follow the law as a profession, and many of the theological students were in the habit of coming into the lecture-room at this time.

You are aware there are some chapters relating to subjects which are obsolete or have no possible application to this country. On that account they are not made the subject of recitation in most law schools; but Judge Hitchcock made us [study] them all, as he said that we should find frequent references to them in our future reading, and would better understand some of the influences which had built up the common law. The chapter on the king's royal title, he thought, should be carefully studied by every one who wished to get a clear idea of English history. It was amazing, indeed, to see what stores of illustrations from history, fiction, poetry and the classics were treasured up in the brain of this man, who appeared to the world as nothing but a dry lawyer. (*Historical Discourse* by Theodore D. Woolsey, pp. 19-20.)

A volume of eighty-four pages which has been preserved, containing notes on Hitchcock's lectures taken down by Timothy Merwin, from January 7 to March 5, 1828, shows them to be unlikely to cause students to burst into song. Yet such was the effect on one student

who wrote the following in one of the law school's books:

Oh Thou who hear'st the students' prayer
How dark with all its witch-talk
Would seem the Law, if puzzled here,
We could not fly to Hitchcock.

Others had a different reason for gratitude. "To the needy, he was a friend," says an account written at the time of his death. "To the poor young man who listened to his instructions without the ability to compensate him at the time, he was not a hard master; but left them to consult their own time in remunerating him for his services."

In 1830, Hitchcock was made an instructor in the science and practice of law in Yale College. This appointment, it should be understood, gave him merely a title of academic honor, for there is no evidence that he ever taught in the College. The law school, the scene of his constant effort, was still to all intents a separate, private institution. Further recognition came to him in 1842, when the Yale degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him. For some years before his death he was engaged in the preparation of a work on contracts, but despite the desire of Little & Brown to publish it, it never saw the light.

In 1843, the degree of Bachelor of Laws was first conferred by Yale College. The initiative for this step was taken by Hitchcock in the following communication dated August 6, 1842:

To the President and Fellows of Yale College

The undersigned would respectfully represent

That from various sources of Information he has learned and believes that the Law Department of the College fails to secure the attendance of many students who enter Law Schools elsewhere, because other institutions confer the degree of

Bachelor of Laws upon their students at Law, while Yale College has conferred no degrees in Law except the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon distinguished individuals. If equal advantages of Instruction are enjoyed at different Institutions the expected honor of a degree determines the choice of the student. The schools of Law at Yale and Harvard were about equal in numbers until the latter College began to confer degrees, since which time their pupils have rapidly increased, and without any other apparent cause. If it is desirable that a Law Department should be, in any way, connected with the College, it is quite important that such department should not be greatly inferior in numbers and respectability to like Departments in other Colleges. Occasionally also, some restraint upon those who are pursuing professional study, beyond the mere influence of public opinion, or the wish to obtain an instructor's regard, would be salutary. If a favour is sought to be received from the Government of the College, conditions may be prescribed which, while they are not onerous, may secure correct deportment toward all who are officially concerned, and raise the standard of attainments, and of moral conduct, in the candidate for a degree.

With these views I would respectfully present for consideration the accompanying sketch of regulations referring to the above particulars with the wish that the Corporation would act upon the subject at their next meeting.

Samuel J. Hitchcock

On August 16, 1842, referring specifically to Hitchcock's proposal, the Yale Corporation approved the plan, and directed that the specified degree be conferred "on such students in the School, as shall during the year be found to have the qualifications required." The regulations submitted by Hitchcock were given verbal revision during the year, and on August 15, 1843, were adopted by the Corporation as follows:

Voted in regard to the Law Department:

1. *Membership.* Graduates of a College, or those who have been honorably dismissed therefrom are admitted upon proba-

tion upon satisfactory evidence, that they received their degree or dismissal not more than one year previous to their admission. But no person shall be admitted to attend on the lectures or other courses of instruction in the Law School, who has been expelled or disgracefully dismissed from Yale College. Those who have been graduated or honorably dismissed for more than one year and all other applicants must produce testimonials of good moral character. After a residence of three months, and on proof of regular attendance, commendable proficiency, and continued good moral character, the student may be admitted to matriculation.

2. *Degrees.* Matriculated Students who attend all the exercises of the department and fall under no censure as to College deportment after eighteen months membership, if liberally educated, or two years if not, and upon passing a satisfactory examination may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Common and Statute Laws. Those who are members of the School and perform their duties in like manner for one year after their admission to the Bar may be admitted to the same degree. Those who are members for a period which does not entitle the student to a degree, and perform their duties in like manner, shall be entitled to a certificate signed by the President and the Professor of Law.

College dues. The Graduation fee shall be four dollars [paid] to the President and the common fee to the Secretary beside diploma, to be furnished by the student.

VI

WHEN Staples moved to New York City in 1824, he took with him most of his law books. What he did not take, books especially suited for school work, Hitchcock bought from him. These books, with others which belonged to Hitchcock, supplemented by books loaned by Daggett, made up the school library in 1824. Thirteen years later, Hitchcock bought these latter books from Daggett at a cost of \$325.75. Steadily throughout the years until his death in 1845, Hitchcock added to his

collection, always at his own expense. The total cost of the 2,260 volumes which he eventually owned was \$7,736.55.

It was Hitchcock's books to which the law school announcement of 1826 referred when it said that "students are furnished with the use of the *elementary books*, and have access, at all times, to the college libraries, and to a *law library*, comprising very important works both ancient and modern." Law books in the Yale College library according to the *Catalogue of Books in the Library of Yale College* (pp. 39-42) published in 1823, numbered about one hundred volumes, most of them books for the general student rather than the lawyer. These could not be depended upon for the regular work of the school. When the announcement refers to "very important works both ancient and modern," it is distinguishing between law treatises, on the one hand, and law reports and statutes, on the other. Of the latter, Hitchcock at first possessed few. Of treatises he continued to purchase many, but not enough to justify the substitution of the word "every" for the word "very." This inadvertent typographical change appeared first in the announcement of 1827, crediting the library with possessing "every important work both ancient and modern."

An announcement which is found in all of the catalogues from 1831-32 to 1837-38, when it was dropped without explanation, is the following:

Arrangements are making and nearly completed, by which the students can at all times examine the Statute Laws of each State in the Union, and all the reported cases which have been published in this country.

"The explanation of this announcement," wrote Professor Henry Wade Rogers (*The Yale Shingle*, 1912,

p. 59), "probably lies in the fact that it was expected that the State Bar Library in the Capitol at Hartford would be removed to the State Capitol at New Haven. But this expectation was doomed to sad disappointment. The union of the New Haven and Connecticut colonies had been reluctantly consented to by the former, and as a measure of conciliation, two Capitols were established, one at New Haven, and one at Hartford. This arrangement lasted from 1701 until 1873, when Hartford was made the sole capitol. But the State Law Library was always at Hartford, although in the early thirties there was a scheme on foot to remove it to New Haven."

This particular plan fell through, but nevertheless, the catalogue of 1843-44 not only offered access to "every important work, both ancient and modern," but said that "the law library contains the Revised Statutes, the Reports and the Digests of all the States in the Union." These new accessions were purchased by Hitchcock.

The library, private as it was, was used not only by students, but by members of the bar, under the following simple conditions:

LIBRARY RULES

Members of the Law School cannot be permitted to take the *Reports* and *Digests* from the Library.

Personal application must be made for permission to take away *any other book* excepting the *text books*, which are read and recited in the school.

Gentlemen of the Bar who borrow books, are requested to leave their address in the place from which they take a book.

These rules are necessary, to make the Library equally useful to all.

The textbooks referred to were standard works required to be read by students, for whom copies were

provided. They were loaned to the individual students for extended periods, as shown by a receipt, which has been preserved. From this "charge card" we learn that Theodore W. Dwight of the class of 1841, who afterwards became famous as the head of the Columbia College Law School, on January 12, 1841, borrowed from Hitchcock the following books, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Swift's *Digest*, and Wheaton's *Selwyn*. These he retained until August 15, 1842, when according to the receipt, he returned them. Of such books, when an inventory was taken in 1845, Hitchcock's library contained many copies. For example, he owned of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, thirty sets; of Chitty on *Pleading*, thirty-four sets; of Cruise's *Digest of Real Property*, twenty-five sets; of Starkie on *Evidence*, eighteen sets; of Swift's *Connecticut Digest*, thirty sets; and of Wheaton's *Selwyn on Nisi Prius*, twenty-four sets.

VII

THE importance of the part which Hitchcock's library played in the history of the law school cannot well be overemphasized. It was the chief argument by means of which a closer connection with the College was brought about in 1846. After Hitchcock's death, it was frequently said that the school would have to be discontinued unless the library was acquired from his estate for the use of students. The local bar was also vitally interested and took an active part in the events which transpired. Henry White, executor of Hitchcock's will, procured an appraisal of the library, and offered it for \$4,227.55, to the instructors then active in the law school, namely William L. Storrs and Isaac H. Townsend. These gentlemen suggested that the offer be made to Yale College. We may surmise that conferences ensued in which the question of

funds was prominent, and that the advice of leading members of the bar was asked. They responded by starting a subscription list for the purchase of the library. Storrs and Townsend then presented to the Prudential Committee of Yale College their formal proposal in writing, dated December 23, 1845. Six days later, December 29, Henry White, the executor, gave the Committee the terms on which he would sell the library. So matters stood until the following August, while the amount of the subscriptions was being augmented. Then, on August 11, 1846, came a resolution adopted by the Corporation of Yale College authorizing its Prudential Committee to proceed with the purchase of the library, applying the subscribed amounts to the purchase price, and setting up a plan for amortizing the sum necessary to be advanced to the law school by the College. On the same date the Corporation adopted a resolution, introduced by the Reverend Leonard Bacon, by which the law school was recognized officially as a department in the College "for special instruction in the science of law."

The first three of these documents, telling in detail the story of the purchase of the Hitchcock library, are printed below:

PROPOSAL OF STORRS AND TOWNSEND

The death of Judge Hitchcock, & the consequent necessity of a disposition of his Law Library, present the situation of the Law Institution, which was under his charge, as a matter deserving of the serious consideration of those in any manner interested in the subject, & have suggested to the undersigned (who are now engaged in the instruction of the Law Students,) the propriety of presenting to the Prudential Committee of Yale College their general views as to the course most expedient to be taken.

The Law Library has hitherto been the individual property

of the principal Instructor, & there has been no direct connexion between those engaged as instructors of the Law School & the College. Every thing has thus far been conducted in relation to the School with the best understanding with the College, & it is believed, to the mutual satisfaction of both, as well as for the best interests of Education generally. There is no particular reason to think that this would not be the case in future. Yet it is easy to see that, unless steps are taken to guard against it, embarrassments may possibly arise from the want of a more immediate connexion between the School & the College; and the present is deemed an auspicious time to consider the subject.

As the Study of Law is one of the proper branches of a University education, we deem it very important that facilities for pursuing it should always be at the command of the College, independent of the will or control of any individuals. Those facilities consist mainly of a good Law Library. That is always indispensable. Others in connexion with it may, if not possessed, be supplied by temporary means until permanent ones can be furnished. But without a Library the Law School cannot flourish.

The College, if it owns a Library, can always immediately & properly supply Instructors for any vacancies which providentially or otherwise may occur.

It may also be suggested that a Library would be the foundation for farther endowments, by furnishing a motive for those having the ability, & feeling interested in the welfare of the College generally & the Law department in particular, to add, by donations, to the means of that branch of instruction; while nothing of this kind is to be expected in aid of merely individual enterprize.

It is therefore deemed by us to be of great importance that the College should become the proprietor of a Law Library; & in our opinion none more complete than the present one, as far as it extends, can be procured.

Having obtained a Library, the College, will have the means itself of continuing the Law School in the manner which is considered the most judicious.

The particular manner in which the School should be regulated is left entirely for the decision of the College authorities,

who are fully competent to devise the best plan for conducting the Law Department.

But, without intending to be officious, & having, as we trust, mainly in view the best interests of the College, we would take the liberty of adding a further suggestion on this point.

If the College furnish the use of the Library for the Law Institution, it is proper & just that it should have a supervision of the Institution, including the appointment of its Instructors, the terms of their engagement, the direction as to the course of study & the observances of the Students, with the testimonials to be furnished to them, & the terms on which they are to be granted.

Perhaps this Supervision could best be exercised by a Law Faculty, to be appointed by the College Corporation, to consist of the President, the Professor of Law, & such other Professors of the College or Instructors of the Law School, or both, as it shall be deemed best to associate with them for that purpose.

With the Library & such a Board of Supervision, the College would be in a situation to maintain, improve, & carry forward successfully the Law Department.

If these measures should be accomplished, the minor details connected with the subject, such as the necessary additions from time to time to the Library &c. may be safely left for subsequent adjustment.

New Haven,

Dec. 23, 1845.

To the Prudential Committee.

William L. Storrs

Isaac H. Townsend

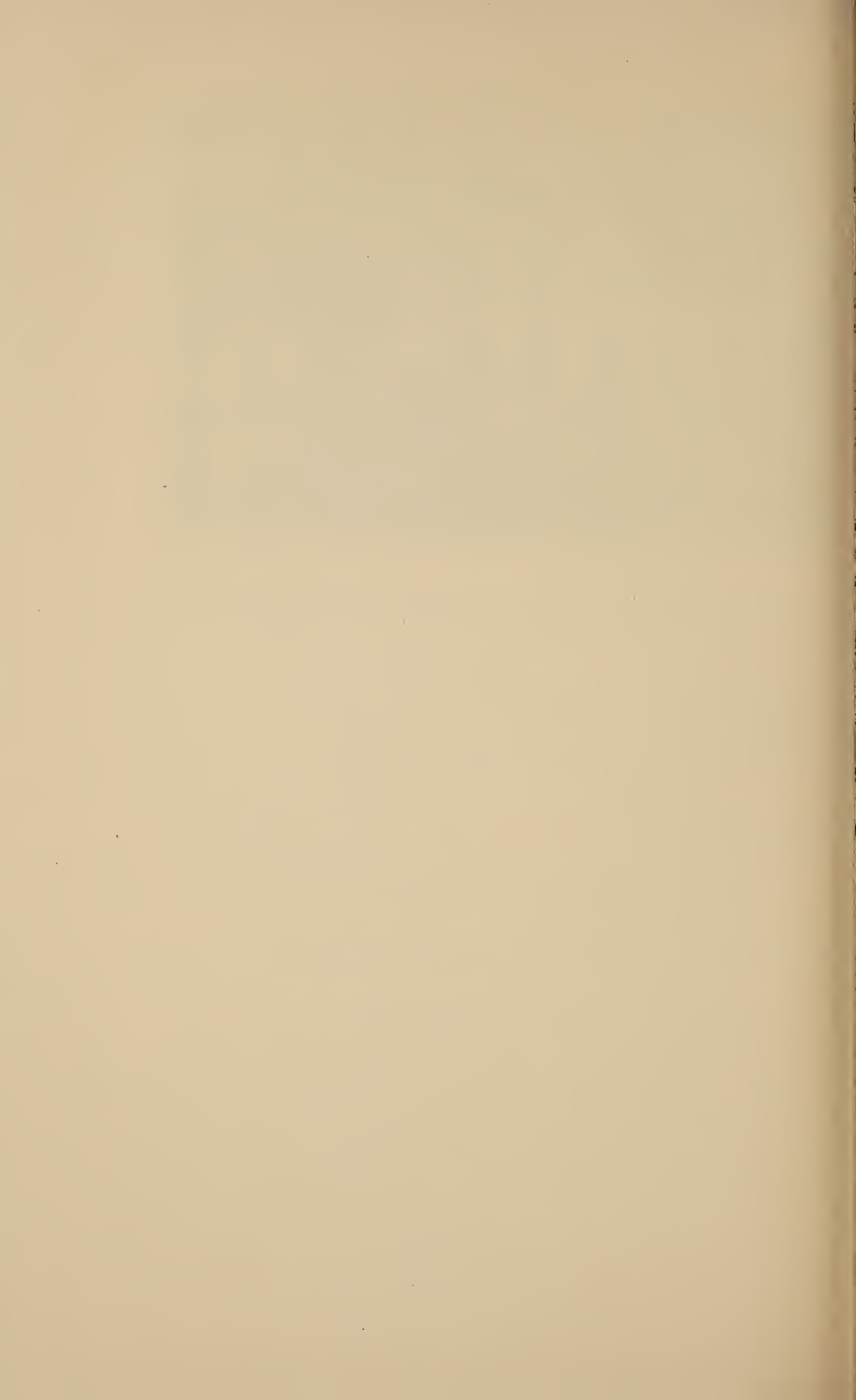
HENRY WHITE TO THE PRUDENTIAL COMMITTEE

Gentlemen,

As executor of the late Judge Hitchcock, it has become my duty to sell his Law Library. As soon as the Inventory of the Library was completed, I thought it my duty to offer it first to the present Instructors of the Law School; and at their suggestion and request I now offer to sell it to Yale College. I am informed that these gentlemen will present a communication to the Prudential Committee which will contain their views of



DAVID DAGGETT'S HOUSE ON ELM STREET



the importance of the Library to the College in its relation to the Law School. I would therefore merely express my own increasing conviction of the value of the Law School to the general interests & standing of the College, and of the necessity of the Law Library to the prosperity of the Law School.

The Library of Judge Hitchcock has the reputation of being the best private law library in the country—and of not being surpassed by any public Law Library in actual utility to the student & lawyer.

It has been selected with much labor and discrimination during the whole course of his professional life and is very complete in all works of practical utility to the student & professional man.

The number of volumes including text books is 2,260 and it has been appraised by Dennis Kimberly Esq. & E. C. Herrick Esq. at \$5,227 55/100. I will sell it to the College as a whole at a deduction of 1,000 dollars from the above appraisal, payable at any time within ten years in such instalments and at such periods as the College may prefer—with annual interest on the part of the price unpaid. If there are any books of which the College now possesses copies, such may be rejected at the option of the College and their value diminished from the appraisal in the same proportion, deducted from the above price.

Should the Prudential Committee decline this offer, I wish not to be considered bound by it at any future time, although I do not propose to sell the library as a whole for any less sum than the price above named.

I Remain

Very Respectfully

Your obt. sert.

Henry White

New Haven Dec^r. 29, 1845

*Executor of S. J.
Hitchcock decd.*

RESOLUTION OF THE CORPORATION

August 11, 1846

Whereas generous subscriptions have been made, chiefly by gentlemen of the legal profession, to purchase the Law Library of the late Honorable Samuel J. Hitchcock, that the same may be the foundation of a Law School in Yale College,

Resolved that the Prudential Committee be authorised to complete the negotiation with the executors of the last will of the late Judge Hitchcock, and to apply the subscriptions which have been or may yet be made for that purpose, to the purchase of said library, at such a price and on such conditions, as may seem to them reasonable and expedient. Provided that the whole income, whether derived from payments made by the students for the use of books, or from subscriptions for the use of books by the members of the legal profession, shall be devoted if necessary to the payment of the interest of the debt contracted by the purchase, and that such portion of the excess of the income over the interest as may be determined on from year to year by the Prudential Committee, shall be applied in payment of the principal till the debt shall be extinguished.

Resolved that when the Library shall become the property of the Corporation it shall be deposited and kept apart from the general library of the College, in a place convenient for both the instructors and students in the Law Department now to be established, and for those gentlemen of the bench and of the bar who by their subscriptions towards the purchase of the library, have acquired the privilege of using it, and that the library with the additions which may hereafter be made to it by purchase or gift shall be known as the Law Library of Yale College.

Resolved that each of those gentlemen who have paid or shall have subscribed and paid not less than one hundred dollars, severally, towards the purchase of the library, shall have during the continuance of his life the privilege of freely consulting the books in the library and of using, in any court in the City of New Haven, during the trial of any cause in which he is engaged as counsel or attorney, such books in said library as may be needed in such trial; and that the same

privilege shall be conceded to annual subscribers of ten dollars each, during the payment of such annual subscription.

Resolved that a committee on the Law Library be appointed, one by the Corporation, one by the Faculty of the Law Department, now to be established, and one by those gentlemen who have subscribed each one hundred dollars or more, for the purchase of the library, which Committee shall devise and recommend to the Corporation such further rules and arrangements as may be requisite to the ends for which the library is purchased and to the convenience of the parties concerned.

Resolved that one-eighth of the fees paid by students in the Law Department annually shall be for the use of the library, and that when the debt contracted by the present purchase shall have been discharged, the entire income from this source, and from the subscription of members of the legal profession, after defraying the necessary expenses of custody, insurance and repairs, shall be appropriated to the enlargement of the library.

The concrete result of these exchanges was, according to the treasurer's report of 1848, that Hitchcock's library was purchased at a cost of \$4,188.65, of which sum \$2,070 had then been subscribed, the remainder, or \$2,118.65, being carried in the report as "balance due the college." In the following years, interest was regularly charged on this balance, by which circumstance and by further borrowings for the purchase of new books, it gradually increased in amount, even though some new subscriptions were made, and even though, at first, one eighth of the receipts from students was credited to the law library account. By 1873, the "balance due to the College," had grown to \$4,233.73. The next year it stood at \$4,286.38, but then it was recorded in the treasurer's report as a College receipt, being labeled "old debt cancelled." A report to the alumni dated June 1, 1873, gives the probable explanation for this cancellation, when it

acknowledges subscriptions for the benefit of the law school totaling about \$12,000. Chief among the contributors were William Walter Phelps and Henry C. Kingsley. This sum is not to be confused with the James E. English fund of \$10,000 established in 1873, the income only of which was to be, and still is, used for the support of the law library. The Hitchcock library thus finally became an unincumbered possession of the law school. The estate of Hitchcock had been fully paid in 1846, and the principal and interest of loans by the College had now been discharged.

VIII

THE public career of David Daggett, the third of the men whose books are included in the Founders' Collection, is so well known that only a brief summary of it is needed to serve as a background for his law-school activities.

Born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, on December 31, 1764, he entered the Junior class of Yale College in 1781, at the age of sixteen. While a student, he supported himself by serving as butler for the College, and by holding a preceptorship in the Hopkins Grammar School. After his graduation in 1783, he studied law in the office of Charles Chauncey in New Haven, and was admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1786. He was a representative in the Connecticut legislature from 1791 to 1797, and again in 1805; from 1797 to 1804, and from 1809 to 1813 he was a member of the Council. From 1811 to 1813, he was state's attorney for New Haven County, and from 1813 to 1819, United States senator. All of these accomplishments were to his credit when he joined Hitchcock in the conduct of the law school in 1824. During the twenty-three years of law lecturing that followed, he also was associate justice of the Connecticut Superior Court

(1826-32), mayor of New Haven (1828-30), and chief justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors (1833-34). He was twice married, first to Wealthy Ann Munson (daughter of Dr. Eneas Munson), by whom he had nineteen children; and second, to Mary Lines, daughter of Captain Major and Susanna (Mansfield) Lines. He died in New Haven, on April 12, 1851, at the age of eighty-seven.

Daggett really lived four separate careers, that of lawyer, judge, statesman, and teacher. The purposes of the present sketch permit dealing in detail with the last only, although nothing could be more fascinating than the story of the bitter political quarrels in which his strong Federalist views embroiled him. Despite this emotional bias, it is said by Lynde Harrison (*Atwater's History of New Haven*, p. 244) that

his success as a lawyer was due to his innate knowledge of human nature, his sound judgment, and his strong common sense. He abounded in wit and humor, and had at command a fund of anecdotes to illustrate his positions and arguments. His manner of speaking was calm and deliberate. His knowledge of the law was thorough and eminently practical. He had no patience with hair-splitting technicalities, which were the delight of many lawyers in the days of the older common law practice. His punctuality was extraordinary, and his integrity was thorough, stern and exact. He was very familiar with the Bible, and frequently used its strong and popular language in his arguments, and even in his charges to the jury when he was a Judge.

Only three men taught in the Staples-Hitchcock-Yale law school from its inception to the year 1842. The periods of their respective service in the school were:

Staples, 1800 (?)—1824

Hitchcock, 1820—1845

Daggett, 1824—1847

Between 1842 and 1847, three other men served as teachers, Isaac H. Townsend (1842-47), William L. Storrs (1845-47), and Henry White (1846-47). Daggett, antedating them by many years, and ending his service by retirement when they did in 1847, was the connecting link between the school of the founders and the school which is now Yale Law School.

On November 10, 1824, Samuel J. Hitchcock wrote as follows to Staples, just established in his new quarters at 35 Pine Street, New York City:

Mr. Daggett began his labours in the School on Monday. He takes hold well. We hope you will send us some students from N. York by and by. There will be one, and perhaps two lectures a week delivered.

Staples and Hitchcock may well have wondered whether Daggett would "take hold" in the way that they knew to be necessary, for he was already sixty years old and to him teaching was a new venture. Apparently it was intended to break him in gradually, and in as comfortable surroundings as possible, for his one or two lectures a week were at first given in his own residence. This house stood on Elm Street, not far from the corner of Temple, where the Trowbridge house later stood, between the present Public Library and the Court House. Later he took on more work and shared substantially in the financial returns of the school. Hitchcock's account books show that payments of \$50 and \$80 were made to him from time to time, and that in March, 1837, it was agreed that thenceforth he should receive \$700 a year. Since he continued to lecture until his eighty-third year, it is not surprising that his lectures became stereotyped, but even then the fascination of his personality carried him through. Evidence of this fact is contained in

the recollections of one of his later law students, quoted by Woolsey:

He lectured every morning immediately after Judge Hitchcock's recitation, and the lectures on constitutional law (which were also delivered before the seniors in college) were made very interesting, because his experience in the Senate and intimacy with many of the founders of the Republic, supplied him with many anecdotes which he told with much gusto. He had been a decided federalist, and delighted in giving an occasional slap to Mr. Jefferson, whose character and career were at that time the subject of much discussion in the debating societies of the college and the law school.

His good humor, readiness at repartee and crusty mode of summing up his sentiments in a few words, made him always more interesting in conversation than in the lecture-room. His lectures on the common law, which were read from well-worn manuscripts, were not as interesting. He had been so long out of practice that he had not kept up with the later decisions, and the substance of them was contained in Swift's Digest. (*Historical Discourse*, pp. 17-18.)

IX

It will be recalled that from 1801 to 1810, Elizur Goodrich was professor of law in Yale College. After Daggett had been an instructor in the law school for two years, the professorship of law in the College was revived, and he was, in 1826, appointed to fill it. He signaled that honor by notifying President Day, on October 30, 1826, that he proposed to "attend worship at the College Chapel at least in part. I presume I can be accommodated with a pew," he wrote. "In mentioning it this morning to Mr. Twining, he observed that it belonged to the President to direct. The seat which I have occupied occasionally for the last two years would accommodate me in future. With your permission, I will occupy it hereafter as one of the officers of the College."

The new academic professorship in no way affected his connection with the law school. The only relation between the two activities was that, as has been seen, he gave the same lectures on constitutional law to both bodies of students. As a College officer, he received no compensation. The announcement of the law school in the College catalogue for 1826 (see ante), and in later catalogues to 1830-31, states that "the Professor of Law will also for the present, occasionally deliver lectures to the Senior Class in College, until arrangements are made for a systematic course to be permanently continued." In 1831-33, the announcement says that he will lecture to Seniors during the first and second terms, once in each week, and in the 1833-34 catalogue, the information is added that he will also hear recitations in Kent's *Commentaries*. This latter was a welcome task to Daggett, for he said of Kent's *Commentaries*, "this work I cherish with more affection than any other except the Bible and Shakespeare." There was, however, another reason for taking on more regular duties in connection with the College.

This reason is set forth in the following letter dated April 4, 1833:

To the President and Fellows of Yale College.

The Subscriber respectfully represents, that in September 1826, he had the honor to receive the appointment of Professor of law in the College. Since that time, he has delivered lectures to the Senior Class, once in each week, during the principal part of the fall and winter terms in each year. It was then understood that the funds of the College would authorize no salary, and he has, of course, received no emolument. At the Commencement in August last, it was known that a subscription was on foot to raise \$100,000 for the College: and it was then suggested that there ought to be some emolument provided for this professorship, as the subscriber has understood,

but it was thought not expedient, as the project might fail of success. The subscription was completed on the first of December last: and as that day occurred near the middle of the time of rendering the services, he presumes the Corporation will deem it just that whatever emolument shall be allowed, it ought to be considered payable at that period. The subscriber further represents that there is appropriated by direction of the donors, to this fund the sum of seven thousand five hundred dolls. *absolutely*, and the further sum of Fifteen hundred dolls. if the Corporation should approve of the destination, for the professorship of law.

The undersigned is a subscriber to that fund of \$1000, payable in four equal annual payments, commencing on the first of January last. He presumes that the first payment ought to be considered as made on that day by his services the current year. He is not desirous to receive any money from that fund for past or future services, but is willing to perform the duties of the office, & to add recitations to his lectures, as the Corporation or faculty may direct, so long as he shall continue in office & shall be able to officiate in the College, & on those terms he believes it reasonable that no part of his subscription should be demanded of his estate, in case of his inability to perform those duties. The subscriber would further take the liberty of suggesting that the Professorship thus established should be called the *KENT* Professorship of law in Yale College: and that some gentleman be requested to deliver an address on an early day of the next term on its establishment.

David Daggett

The fund of \$100,000 referred to is the Centum Millia Fund, still carried in the University treasurer's annual reports with a principal of \$82,950, and with the following description:

Established in 1832 from subscriptions received in the first movement for raising a large amount for general endowment. Of the \$100,000 subscribed, the above amount (\$82,950) was given on condition that the Corporation should hold the amount and use the income only for the general purposes of

Yale College. The balance has been distributed among the various departments for which it was subscribed.

As indicated by Daggett, part of this fund was subscribed to support the professorship of law, and it is interesting to note that it was Daggett's suggestion, after the money had been raised, that the professorship of law should thenceforth be known as the Kent professorship. Consequently the treasurer's annual reports still list the James Kent Professorship of Law in Yale College, supported by a principal sum of \$6,600. According to the arrangement suggested by Daggett, he took on additional duties in the College, thus paying off his subscription of \$1,000 to the Centum Millia Fund; but at the same time he agreed to serve without any further compensation while he retained the professorship. His final suggestion was that some gentleman be requested to deliver an address on the establishment of the professorship under its new name. The gentleman selected was Judge Daggett himself, as shown by a letter to him, dated August 3, 1833, from Professor Benjamin Silliman, then secretary of the Centum Millia Fund. The date set for the address was the evening of August 20, 1833, the day before Commencement, and the occasion was the annual meeting of the alumni of the College. "As we have no longer to detail our poverty," wrote Silliman, "a short statement from the Pres. of our success and of the general condition of the college will suffice, and we should hope that your address may be the first in a series to go on at that meeting year after year, upon appropriate topics." The address, containing an eulogium of Chancellor Kent, was accordingly made by Daggett. Despite its subject and the nature of the occasion, it provoked a bitter editorial attack in the *Columbian Register* of August 24.

Judge Daggett made a great impression on his students. Woolsey refers to his striking features, aquiline nose, small clothes and silk stockings, "his courtesy toward all, and that expectation of respect from others which belonged to the gentlemen of the former time." Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel) remembered him on the streets of New Haven, "serene in his top boots." In another place,³ he affectionately described him more in detail. After referring to other professors of his own college days, he wrote in 1882:

Still more distinctly . . . I have in mind the lithe old gentleman with the springy step and the eager, eagle-like look, which his great Roman nose made vivid, who talked to us of Kent, his *Commentaries*, and of the wide realms of law. He was fast verging on eighty in those days, yet erect and agile, and his voice sonorous. He was bravely outspoken, too, and his political affiliations—for he brought senatorial dignities with him—shone out in little swift gleams of satire that garnished his law talk. He had been judge, senator, and chief justice, and we stood in great awe of him. "Young gentlemen," I think I hear him say—he was always courteous—"Young gentlemen, for more than fifty years I have been engaged in courts and offices of law, and in all that long period I have met with many and many an instance where parents have despoiled themselves for the benefit of their children; but scarce one child, scarce one [a little louder] who has despoiled himself for the benefit of his parents." No figure of the old college days is more present to me than that of this active, brisk, erect old gentleman, in small clothes and in top boots, he being the last, I think, to carry these august paraphernalia of the past along New Haven streets. He picked his way mincingly over the uneven pavements, tapping here and there with his cane, rather to give point to his reflections, I think, than from any infirmness; bowing pleasantly here and there with an old-school lift of the hat; full of courtesies, full of dignity, too; and a perfect master of deportment.

³ Dunn, W. H. *Life of Donald G. Mitchell*, pp. 49-50.

When Judge Daggett was eighty years old, he attended the sixty-first anniversary of his graduation from college. This was on June 4, 1844. In a class album for the year 1844, someone made a sketch of Daggett as he then was. An enlarged reproduction of this sketch now hangs in the office of the Yale law librarian. The original sketch was signed by Daggett, and provided by him with a maxim which perhaps should be taken as the guiding rule of his life. It reads: *Via trita est via tuta*, the beaten path is the safe way.

X

THE story of the Founders' Collection—that is, of the extant volumes which formerly belonged to the Hitchcock library—is, as has been seen, inseparable from the history of the law school, as well as from the lives of the Founders, Staples, Hitchcock, and Daggett. Thus the narrative has reached the year 1847. The subsequent history of the school is another story, as is also that of the Yale Law Library developing from the nucleus provided by Hitchcock. The migrations of the books from the year 1847 to the present should, however, briefly be traced.

After the death of Hitchcock in 1845 and the retirement of Daggett in 1847, the books, having been purchased for the school, as has been related, remained in the Hitchcock building, until the completion of the Leffingwell building, on the adjoining lot, on the northeast corner made by the intersection of Church and Court Streets. This building, the first floor of which was occupied by Heublein's Cafe, was completed in 1850. In this structure, beginning in that year, the law school rented quarters on the second floor in the rear, paying a rental of \$300 annually. To this place, therefore, the Hitchcock

library was moved. There it remained until the year 1873, when the school moved into specially equipped rooms on the third floor of the Superior Court House, now known as the City Hall annex. In April, 1895, it moved again, with the school, to Hendrie Hall, and from there, in May, 1931, to its present resting place in the Sterling Law Buildings.

In these many years, the school passed through great vicissitudes, in all of which Hitchcock's books shared and suffered. That they should have dwindled in number from the original 2,260 volumes is therefore not surprising. It has been noted that the library contained multiple copies of those books which were used as texts and which were loaned to students year after year for their required reading. Such books received hard usage and for the most part were worn out and discarded. Only a few of them have come down to us.

Other classes of books suffered for other reasons. The charging system by means of which members of the bar took away books, leaving their names and addresses on the shelf where the volumes had stood, was subject to great abuses. There was little money to spend on binding, and unsupervised use of books led to injuries that could not be repaired. In 1869, as recorded by Professor Woolsey, "it was found that many sets had become mutilated, that quite a number of books had disappeared, and that others were hardly fit to be used." In later years, many of the Hitchcock volumes were reconditioned, in which process the flyleaves containing marks of original ownership were removed. To identify these positively, so that they may be added to the present Founders' Collection, is difficult. Enough remain and have been identified, nevertheless, to make an interesting collection. Undoubtedly more volumes will eventually be found, as

checking is continued, by means of Hitchcock's own catalogue, which fortunately has been preserved.

The Founders' Collection, in April, 1935, including forty-eight volumes which have not physically been transferred to it, subdivides itself, according to the criterion of original ownership, into the following groups:

SETH P. STAPLES										Volumes
Law Reports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
Statutes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
Treatises	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
Trials	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Digests of cases	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Manuscript volume	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
										<hr/>
										42
SAMUEL J. HITCHCOCK										
Law Reports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	125
Statutes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25
Treatises	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	61
Trials	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
Digests of cases	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
Journals of Congress	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
										<hr/>
										239
DAVID DAGGETT										
Law Reports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48
Statutes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Treatises	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13
Trials	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Digests of cases	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
International law	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
										<hr/>
										105
Total										<hr/>
										386 volumes

Included among them are Grotius' *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, 1650; Bracton's *De Legibus*, 1569; five folio Year Books containing cases for Ed. II, 1-19, Ed. IV, 1-22,

H. IV, H. V, Ed. V, Rich. III, H. VII, H. VIII; Rolle's *Abridgment*, 1668; Viner's *Abridgment*, 1791-1806; Beawes' *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva*, 1761; and Domat's *Civil Law*, 1722. Valuable as are these and other volumes in the collection, it is not chiefly for their intrinsic value that we now prize them. Rather it is because of their associations with the Founders and with the long succession of students that have used them. Evidence of wandering thoughts, of budding poetical fancy, of the incipient artist among the students of long ago, appears in them, contrary to approved library regulations, in the form of scribblings, sophomoric verse, and pencil sketches of professors and fellow students. There are dated lists of students present at classes, names of students who read some of the textbooks, anecdotes probably jotted down while listening to lectures, and comments on the professors themselves. All these notations are now preserved as records of voices which spoke in the past, sometimes giving advice to students of the future. Such was the intent of a member of the class of 1867, when he wrote the following in Hoffman's *Chancery Practice*:

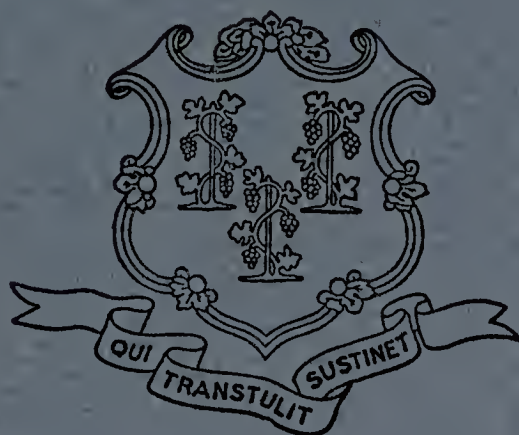
Gentle Reader:

Peruse this volume well. It is somewhat old, but nevertheless it is sound law. The immortal class of '67 went through it in one week.

Sic gloria transit mundi.

The Printing-Office of the Yale University Press

TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
STATE OF CONNECTICUT



COMMITTEE ON
HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

XL

*Agricultural Economy and the Population
in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut*

ALBERT LAVERNE OLSON

PUBLISHED FOR THE TERCENTENARY COMMISSION
BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935



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XL

*Agricultural Economy and the Population
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I

IT is difficult to generalize about Connecticut terrain or even to describe its geography accurately, for even small areas of the state offer a wide variety of surface, soil, and character. Near granite ridges may be found smooth, fertile plains, while mountains or rugged cliffs may face the rich alluvial soil of the river valleys. Hills verging on the mountainous in size compose the western and, in lesser degree, the eastern areas of the state, and these are largely covered with forests. Many streams debouch into the valleys from the various ranges, causing an age-old erosion of humus, the loss of which has raised serious economic problems in Connecticut history.

Three river valleys of importance are found in the state, the Connecticut, the Thames, and the Housatonic. The first of these is the richest agricultural region in Connecticut. Lying north to south the breadth of the state, it is from ten to sixteen miles wide, extending on both sides of the river and bearing a soil varying from hard, stiff clay to a light, sandy loam. Aside from the alluvial, the surface

is undulating and diversified with moderate hills and gentle slopes.

II

COMMENTS of travelers who journeyed through the river valleys and along the Sound in the eighteenth century were, with one or two exceptions, quite favorable. Orchards, fields, and meadows were described as comparable to those of Europe, but it should be remembered that travelers usually saw only the most fertile and best cultivated areas through which the main roads lay. Visitors from abroad noted that maize was the most important grain crop, and that rye was also well cultivated. Wheat had been introduced early in the eighteenth century but its culture had never reached great proportions. Other products were oats, barley, flax, and hemp but, aside from the famous onions of Wethersfield, root crops such as potatoes, carrots, and turnips were not generally appreciated as foodstuffs. Even so progressive and well-educated a man as President Ezra Stiles of Yale considered potatoes valuable principally as cattle food.

Perishable small fruits had been grown since the early days of the colony, but most of the improvement in fruit culture was made after 1800. Fruits were hardly more appreciated as foodstuffs than root crops in eighteenth-century Connecticut, their use having been directed mostly to the production of cider and brandy. It is probable that restrictions on the West India rum trade during the Revolution caused attention to be turned toward the manufacture of brandy, or apple-jack. At any rate, it developed rapidly in that period, when farmers in Hartford county made three hundred to six hundred barrels annually. Some made as many as a thousand in a year.

The extensive wooded areas of Connecticut, in time,

brought salable products to the attention of farmers and absentee landowners. Important among these articles were pot and pearl ashes from which financial benefits were gradually derived, but they received little consideration before 1770. Another forest product, whose cultivation indicated a reaching out for profit opportunities as well as diversification of farm activities, was maple sugar. In 1774, 16,000 pounds of sugar were made at Norfolk, and in 1784 the amount was increased to 21,000. Of 230 families in the town, 180 were engaged in making sugar. Obviously the settlers of northwestern Connecticut had turned to sugar production upon their arrival, for at Goshen the "works" were forty years old in 1784. Tenants on Yale College farms at Norfolk and Canaan had eleven "works" and several maple orchards of one hundred and fifty to three hundred trees each. One seven-acre tract bore about three hundred fine old trees. In some towns individuals were also planting mulberry trees as a source of food for the silkworm. These trees were under extensive culture by the 1790's. In the late eighteenth century, it was said that "in Connecticut where there is a sensible and careful population, and where land is comparatively scarce and dear, production of silk is encouraged."

Hogs were raised in considerable numbers as the century advanced. Their meat was regarded as fully the equal of any and it had also the merit of cheapness. "Connecticut pork" denoted all that was produced north of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Indian corn and a plentiful supply of mast, or nuts from the oak and beech trees of Connecticut forests, contributed to producing a superior quality. Sheep also afforded an important source of earnings for farmers who, in the latter part of the century, anticipated an increasing consumption of mut-

ton by "industrial" populations and greater profits as demands for wool for cloth making should develop. Exports of salted beef and pork were also greatly enhanced in the last decade of the century owing to the needs of European nations, who were engaged in the French Revolutionary Wars.

Meadows available for pasture and haying had attracted settlers to Connecticut in the seventeenth century. As the eighteenth century advanced, the inhabitants raised cattle, horses, and mules to be sold in the West Indies and to be driven to points within the colonies. By post-Revolutionary times many areas formerly tilled were used as pasturage for animals. The transition from tillage to grazing was in accord with the rising commercial and speculative interests of eighteenth-century Connecticut. As more land was required for pastoral purposes, less remained for those engaged in general farming. This change to grazing also increased the value of common and undivided lands and created ill feeling between descendants of the original proprietors who were privileged to use the commons and those who were not so fortunate. Farmers of marginal lands, that is, lands which could with difficulty be made to produce profits from general agriculture, turned to the cattle and dairy business. This was especially true in places remote from transportation, for cheese, in particular, would keep until it was marketed and would furnish a cash product because it found a ready sale.

Not only was much animal produce packed for sale to foreign parts, but there was also a growing domestic demand for beef. Two-year-old animals were brought from Vermont and New York to Litchfield county and to other places in Connecticut. There they were fed on grain and roughage during the winter, fattened in pasture for a

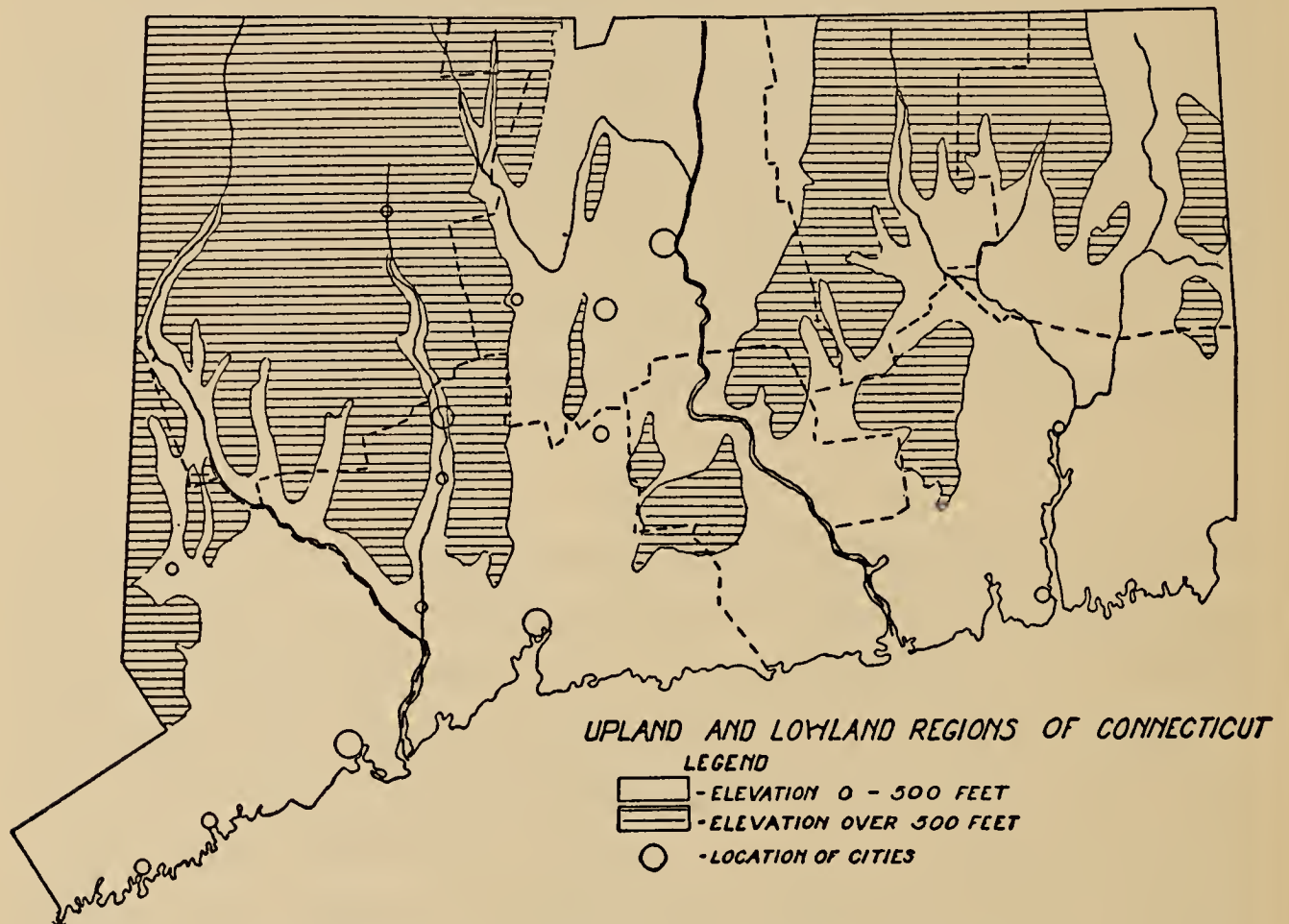
summer, and then sold in the fall of the year. Late in the century Governor Trumbull referred to the raising of beef and pork as a leading industry of the state. The best grazing and dairying towns at the end of the century were Pomfret, Woodstock, Brooklyn, Lebanon, Stonington, North Stonington, and Groton east of the Connecticut river; west of the river, Goshen, Bethlehem, Winchester, Norfolk, Colebrook, and Torrington. It is of interest to note that the modern dairy regions of Connecticut lie principally in the marginal land areas of the three eastern counties and in Litchfield county in the northwestern part of the state. Northern Fairfield county which abuts Litchfield is also included, as well as small portions of other counties, but in the specified sections dairying and cattle raising are the predominant industries.

III

SINCE the underlying character of land does not change from decade to decade nor from century to century, the conditions of ruggedness and sparseness which prevailed in certain areas in the eighteenth century are substantially the same today. Thus the land in a large part of eastern, northern, and western Connecticut is hilly, rugged, and generally unsuitable for tillage and rather better adapted to grazing and forestry. Ranges of hills break the farming areas into irregular sections. Predominantly rugged woodland areas are northeastern Litchfield, southern Middlesex, and a section comprising northeastern Tolland and northwestern Windham counties. The principal towns are Norfolk, Colebrook, Barkhamsted, Torrington, Hartland, Granby, Prospect, Bethany, Madison, Killingworth, Essex, Saybrook, Haddam, East Hampton, Marlboro, Stafford, Union, Tolland, Willington, Ashford, Eastford, Sterling, and Voluntown. In these regions

sixty per cent or more of the land area is in woods. Other smaller wooded regions are also found here and there, but the heavily forested districts are almost entirely in the upland sections of the state.

In the wooded areas farms are less numerous than in more fertile parts of the state and they are medium-sized to large, with a small number of crop acres per farm. The



THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CONNECTICUT

The shaded areas are largely hilly or rugged, timbered districts, 500 of more feet above sea level. Unshaded parts are those less than 500 feet above sea level, and comprise the most fertile and desirable agricultural areas of Connecticut. This map is reproduced, by permission, from *Description of Connecticut agriculture*, by I. G. Davis and C. I. Hendrickson.

average number of acres per farm is large, but the lowest land values prevail and the total agricultural production is low. Even today the farms are the cheapest in the state, prices being under twenty-five dollars per acre as against fifty to ninety-nine for good land in the fertile Connecti-

cut valley.¹ Again, in the wooded areas a large portion of the land is not in farms, population is sparse, and a large majority of those who till the soil find it difficult or impossible to secure a satisfactory living from farming alone. In some of these areas the soil is fertile enough to grow crops, but factors of elevation, ruggedness, and the presence of stones tend to offset advantages of soil fertility since it is not profitable to cultivate land under such handicaps.

IV

CONNECTICUT farmers of the eighteenth century were for the most part engaged in an extensive² type of agriculture and they were undoubtedly cultivating marginal lands in a primitive and unremunerative fashion. Proof of this may be found in the fact that such lands have now fallen back to woodland and pastoral uses in the face of competition from fertile lands elsewhere which readily produce large yields with much less labor. An excellent description of agricultural conditions in the town of Union is supplied by the testimony of Nehemiah May before a justice of the peace in 1779. May was assisting Union in securing relief from heavy taxation and he testified that the town was very poor. The soil was very shallow, not much more than twelve inches in depth and of a sort commonly known as hardpan. The land was so far exhausted by continuous cropping that tillage no longer paid unless thorough manuring was carried on at considerable expense. The townsmen produced no surpluses either in cattle or grain and, according to May, brought nearly one half of their bread corn from other towns. Agricul-

¹Prices quoted were those prevailing in 1925.

²That is, general farming of various crops without careful cultivation and manuring, and without intensive specialization.

tural conditions were rendered more difficult because of the presence of rocky terrain and swamps.

At the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century Crèvecoeur, the French author of *The letters of an American farmer*, visited Connecticut emigrants on the Susquehanna. From them he learned that in Connecticut there might "already be perceived a great vegetative decay. The rich coat which was composed of old, decayed leaves and other particles preserved for ages by the existence of timber and sheltered from the devouring impulse of the sun by the shades it produced, is long exhausted and gone. This it was which enriched the first settlers and procured them such abundant crops. All the arts of man can never repair this." Contemporaries were well aware of the decline of Connecticut agriculture and the exhaustion of its soil. Of this there is ample evidence. Traditional agricultural methods inherited from colonial forebears had been carried on by the people through the eighteenth century and these practices, rigidly adhered to, had hindered the introduction of innovations or foreign (English) methods such as the rotation of crops and adequate fertilization, with resultant soil exhaustion. Frequently the best modes of plowing and preparing the ground were neglected and at other times the choice of seed and the best time for sowing and harvesting were not observed intelligently.

Much of the seed originally brought from England had deteriorated in Connecticut, either from want of care in selecting the best or from faulty methods of preserving it. At any rate, seed did not seem equal to the improved European standard. Wheat was apt to be blighted, barley grown "dry," and oats inclined to yield more straw than grain. Neither was sufficient attention given to the care and breeding of cattle, horses, and sheep. In all weathers

they ranged for their sustenance over the common lands and on roadsides, and frequently were poorly housed and fed, owing partly to the prevailing theory that such treatment would build resistance to hardship. If animals were kept from starving through the winter, farmers were generally satisfied for they ordinarily stored no fodder except a little hay. The unchecked roaming habits of livestock also caused farmers to lose the benefit of the animals' dung. This was, however, considered to be of little moment as few cultivators concerned themselves with collecting and using barnyard manure. "Ten loads of good manure are lost, at least, by this slovenly practice in a season—and for what? For nothing indeed but to ruin a farm."

Seventeenth-century settlers had frequently "chosen the worst land for improvement," and such "indiscriminate clearing cost more in labor than the land was worth." In the eighteenth century there was on these lands, as is always the case when little progress has been made in agriculture, a particular density of population which it was practicable to reach, but not exceed, if the largest income per head was to be obtained. Under the existing agricultural conditions, one third of the arable fields lay fallow every year and were not, therefore, bearing crops under the system, then prevailing, of giving the land a rest. This system had evolved because farmers had anciently discovered that land continuously cropped became foul with weeds. Not until after 1800 was it widely known that land could be cleaned of weeds by hoeing between plants. Had this cleansing system been in vogue earlier in Connecticut, one-third more volume in crops might have been raised. Under root-crop culture, which had not obtained a good foothold in eighteenth-century Connecticut, a larger number of workers is employed per acre because

such crops require more labor than fallow land, and more labor than either grain culture or stock raising. Thus the fallow-land system, together with the growth of stock raising, lessened opportunities for employment in several parts of Connecticut and compelled migration to other quarters.

V

UNTIL the close of the French wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French policy of hemming in the English colonies and limiting them to a narrow strip of country along the coast had caused Connecticut people to become cramped in their early settlements. But with the defeat of the French, particularly in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), this pressure was alleviated. A restless shifting of population from old, well-settled areas along the Sound and in the Connecticut valley to the unoccupied lands in the northwest and northeast followed. Population movement was accompanied by a change in the colony's land policy as the old religious-social emphasis gave place to the profit motive, a commercial spirit, and land speculation. Free grants of townships by the general court were superseded by sales to groups of people who bought shares in the new towns. Meanwhile an increasing population, tending to press forward to the subsistence limit of long-settled districts, developed conflicts between proprietors and non-proprietors. Absentee proprietorship arose, especially in the new towns, as thousands of acres were bought by the well-to-do of old communities. Many petitioners for land said that they desired fresh lands to replace their worn-out farms, but records also indicate that young men were seeking opportunities for livelihood away from their early environment. Absentee proprietor-

ship, however, in many cases, hindered immediate settlement of new towns.

From 1715 to 1756 Connecticut increased in population from 30,000 to 130,000. Various explanations were advanced by contemporaries to account for this growth. In 1730 the report to the crown noted that the inhabitants were much increased during the ten years from 1720 to 1730, attributing the growth to the fact that the country was new and large and that intestate estates were being or had been divided among all the children. This legal arrangement³ had encouraged the young men to take part in clearing and subduing the earth in order to make room for themselves when they came of age. "But the consummate and principal reason is the blessing of the Almighty on the fruit of our bodies and the fruit of our lands." In the twenty-four years previous to 1756, the number of inhabitants was said to have doubled, owing to industrious, temperate life and early marriages; 52,266 were added in the twelve years previous to 1774 for the same reasons. In the years following the close of the French and Indian War and removal of the Gallican-redskin menace, the population of the colony rose from about 150,000 in 1763 to 237,000 in 1790, an increase of some 87,000 in thirty years. This increase largely went to the hitherto meagerly populated areas of Connecticut, Litchfield county rising from 11,827 in 1756 to 42,214 by 1800, thus outstripping Hartford and New London counties in numbers. The northern part of Fairfield county also grew during this period, as did the county of Windham. Fertile Hartford county gained only 6,000 people in the same period, for lands there were well settled and priced beyond the reach of young men desirous of establishing

³See Andrews, *The Connecticut intestacy law* (Pamphlet no. II in this series).

their own homes. Rugged, stony, wooded counties, such as Middlesex and Tolland, grew slowly and it is apparent that their population losses by migration were consequently heavy. The rapid settlement of Litchfield county indicates the rise of important interests in the north-western part of Connecticut. The increase of stock raising, cheese and sugar making, and the proximity of the county to Hudson river transportation to New York were undoubtedly factors in the development of the Litchfield area. Upon the completion of expansion to the borders of Connecticut, there was not much desirable land available in the colony for a growing population engaged in tillage, especially in view of the land engrossments of speculators, the presence of heavy forests, and requirements for the pasturing of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep. Easy access to lands on the upper Connecticut, by the river, undoubtedly made migration to New Hampshire and Vermont a ready alternative. The valley of the Housatonic provided a similar route to western Massachusetts and Vermont.

The difference in population growth of Connecticut and its neighbors is illuminating. Connecticut and New York were credited with 100,000 each in 1753-54 by Benjamin Franklin, while Pennsylvania (together with Delaware) had 250,000. In 1800, however, Connecticut had 251,002, a growth of 151,002; New York had 586,050, an increase of 486,050; Pennsylvania had 602,545, a rise of 352,545. Vermont, which had nearly 100,000 people in 1790, had received more inhabitants from Connecticut than from any other state, while New York, Kentucky, the Susquehanna valley, and the western territory of Georgia had also received large numbers. Similarly striking figures reveal the growth of New Hampshire and other states which had an abundance of virgin soil to

attract settlers. Connecticut, which had more females than males in its population in 1790, a situation ascribed largely to migration, steadily lost ground to its neighbors in the population race. In the eighteen years from 1756 to 1774, the census of the colony showed an increase of 67,245, an average of 3,735 a year. From 1782 to 1800 Connecticut's population rose from 208,870 to 251,002, a growth of 42,132. This was approximately two-thirds as rapid an increase as occurred in the earlier eighteen years, or at the rate of 2,340 a year. Meanwhile, population of the whole country was growing at the rate of 35.1 per cent in the decade 1790-1800, but Connecticut was only gaining about 5.5 per cent.

VI

JARED ELIOT of Killingworth (now Clinton), Connecticut's preacher-physician-farmer, had spent many years in traveling within the colony and he had, therefore, an excellent opportunity of observing the condition of agriculture. It is evident from Eliot's *Essays upon husbandry in New-England* (Boston, 1760) that there was increased emphasis upon stock raising, coupled with a decline of interest in tillage and in small grain production. The grain belt was, in fact, removing to the more fertile fields of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In Connecticut meanwhile the production of wheat had been much diminished from constant cropping without resort to manuring. Eliot observed that farming had been "strangely Neglected" and said that the subject was apparently too crude for the attention of polite writers. The increasing population and rise in land values also assisted in turning his attention to neglected areas in old, settled communities. Pointing to these lands as a source of wealth, he advocated "Improvement in the Manage-

ment of our Lands" by reclamation of salt marshes, sunken lands, and the draining of low grounds, swamps, and ponds. These improvements, he contended, would bring into use soil from which there had as yet been no benefit. "It opens to us a new Scene, and time may possibly discover it to be the easiest of Tillage, the richest and best land." All this is excellent evidence of the fact that Connecticut people had begun to feel the pinch of land impoverishment and the scarcity of good-soil areas in old districts.

From reclamation of swamps Eliot turned his attention to worn-out lands, advising rotation of crops, animal manures, swamp loam, lime, and red clover as recuperative agencies for exhausted soil. "I believe it will not be well with New-England till every Farmer shall have a bushel or two of Clover Seed to sow every Year upon his own Land."⁴ It was pointed out that the quick recovery of England after the Civil War occurred through the introduction of clover or "Flanders grass" from Brabant. Recovery to old, worn-out lands would not come without fertilization, the use of grass seed, and shell sand from the shore. Other methods of improving exhausted lands were mentioned and, at the same time, Eliot was using his own farms as experiment stations at which all sorts of plans for land and crop improvement were projected.

While Eliot believed in experiment he kept in mind the cost of processes, realizing that many Connecticut farmers were not in a financial condition to make costly attempts to improve their crops. The subject of agriculture needed all the "Help that can be afforded, especially at a Time when there is such a heavy Load of Debt upon the Country." He noticed the increased emphasis on

⁴ Clover had early been introduced into New England but it had generally fallen into disuse.

stock raising, as well as the decline in small grain production, and to offset the loss in total production he sought methods of increasing the yield per acre. On drained lands he greatly improved the yield of corn, and also tried barley, wheat, licorice roots, and other plants. Then, too, he advocated the raising of "Russia Water Melons" and of cotton, with which he had no success. He next turned his attention to the improvement of sheep breeds, but this was difficult for England had declared that "Wool and live Sheep are contraband Goods, which all Strangers are prohibited from carrying out, on Pain of having their right Hand cut off." According to his essays, Eliot planned "not an history of our practice, not an account of what we do in our present industry but what we might do to our advantage." He desired to make farmers' holdings more profitable.

Eliot's activities in renewing interest in land reclamation so that Connecticut agriculture might advance was but one side of the story. He was also on the search for a staple crop upon which the people might specialize and with which they might enrich themselves. Hemp, flax, and silk were tried in turn without the desired result. A reason for the search for a specialized crop was the fact that a growing population could provide labor for its care. This grew more and more urgent toward the end of the eighteenth century as population increased. The first article sought to serve as a staple was hemp, a product which had potential customers in Great Britain and Europe. Foreign countries did not produce it in large quantities and Eliot accordingly stressed the importance of this crop to Connecticut, saying that England had a monopoly on woolens; Ireland, linens; Virginia, tobacco; the Carolinas, rice; the West Indies, sugar; and Holland, the herring industry. Such a product as hemp might in

time become a staple for "Returns Home" and so bring the balance of trade in Connecticut's favor, "which has always been against us." He wished to use the drained areas for hemp crops, for he had been informed by Benjamin Franklin that such lands in Pennsylvania produced an excellent quality. Eliot failed in his attempt to secure an enthusiastic following for large-scale hemp-raising, but people in various parts of Connecticut gradually developed it, as well as flax and silk culture. About 1800, President Dwight of Yale said: "Hemp has lately excited attention in earnest. At Long Meadow and Enfield, Connecticut, and at some other places it grows luxuriantly and is undoubtedly the most profitable crop that can be raised." During the early years of the nineteenth century three hundred to twelve hundred pounds per acre were raised, with prices ranging from \$200 to \$412 per ton. Flax production also became more important as people turned from ordinary tillage to specialized effort. By 1802 Milford raised 100,000 pounds of flax and 4,000 bushels of flaxseed, while tow cloth and linens were made in nearly every home.

Even in Eliot's time hay had been high in price and insufficient in quantity, making it necessary to import grasses for livestock feed. This lack of good meadow both for pasture and hay continued until the nineteenth century. Much land, even in populous districts, needed to be reclaimed, and other parts timbered with poor, scrubby woods could also be utilized for meadows if they were cleared. Eliot had found that deep, rich soil, a potential producer of good hay, lay under swamps. Connecticut people of the late eighteenth century apparently came gradually to the same conclusion, for they turned to these neglected areas and to salt marshes for additional meadows. "Agricola," writing in the *Connecticut courant* in

1784, said that "the parching heats to which this country is exposed often occasions a want of summer pasture as well as winter fodder, and it is therefore of the utmost moment that American cultivators should be informed that artificial meadows constitute one-half of the rural riches of Europe." After describing the merits of clover, alfalfa, and other grasses, "Agricola" announced that any farmer wishing to experiment could secure seed from Normandy by applying to the French consul's office. The only charges were the purchase price plus land carriage from Caen to Port l'Orient, the rest of the service having been attributed to the generosity of the king of France.

From the character of numerous other complaints and suggestions concerning the necessity and desirability of larger crops, it seems clear that Connecticut, with its growing population, was unable to produce a surplus with which to participate profitably in foreign trade. This was particularly true after the Revolution as all money and provisions that could be collected by Connecticut merchants were shipped abroad in payment for long-desired goods. Influx of these goods caused a glut upon the market, money became scarce, and prices of agricultural products rose. In addition, Connecticut was in some years unable to raise enough for its own needs, to say nothing of surpluses required if her inhabitants were to enjoy luxuries and manufactured articles from England and Europe. The loss of labor involved in forty thousand enlistments for varying lengths of service proved disastrous to the farms of Connecticut. Its "cash" products, such as potash and flaxseed, were scarce and high in price; oats could not be had at times, while corn was imported from Virginia. In 1789 a report ran: "Several vessels expected daily from Virginia with corn. Should they arrive soon it will reduce the price of that Article." All this confusion

in trade had an important bearing upon the efforts for improvement of agriculture in the state and it also affected migration to points beyond its borders. The inability of many people to make a good living after the return of peace undoubtedly served as an incentive to remove to regions where prospects were better.⁵

VII

LARGE families created economic problems in Connecticut during this period. Travelers passing houses frequently noticed ten or twelve little heads peeping out of doors and windows. According to some writers, eight to twenty children to a family were not uncommon. Various sources indicate that the state was densely populated considering the status of its agricultural, home-manufacturing, commercial mode of life. Tench Coxe, a Pennsylvania writer on economic subjects, remarked that "all New England is full, except Maine and Vermont"; La Rochefoucauld, a French traveler, wrote, "Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts have at present nearly their due quantum of population"; and an unknown writer commented, "Our lands are cleared and settled; our farms in general will not bear a further division; unless there be some new resource our most active, industrious and enterprising young men . . . will emigrate to those parts of the continent where there is more vacant territory."

An important expulsive force, directly related to the density of population, was the increasing necessity of finding additional means of livelihood for many people.

⁵A crude estimate of Connecticut's population loss was made in 1814. "Admitting the natural increase of population to have been the same in all New England states from 1782 to 1790, Connecticut lost 11,600 in that period; from 1790 to 1800 she lost 77,800." Wm. Burdick, *The Massachusetts manual*, 61. There is reason to believe that these are underestimates.

Connecticut, in the second half of the eighteenth century, was swiftly outgrowing the period of self-sufficing economy which served its needs during the colonial period. Tench Coxe said that after the Revolution the state was perhaps the most densely populated in the Union, considering the ratio of people to area, and that it could not hope to support its growing population on the prevailing system. He accordingly advised the addition of more manufactures to Connecticut life in order to offer opportunities to the people. Governor Samuel Huntington suggested the promotion of agriculture and manufactures on an intensive scale in order to allay the dissatisfaction of the populace. Others recommended a broadening of economic activities. One writer, signing his article as the "Friend of America," said that he was pleased at the increase in American manufactures, as the industrious poor could now find employment and their children could be trained to work instead of idling. Convicts could also become useful members of society by working at manufactures. It is evident that Connecticut produced mechanics in abundance and was also noted for its labor supply as other states were looking to it for skilled workmen. In 1787, New York business concerns advertised in Connecticut papers for "Journeyman Taylors" and "Journeyman Joiners." Later they desired no less than two hundred "Journeyman Shoemakers" at one time. Frequently offers were extended to mechanics who would go into the interior and there build mills and houses in the new settlements.

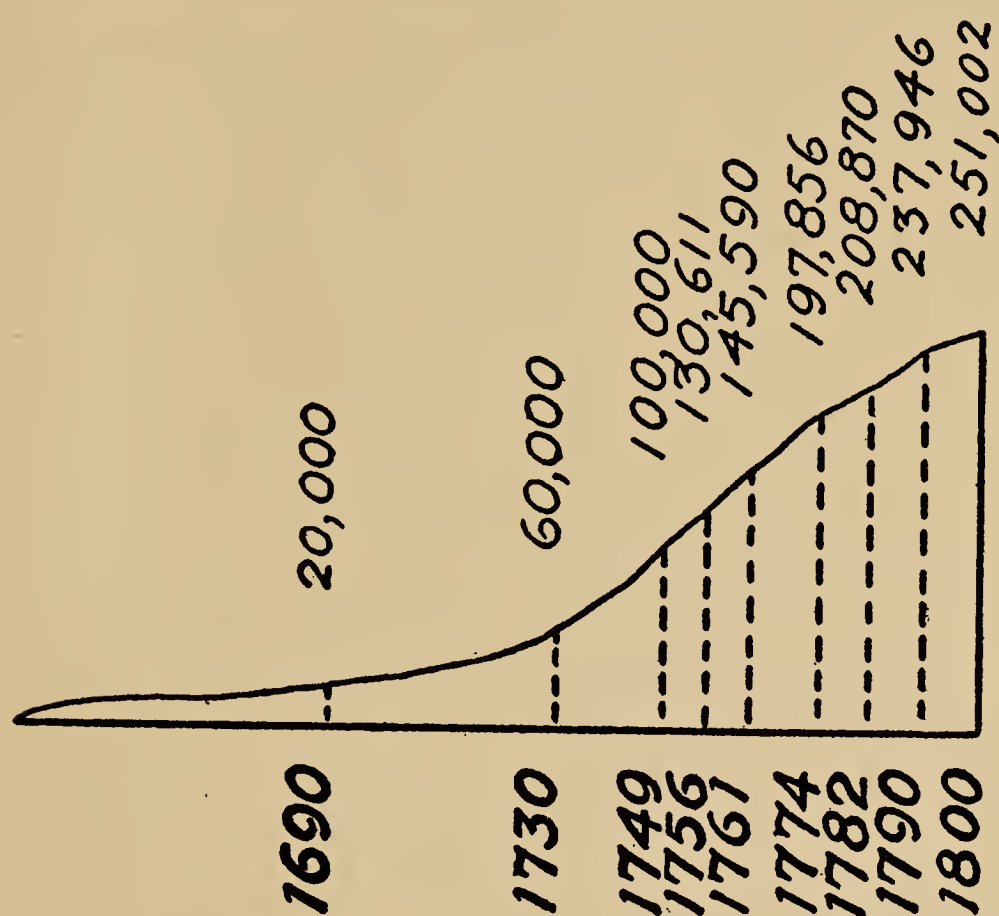
"Of the advancement of our manufactures we do not boast," wrote an observer, "for they only increase where agriculture has not fair play or where we have more than the average of our population; or where government has imprudently neglected to attend to the circulation of

money." These significant remarks, which were not applied to Connecticut alone, indicate that an increasing density of population, a backward agriculture, and the prevalence of barter were part of a deep-rooted economic maladjustment. This condition was giving rise to problems which, unless they were solved by certain changes in the status of the arts, must inevitably cause migration from the state. It was difficult to find the solution through development of manufactures, however, for the cost of setting up works, and inexperience in managing them, were hindrances which could not be easily overcome. Private capital was slow to enter the field and sought to lean upon the state rather than to rely upon itself. Neither did Connecticut people of independence and spirit readily fall into the habit of working for others. It was more congenial and profitable to go to sea or to accept an invitation to settle in the inland country than to work for someone else. Wages were another source of difficulty since the old semi-barter custom of paying employees partly in money and partly in goods was utilized by manufacturers.⁶ This became a cause of grievance to artisans and undoubtedly led many of them to migrate. Desires for economic independence and for their own freeholds were other factors which obstructed the rise of interest in commercialized industrialism on the part of the great mass of people. They had as yet little conception of what such a system might mean to them.

It may, at first glance, seem ridiculous to suggest that there was a land-subsistence problem in eighteenth-century Connecticut when there were only 30,000 (1715) to 237,000 (1790) people as against more than 1,600,000

⁶Nevertheless, in 1787, wages of tradesmen, shoemakers, tailors, wrights, and masons were considered high—five shillings six pence per day. Connecticut then reckoned six shillings to the dollar.

today.⁷ Yet, as has been shown, there is much evidence to support the idea that the colony was suffering from problems connected with land, population, and backward development of the arts, particularly agriculture. Over a long period, adjustments or changes in production



THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CONNECTICUT

This graph is adapted from one in F. B. Dexter's *Estimates of population in the American colonies*. The first three figures are estimates, the others are census returns. See E. B. Greene and V. Harrington, *American population before . . . 1790*.

may occur which will make it possible for more people to live within the same area. By the expedient of raising more food from the same amount of land, man may permit a rise in human numbers. The arts, when they deal directly with extraction of the necessities of life from the

⁷ Connecticut today imports by far the greater part of its food supply. This indicates that industrial and commercial activities have been developed to offset the inadequacy of agricultural production.

earth, include the instruments and processes of hunting and tillage. Since "population tends to increase up to the limit of the supporting power of the environment on a given stage of the arts, and for a given standard of living," it is necessary that skilled agriculture should be constantly increasing the quantity of food available if population is to continue growing. If this change is not made, people must migrate or continue in the old environment under a lowered standard of living. In an agricultural civilization everything depends upon the nature of the land upon which people live. If it is rich, fertile, and plentiful and thus capable of supporting much animal and plant life, means may more readily be applied to the increased production of food, but if the land is stony, poor, or rugged, or in other words marginal, it may be very difficult to make it produce more, even with much labor and assistance from the arts. This was the situation in much of Connecticut in the eighteenth century and it accounts for the early reaching out for more land, even when population was not very dense according to modern concepts.⁸

VIII

THE most extensive marginal regions at the close of the eighteenth century coincided with those which were inhabited by people who became restless or dissatisfied under their economic status and consequently removed to places where opportunities might be greater. Middlesex may be taken as a typical example of the less fertile counties of Connecticut. As a whole its land is rough and uneven, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the area had long been fully occupied by farms. Popula-

⁸ An abundance of available land makes its use lavish. When it is dear it is cultivated with care, as occurred eventually as density of population developed.

tion of the county had at that time increased very little in many years. In Middlefield, for example, there was but one more house in 1815 than there had been in 1745. The population of Westfield during the same length of time was nearly stationary since young, enterprising men, trained to husbandry and unable to get farms in their native town, had removed from time to time to other parts of the country. "But of these numerous and almost perpetual removals, generally, no particular information can be given."

East Haddam was well settled by 1740 but between that date and 1819 the increase of population had been small compared with many towns in the state. In 1757 and 1760 East Haddam people removed to Hartland, then in Litchfield county, and thereafter emigration was almost continuous to Berkshire county, Massachusetts, and to Vermont and New York. East Haddam was better suited for grazing than for grain culture and so its inhabitants derived profit from livestock, dairying, wood, and lumber rather than from tillage. Nor did the population of Durham increase rapidly. Individuals and families "almost perpetually" removed to other places and many of the early settlers of the town had no descendants there a few years after 1800. Migrators trekked to Massachusetts about 1750 to 1765, and about 1788 Durham people founded the New York town of the same name. Some went to Whitestown, New York, and others later to the Western Reserve in Ohio. From Killingworth migrations had also been numerous, including several families who removed to Bergen, New York, soon after 1800. Lands in the southeastern part of Saybrook⁹ were level and easily cultivated; enriched by white fish fertilizer, they were very productive. Back from the coast, however, the lands

⁹Its area then included the present towns of Chester, Saybrook, Essex, Old Saybrook, and Westbrook.

were generally stony and somewhat hilly. This helps to explain why people went from Saybrook to Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1773 and 1774, and also sought new opportunities in Durham and Fairfield, New York, and other places in the latter part of the century.

Some of the lands in the town of Haddam, near the Connecticut river and bordering on small streams, were rich and productive while others were hard and of an indifferent quality. Considerable tracts were "too rough for tillage, but yield some pasture, and a pretty heavy growth of wood." The migrations from the town had been numerous. Of the twenty-eight original proprietors, fourteen had no descendants in the town a few years after 1800, nor any people of their names there, and even the names of some later settlers were extinct. Many families had removed to Leyden, New York, and to other parts of the country. The township of Chatham (now Portland and East Hampton) was more rough and uneven than many others. One very large meadow there yielded abundant coarse grass, but other areas throughout the township, with a few small exceptions, were hard and stony; in many cases, rocky and mountainous. Natives of this town migrated to New York and other states.

To complicate the economic situation still further, some communities in northwestern Connecticut were very poor. Barkhamsted, for example, had a population of eighty-six males over sixteen years of age in 1780, but the men of the town possessed only 177 acres of plow land, about four acres to a family. Seventy-eight of the men were over twenty-one years old, and there were "44 smoaks" (chimneys). This would in all likelihood mean about forty-four houses since in a poor town the dwellings were not very likely to have more than one chimney. All the rest of the town lands were in "mowing and clear

pasture," bush pasture, and unimproved lands. Non-resident proprietors possessed more land than did the settlers. In petitioning the assembly for an abatement of taxes in 1780, Barkhamsted townsmen said that they were "very poor and low" and that many of them had neither land nor stock of their own. Their land was very rough, heavily timbered, and unproductive, and they did not raise a sufficient quantity of grain for their own use. Most of the inhabitants were described as in the "younger part of Life" with "numerous Families" of small children, which strained their resources to the limit to support. Only one man in town could be said to be well off and he was constantly burdened with demands upon him for relief of others not so fortunate. There was no meeting house or school as yet, and no minister. The townspeople were at great expense in purchasing and making necessary highways.

Colebrook in 1780 also complained of poverty in a similar petition. Only forty-one families dwelt there and of those, sixteen owned all "the Grown oxen there is." Roads had to be built and maintained and although it was true that "Some Persons have a considerable Free Estate yet That the Whole Burden of the Town lies on them." Again it was said that, in the main, families were "young and Numerous" and that the lands were so poor for grain growing that the needs of the place were supplied from other towns. For the forty-one families the town had only 157 1/2 acres of plow land, less than four to a family, while the remainder of the lands was in a small amount of meadow and some hundreds of acres in bush pasture, upland pasture, and timber land. Non-resident proprietors held 14,681 1/2 acres against 3,716 1/2 acres for the town dwellers.

IX

As long as good land could be obtained in Connecticut on relatively cheap and easy terms and population did not press with too great seriousness upon the means of subsistence, there was little incentive to improve the old agricultural system. The average inland farmer, because of his ignorance of plant nutrition, was able to produce but little more than he actually needed and he could not have disposed of surpluses locally if he had grown them. Transportation costs were high and only farmers who lived within carting distance of rivers were able to reach the larger towns and seaports where merchants readily bought up supplies. People living off the main roads and rivers were isolated and self-sufficing, according to the living standards of the time, so that they possessed and circulated but little hard money. But with population increasing from 130,000 in 1756 to 237,000 in 1790, the lack of markets, absence of differentiation of employment or division of labor, and the application of a greatly increased supply of labor to the same area of land in the oldest districts began to have their effects. It is a maxim of economics that: "As more labor is applied to the same area of land, the soil cultivated tends to yield less." This was an extremely important factor in Connecticut history, for the standard of living undoubtedly tended to become lower under the workings of this economic law. More land was cleared as population grew, but it was either marginal or submarginal in quality and therefore did not help matters greatly. Lacking remunerative use, it naturally went back to bush pasture.

Inability of Connecticut inhabitants to produce commodities sufficient to engage in a lucrative foreign trade turned the attention of leaders to propaganda for agricultural improvement on a scale unknown before in the

history of the commonwealth. The general indifference to agriculture which had so long been evident became, near the end of the century, the target for prolonged criticism. Of all the arts, tillage was described as the most useful and necessary since intelligent cultivation of the earth caused it to produce an "infinite increase." Farming was the surest and most solid fund of riches for all people, and it was also the most ancient and important of all the arts, standing at the base of all wealth of nations, commerce, manufactures, and luxuries. Nothing could more fully prove the ingratitude of mankind than the little regard paid to agriculture, wrote one rebukingly, for it gave nations the only wealth which they might consider their own. Few states or kingdoms would deny that they had drawn their wealth immediately from agriculture. "Notwithstanding this, have we seen the same pains taken to improve this as many other arts?" inquired another writer. He went on to declare that chartered corporations, exclusive patents, liberal rewards, and large promises were often made to stimulate trades, manufactures, and the fine arts, but agriculture was neglected and left to shift for itself, to improve by chance, or by its own unassisted strength. Those who pointed out improvements were public benefactors, and if legislators were to be considered guardians of their country's welfare they must give agriculture their most earnest attention. There had not been institutions enough for the promotion of this art in comparison with what had been done for other causes. While America was enthusiastically bent upon reviving trade and increasing manufactures, it was to be feared that it would overlook the cultivation of the soil. It should be the boast of every patriotic citizen to promote agriculture, especially in this country which could produce all the goods of the earth.

“Custom,” wrote another man in this same year, 1791, “with an iron rod, rules four fifths of mankind. My father planted corn on a certain piece of land . . . it answered well . . . I do the same, tho it does *not* answer well. My neighbor advises a change of crops, deep plowing, or sowing turnips or clover; maybe the land will replenish itself. But I do not like new things. . . . So it goes on until soil is exhausted . . . one knows not how to fertilize and take benefit of nature’s manure. *This does for the present.* When the land is all impoverished, one goes off to Kentucky, or if New Englanders to the Genessee. When the western world is all peopled, what will be done for good land? The answer is—necessity will compel them to make old poor land rich again. When farmers learn to *work it right*, they will keep it good, for proper tillage will forever keep land good. How does nature work it? Why nature covers land with herbage . . . that herbage withers and rots upon the land and gradually forms a rich black mold. But farmers, when they have used land till it would bear *no crops*, let it lie without feeding it. No herbage grows on the land, till weeds and a little grass creep in by chance; after three or four years, these begin to enrich the soil by decaying on the land; and after losing the use of the land for some years, the farmer plows it for a crop and has a job at killing weeds. The man does not work it right, but he says, *this will do for the present.*”

Newspaper editors and anonymous writers criticized farmers’ practices and sought to point out reasons for their failure to prosper, deprecating inefficient farm methods and false economy. Farmers were charged with sacrificing quality to price and with avoiding repair expenses, thus allowing farm buildings to fall into ruin. Time-wasting practices of borrowing implements, instead of buying or making them, were deplored. Published

articles advocated the encouragement of agriculture by legislative and mercantile bodies in order that the state might become rich and independent, and the government was urged to avoid practices which tended to discourage farmers or divert them from their labor. Neglect of agriculture in a new country, it was said, would certainly lead to poverty, for a new land could not hope to support a large proportion of its inhabitants in the learned and mercantile professions. People described as the most envied under the sun were those living and producing on their own lands, therefore government should encourage land ownership. The *American mercury* of Hartford stated that trade and manufactures must yield in usefulness to the cultivation of lands. Commerce, on the other hand, was described as inconsistent and deceitful, and as owing its success to husbandry which ought to be industriously attended to by every owner of lands and every politic and wise government. Cultivation of the soil, it was declared, gave freedom from foreign dependence and resulted in the blessings of a happy, independent life. America was described as productive beyond all other countries, with ample common resources. Those who lamented the poverty of Connecticut and asserted that the state had no staple were answered by "The Connecticut Farmer," who urged that flour, beef, ham, cider, porter, ale, and all substantial products of Connecticut soil be exported in ever-increasing quantities for the enhancement of the state's wealth.

There can be little doubt that the leading men of the state were concerned about the improvement of farming, for they had long observed the migration of Connecticut people and, at the end of the century, began to seek means of keeping them at home. They wished also to increase the agricultural wealth of the state for their own

and for the general welfare. Societies devoted to these objects were formed by persons of influence, and it became customary for gentlemen-farmers and other experimenters in agriculture to report on their activities in the newspapers. Evidence of the revived interest in agriculture and recognition of the necessity of its improvement were shown in the attention paid to root crops, wheat, flax, and other products. It is now quite apparent that the farm was emerging from its self-sufficiency and developing a commercial status. The raising of a surplus and the demand for a market were beginning in earnest—a cry which was destined to ring through the following one hundred and fifty years of American history.

But lands could not be made to produce abundantly overnight. Years of neglect had made a large part of them unprofitable, while the custom of constant division of property had had the further effect, among persons of moderate means, of dividing and subdividing farms until it was difficult to make a living upon the small acreage in any one farm. Deterioration had long been going on in Connecticut among the less prosperous families in communities which worked poor soil. In those districts boys and girls had early been introduced to drudgery and consequently had lacked opportunity to learn new employments or to secure education. In this extremity many of Connecticut's citizens turned away from their seaboard homes and went inland, for "in order to obtain more uniformly fertile soils, deeper loams, inexhaustible farms, which hitherto have wanted no manure, you must recede from the sea, you must ascend nearer the sources and springheads of those immense rivers everywhere traversing the great continent, you must visit the shores of the Kennebeck up to its falls, those of [the] Connecticut everywhere abounding with the richest land of

Nature, you must visit the Mohawk, the Susquehannah, as well as those innumerable streams on which Ceres and Pomona have fixed their pleasing abode."

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